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THE PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE

By
WILLIAM
G. SUMNER
Author of "The Folkways"
and "The Theory of the Consumer"
New York
The Century Company
1906

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Containing a particular ACCOUNT of the
Most Remarkable Passages in SCOTLAND
 From the Year 1633 to 1650.

The WARS carried on, and the BATTLES fought

MARQUIS. of *MONTROSE.*

With a full ACCOUNT of all

The Transactions in *ENGLAND* during that Time.

ROBERT MONTETH of *Salmoner.*

The true CAUSES and favourable CONJUNCTURES

RESTORATION of King *CHARLES II.*

Written in *French* by D. R. JORDAN DE MUSCRY.

Captain JAMES OGILVIE.

The SECOND EDITION, with a Compleat INDEX.

L O N D O N :

Printed for and sold by OLIVE PAYNE, at *Horace's-Head*, in *Round-Court*, in the *Strand*, opposite *York-Buildings*.

MDCCLXXIX

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
TROUBLES
OF
GREAT BRITAIN:

Containing a particular Account of the
Most Remarkable Passages in SCOTLAND
From the Year 1633 to 1650.

With an Exact Relation of
The Wars carried on, and the Battles fought
By that Great Hero the

MARQUIS of MONTE ROSA.

(All which are omitted in Lord Clarendon's History; as likewise the Characters of many Great Men, not in the said History.)

With a full Account of all
The Transactions in ENGLAND during that Time.

Written in French by
ROBERT MONTEITH of Seimone.

To which is added,
The true Causes and favourable Conjunctions
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MDCCLXXII.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE Disobedience of the first Man which brought Disorder and Death into the World, like a stinking Vapour, arising from the bottomless Pit, hath stain'd the Beauty of the whole Universe, and spoil'd that sweet Harmony and charming Union that were amongst its Parts. Man having rebell'd against his Creator, was depriv'd of the Empire of the World, with which he had been invested in the Earthly Paradise. Then all the Creatures rebelled against him and acknowledg'd him no more. He soon felt yet a more dangerous Revolt within himself; for that precious Gift of original Righteousness, that Curb which kept the inferior Part of his Soul subject to the superiour, having been taken off, his Passions, like Horses broke loose, no longer gave Ear to the Voice of Reason: And the Elements, whereof his Body is compos'd, and which, for his Sake, had forgotten their natural Enmity, resum'd their former Hatred, and never left off making War upon one another, till that admirable Edifice was reduc'd to Dust. 'Tis from this intestine Revolt, that Men are become like Wolves that devour one another, and, as the Apostle describes them, they are altogether unjust, covetous, wicked, Murderers, quarrellsome, deceitful and malicious; besides they are Haters of God, Backbiters, outrageous, full of Pride, Inventers of new Mischiefs, Rebels against their Fathers and Mothers, and void of natural Affection.

ALTHOUGH then it be said, that Man is a Creature born for Society and Conversation, yet oftentimes, 'tis Self-love that makes them seek after these; nay, very frequently 'tis nothing but vain Glory, and an Affectation to appear to have brighter Parts than others. As for Societies and Commonwealths, they were not form'd out of any Principle of mutual Love; but through the Fear that Men were in of one another. For as they all coveted the same Things, and likewise thought, that they had an equal Right to enjoy them, from thence proceeded Quarrels and Discord. In order to remedy that, they agreed to regulate themselves by establishing certain Laws, and by a Form of Government that might secure them from the Violence and Oppression, which they were mutually afraid of from their corrupt Passions, whence, says the Holy Scripture, proceed Wars and Dissensions amongst Men. However, this Polity, which they establish'd amongst themselves, did not prevent their Iniquities and Lewdness from increasing in proportion as they multiply'd upon the Earth: In so much that the World has, in a Manner, been always nothing but a horrible and bloody Theatre of their Rapine and Murders. But the Wrath of God being kindled against them, he sent the Deluge, brought Fire down from Heaven, and from Time to Time imploy'd his other Scourges, in order to punish their Wickedness, and to extirpate them: And what is more strange, the Holy Scripture assures us, that the

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Wickedness

The PREFACE.

Wickedness of Man was become so great, and multiply'd to that Degree, that the Spirit of God was weary'd of striving with him, and seeing that every Imagination of the Thoughts of his Heart was only evil continually, he repented that he had made Man. Which plainly shews how far the Insolence and Corruption of all humane Nature had gone.

HOWEVER, I will not say, as some have done, that the Ages grow worse and worse, and that the present Generation is more wicked than the preceding. For if, since the Time that there being only two Brothers to share the World betwixt them, wicked Cain shed the innocent Blood of Abel, the Wickedness of Men had always been increasing, the Earth had long ago been Nothing but a great Burying-Place, and a frightfull Desert. As in the Revolution of Years, the Seasons are not always equally temperate, and as the Winters are sometimes long and hard, and sometimes less severe, 'tis just so with the Manners of Men in the Revolution of Ages.

'TIS, a common thing for all Men to complain of the Age in which they live, as the worst of all. But no other Reason can be assign'd for it, except that they have felt Nothing of the discommodities of the preceding Ages; all that they can have learnt of them affecting them no more than the Things that are represented upon the Stage. 'Tis for the same Reason too, that old Men see Nothing but what displeaseth them. They always say, that Things are corrupted, and talk of nothing but of their Excellency when they were young Men. But things are still much about the same, the Depravation being only in their Taste, which cannot relish them in old Age, as when they were less advanced in Years. In a word, their Mistake is like that of those, who sailing out of a Harbour, can scarce be persuaded that the Ship is moving, but that the Harbour is going from them.

I WILL pass no Judgement upon the Manners of the Age wherein we live, only that 'tis none of the best, being an Iron Age, which is a bad Reformer of Men's Lives, an Excess of Vice, with the Desolation of Countries commonly attending War. However, 'tis famous for the great and strange Revolutions that have happen'd in it. Men have been seen to mount Thrones possess'd by great and powerful Kings, without striking a Stroke, and to take Possession of them, with as much Ease, as if they had been but small Estates. We have seen Princes humbled, and some even reduc'd to the last Degree of Affliction, which the Holy Scripture calls breaking the Bands of Kings asunder. And in other Places, Subjects, who durst not look their Sovereign in the Face, have been seen to have the Boldness to summon him to appear before a Tribunal, where formerly they trembled when they spoke to him, and in contempt of the most haughty Potentate upon the Earth, set an Infant upon his Throne. Revolts have been frequent both in the East and West and that Nation, which scorns to have intercourse with the rest of Mankind, has seen the great Wall, which separates it from its barbarous Neighbours, thrown down, and its Provinces, which the first Influences of the rising Sun, render wonderfully fertile, laid waste

BUT of all the Revolutions that have happen'd in this Age, that of Great-Britain is the most remarkable, the most surprizing, and the most fatal in all its Circumstances. That Island, which, for a long Space of Time, free from all Troubles, saw all the Rest of the World involv'd in Wars, is now plung'd into Blood and Confusion. I have undertaken to write the History of the Troubles that have imbroil'd it, and I have compiled it from the most exact and faithful Memoirs that I could find. I have writ-
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The PREFACE.

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ten it without Passion and without Partiality. For though I take that Part in these Affairs which my Religion, my Honour, and my Birth oblige me to take in them, yet I observe an exact Neutrality. I have not the least Design of pleasing or displeasing any Person, and I am so far from being the Minister of other Mens Passions, that for my Part, had I any of my own, I would look upon it as base to let them appear in this History.

I MAKE use of the Word Puritan, not as a Term of Reproach; but as a Word which the Scots and English Divines have always made use of in their Books, to describe such Protestants in Britain as abhor the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, the Liturgy, and all the Ceremonies of Religion that are not prescrib'd in the Holy Scripture.

I DO not in the least mean to comprehend under this Denomination any foreign Protestants. For though there be some of them that have neither Bishops nor Chapters, yet they don't look upon Episcopacy to be an Antichristian Order contrary to the Gospel. Neither do they account it Idolatry to receive the Communion kneeling, or that to take the Sacrament from the Hand of the Minister, is not communicating. In short they don't think that all would be undone if they should administer Baptism with the Sign of the Cross, and so of the like things which pass for fundamental Points amongst these Puritans. There have been some Ministers of Geneva that have dedicated their Books to English Bishops, and have given them the same Titles and the same Honours that the English Divines are wont to give them. In the Synod of Dort, Balthazar Lydius, Minister of the Place, in opening the Synod, saluted the Bishop of Landaff in particular, and gave him the Title of most Reverend Prelate. The eloquent Daniel Tilenus, Professor of Sedan, wrote a Book against the Puritans of Scotland, with his highflown Style ridiculing their indiscreet Zeal for the Discipline of Geneva, though he was of that very Communion: And his Successor Peter du Mulin, likewise an eloquent Man, having publish'd his Book of the Vocation of Pastors, which displeas'd King James, the Bishop of Winchester and he wrote some learned and respectful Letters to one another about Episcopacy: Besides, he dedicated a Book to his Brethren, the Canons of Canterbury. So that there are no Puritans but such as are mentioned in this History. King James speaks of them with a great deal of Bitterness in his Royal Present, and strictly charges his Son to be aware of them. And truly, the Troubles they created him during his Reign, sufficiently shew, that he had good Reason to be afraid of them, and to deal with them, as the Athenians were dealt with by that King of Persia, who out of a deep Resentment of the Injuries he had receiv'd from that People, order'd one of his Pages to say to him every Morning and Evening, with a loud Voice, Sir, Remember the Athenians.

I COMPUTE the Time according to the old Style, as is practis'd in Great Britain, however, without regarding that the English begin their Year on the 25th of March: But as to the Species of Money, I have put the Sums in French Livres, twelve whereof make a Pound Sterling*, of old Esterling, which signifies Levantine or Eastern, because 'tis said, that some Eastern People had coined a Species of Money, the Silver of which was exceeding fine. 'Tis more probable, that 'tis rather from Sterlingus, which is a Piece of Money that weighs thirty two Grains of Corn, whereof Mention is made in the Canon Law, C. 3. De Arbitris & Constitut. 12. De

* They are accordingly reduc'd in the Translation.

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Procurator.—*And indeed an English Penny weighs exactly thirty Two Grains of Wheat. As for the Names of Offices and Courts of Justice, either Ecclesiastical or Secular, I shew once for all how they are called in Great Britain, and afterwards I keep close to their French Denomination.*

AS for the rest, I desire that the Reader would be pleas'd to read this History from the Beginning, because if he should read whatever comes next to hand upon opening the Book, and not consider the whole Coherency of it, he may find himself in an unknown Country, where he will lose himself, and perhaps, be very soon weary'd. For I have explain'd many Customs in their proper Place, which he would not understand in other Passages, where it was absolutely necessary to mention them. I hope he will not dislike my having strew'd some Flowers here and there in some little Digressions, since they are not so long as to make him lose the Thread of the History. I have made use of them the more freely, in order to set it off in some Places, where the Narration would otherwise have been too dry and tedious: Because not being able to find the Certainty of the Particulars of the Battles and Sieges in England, I have been obliged to set down only the Events of them.

AS for those in Scotland, he will therein see all the Particulars, but let him not be surpriz'd to find that I call Montrose's Fights, Battles; for though he fought many of them without either Cannon or Horse, yet they have been so bloody, and the Number of the Dead so great, that they may justly pass for Battles. Whatever Judgment he may make of that Liberty, or of any other Thing in the Management of this Work, I shall still be the most severe Critick of it my self; and I shall ask no other Favour, but that which William of Malmesbury, the first Historian of England, next to the Venerable Bede, very justly desir'd, if any Body has a Mind to write of these things after me, he will be beholden to me for having collected them, and I shall give him free leave to chuse whatever he shall find the best.

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ERRATA.

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I

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
TROUBLES
OF
GREAT-BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

WHEN CHARLES I. King of *Great-Britain*, was crowned 1633.
in *Scotland*, his native Country, his Dominions enjoyed a profound Peace, and his Subjects, taking Advantage of the Quarrels among their Neighbours, possessed that Plenty which attends the Freedom of Commerce. They tasted the Sweets of a Reign which Heaven loads with Favours, and they wanted nothing that could make the Kingdoms happy and flourishing. There appeared not the least Cause of Disturbance, nor any Thing that looked ominous. The Prince, having succeeded no less to the Virtues than to the Throne of his Father, was beloved and admired by every Body; and it seemed to be in his Power to make himself Umpire of the Differences of those two Potentates of *Europe*, who are like the two great Luminaries, from which, according to their good or bad aspect, flow the Influences of Peace or War upon all the other States.

ENGLAND could hardly bear his Absence, for the short Time he was obliged to spend in visiting the Northern Part of this Island, which was then one of the most fortunate, where the King was received with all the Demonstrations of Joy imaginable. Nothing could exceed the magnificent Entries, nor the sumptuous Entertainments that were made for him every where; with which he was so well pleased, that the Day

1633.

of his Entry into the City of *Edinburgh* he declared, that the Demonstrations of the Affection of his People gave him the greatest Satisfaction that ever he had had in his Life, and he was sorry for not having brought the Queen with him, without whom he found always something wanting in his greatest Pleasures.

The King's
Coronation.

EVERY Thing being prepared for his Coronation, the Day before the Solemnity, he left his Palace of *Holy-Rood House*, and went to lie in the Castle; from whence the Day following, being the 21st of *June*, he came down in great State, accompanied by the Nobility of the Kingdom, who had gone to attend his Majesty. They were all mounted upon Horses well decked with Trappings, and cloathed with long Scarlet Robes trailing upon the Ground, trimmed with Ermine, and lined with white Satin, the Lappets tucked up upon the left Shoulder, all having their Swords by their Sides, and the Lords, Viscounts, Earls, Marquises and Dukes holding their Coronets in their Hands. The Scepter, Sword and Crown were carried by the eldest Earls then present, according to the Custom always observed in *Scotland* at great Solemnities. Then the King appeared in a long Purple Mantle, lined with Ermine, surrounded with Guards, having at their Head *Keith*, Earl Marshal of the Kingdom, which Office is hereditary in his Family, on Account of a memorable Victory which one of the Ancestors of that Earl obtained over the *Danes* near the Village of *St. Bride*, where he killed with his own Hand their General *Camus*, who was in great Hopes to have sapped the Foundation of the *Scots* Monarchy, and to carry in Triumph King *Malcom II.* who was then upon the Throne, and who was the first of the Kings of *Scotland* that gave Lands in Fief to the Nobility, reserving to himself the Guardianship of their Children, and the Disposal of them in Marriage while under Age.

THE King dismounted at the Gate of the Church of the Abbey of *Holy-Rood House*, guarded by the Earl of *Errol*, hereditary Constable of *Scotland*. 'Tis said that this Office is annexed to that Family; because that in the Time of King *Kenneth III.* about the Year 980, the Founder of the Family, named *Hay*, with his two Sons, tilling the Ground, near a Place where the *Danes* were fighting the *Scots* in a pitched Battle, and perceiving that his Countrymen were flying before the Enemy, this good Man, inflamed with a just Indignation, armed himself and his two Sons with the Yokes of their Oxen, and throwing themselves into a narrow Pass, stopped the Runaways, put them in Heart again, by pretending that there was a fresh Succour near at Hand; and having made them face about with fresh Vigour, obtained the Glory of having saved his native Country from a foreign Yoke.

AT the Entry of the Church the King was received by the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, Primate of *Scotland*, assisted by the Bishops of *Murray* and *Ross* in their Rochets and Copes; who led him to a Throne erected in the Middle of the Church, where, after the *Te Deum*, having heard a Sermon preached by the Bishop of *Brechin*, he stepped down to the Altar, adorned after the *English* Manner, and was anointed and crowned, and received the Sacrament from the Hands of the Archbishop, who likewise girt the Sword about him, which the King offered upon the Altar, and redeemed immediately. He presently mounted the Throne again in his royal Ornaments, where, having solemnly promised to maintain the Laws and Religion publicly professed in the Kingdom, he received the Oaths of Fidelity, first from the Bishops, who kissed his Cheek, and then from all the Nobility, who kissed his Hand. These Homages being done, and the King at Arms having made the Sign to the Nobility to put on their Coronets,

Coronets, the Chancellor proclaimed a general Pardon to all Criminals; and while the Heraulds cried from a Window of the Church, *God bleſs King Charles*, the great Almoner threw amongſt a Multitude of People, that were ſtanding without, a great many Handfuls of Gold and Silver Pieces, that had been ſtruck on purpoſe for this Solemnity. 1633.

It was but of late that the Kings of *Scotland* began to be crowned: *Edgar* having been the firſt in the Year 1101, by *Godrick*, Biſhop of *St. Andrews*, then Suffragan of the Archbiſhop of *York*. But in the Year 1108, all the Biſhops of *Scotland* were ſubjected immediately to the holy See by Pope *Clement III.* out of Favour to King *William*, a moſt pious Prince; and that Privilege was afterwards confirmed by Pope *Celeſtin III.* in the Year 1192, notwithſtanding the Pretenſions of the Archbiſhop of *York*, till 1472, when *Patrick Graham*, of the Family of *Montroſe*, was created Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, and Primate of all the Kingdom, by Pope *Sixtus IV.* who heightened that new Dignity by the Legation *à latere* which he gave him for three Months.

BUT the Kings of *Scotland* have been Chriſtians ever ſince *Donald I.* in whoſe Reign the Emperor *Severus* in the Year 211, having come over from *Gaul* into *Great-Britain*, with a more powerful Army than any of his Predeceſſors, extended the Bounds of the Empire beyond the Intrenchment that *Adrian* had cauſed to be made, between the Rivers of *Tyne* and *Solway*, of the Length of 8000 Paces: For having made his Way as far as the famous Foreſt of *Caledon*, he drove the Inhabitants of the Country into the Mountains; but, becauſe of the Ruggedneſs of the Ways, not being able to ſend but ſmall Parties for ſubduing them, he made Peace with them, and cauſed a new Retrenchment to be made between the Mouth of the River of *Clyd*, where the ſtrong Caſtle of *Dumbarton* ſtands, and the Place where the River *Aven* falls into that of *Forth*, which is the narroweſt Part of the Iſland. The Remains of which Work is to be ſeen at this Day, with a round Temple, dedicated to the God *Terminus*, upon the River of *Carron*; which Temple remains intire, excepting the upper Part of the Gate, where, without doubt, there had been ſome Inſcription, which King *Edward I.* of *England* carried off, with all the antient Monuments of the Country. That Prince vainly flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to triumph over the Liberty of this warlike Nation, of which it is extremely jealous, and to reduce this antient Kingdom into a Province: For having taken out of the famous Abbey of *Scoon*, upon the River of *Tay*, a Marble Stone, upon which the Kings of *Scotland* were wont to be crowned, he cauſed it to be ſet in a Chair, and placed in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, where 'tis to be ſeen at this Day, and upon which, according to this Diſtich, depends the Fate of the *Scotiſh* Empire.

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

BUT though this laſt Retrenchment was the fated Boundary of the *Roman* Empire, yet it was not a limit to the Kingdom of the Son of God, to which the utmoſt Parts of the Earth are promiſed: For the Croſs was planted in Places where the *Roman* Eagles could not penetrate; to wit, in the *Hebrides*, or *Western Iſlands of Scotland*, which have produced many learned Monks, by the common People called *Culdeos*, ſignifying, *Colentes Deum*, who led ſuch holy Lives, that after their Deaths their Cells were conſecrated, and converted into Churches; whence it comes that, in the antient *Scotiſh* Language, Temples are called *Kils*, that is to ſay, Cells. 'Tis to be preſumed that the Goſpel came to them from the Eaſt, be-
cauſe

1633. cause they observed *Easter* after the Manner of the Eastern Nations: And 'tis probably from that Custom, which was likewise observed in *England* before the coming of St. *Augustin*, the Apostle of the *English*, that in *England* that Feast is called *Easter*.

The King calls
a Parliament.

THE Week after the Coronation, the King met his Parliament, in which the principal Affairs that came under their Consideration were a Regulation of the Tithes, with which his Majesty was willing that the Protestant Clergy of the Kingdom should be more handsomly provided than formerly; and the Revocation, which the King had made at the Beginning of his Reign, of the Church Lands dismembered from the Crown, which had been annexed to it upon the Change of Religion in *Scotland*. The Decision that was made displeased many of the Members. But we must trace these Things to their Source, and shew that the three Estates of the Kingdom have had no Reason to complain of the King's Intentions, with Respect to these Matters; on the contrary, that they ought to have been very well pleased with his Goodness and Justice.

WHEN the *Scots* began to separate themselves from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, during the Regency of Queen *Mary of Lorrain*, the Widow of *James V.* the Ministers, of whom *John Knox* was the Head, who came to *Scotland* in order to reform it after the Manner of *Geneva*, turned all the ecclesiastical Order upside down, caused all the religious Houses and Churches to be pulled down, at least the Quires and Steeples, which they looked upon to be the most criminal Parts, and exposing the Goods of the Church to be pillaged, like the King of *Sodom*, they sought nothing but the Souls, not seeming to desire any Share of the Plunder. This was a powerful Bait to the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, considering the Contempt holy Things had fallen under at that Time, through the Ignorance and Vices of the Overseers of the Church, to side with the Reformers, who invited the Nobility and Gentry to seize all the Benefices that lay most convenient for them, which they did most readily, without much Intreaty.

OF old the Benefices consisted in two Things, in Lands farmed out for some Years, or let in Fee-farm, and in Tithes. For to each Abbey belonged a great many Benefices, of which the Abbot gathered the Tithes, and gave a small yearly Allowance to the Curates that officiated: Whence, in a great Measure, proceeded the Mischief, because those that served at the Altar, having no Tithes belonging to it, (though by some Fathers the Tithes are called the *Altars*, because they belong to them) the Curates were poor, and because of their Poverty, they led loose Lives, which made the People despise the Sacrifices of the Altars. After then that the Nobility and Gentry had taken Possession of the Benefices, they bethought themselves of Means for securing themselves in it, and making Application to the Incumbents, they prevailed so far, some by a little Money, others by Threatnings, or Promise of Protection to such as apprehended the Danger, that they forced out of them Leases of their Tithes for a great Number of Years, allowing them a small yearly Pension; and as for the Lands, they compelled them to make them over to be held in Fee-farm. Nay, there were some Incumbents, who seeing this Destruction of the Church, parted willingly with their Benefices in the same Manner in Favour of their Nephews.

ALL these Usurpers had sufficiently secured themselves with Respect to the Tithes; for in *Scotland* the Incumbents were allowed to give long Leases of their Lands; that kind of Alienation not being prohibited by the Laws till the Year 1617, when the Bishops were confined to nineteen Years, and the Ecclesiasticks of the second Order to their Lives and

five

five Years after, which their Successors were obliged to stand to. But be- 1633.
cause the renting out of the Church Lands was not valid, without a Confirmation from the Pope and the King, the Pope's Authority being abolished in *Scotland* by an Act of the Parliament held at *Edinburgh* the 24th of *August* 1560, they obtained an Act in the last Parliament of *Queen Mary*, on the 15th of *December* 1564, in Confirmation of all the Leases of Church Lands made by the Prelates (under which Name were comprehended in *Scotland*, the Priors as well as the Abbots and Bishops) since the 8th of *March* 1558, when the Troubles about Religion began; and of all Leases made before. For there were some that were older by two Hundred, nay, three Hundred Years, confirmed by the Popes. That religious Princess was forced in that unhappy Juncture to pass that Act, though she had prohibited and annulled all Leases by a Proclamation.

Now, though the Religion was changed, and that *Scotland* no more acknowledged the holy See, its Authority being again prohibited in the first Parliament held by King *James VI.* in 1567, when any Incumbent happened to die, that King presented another to the Benefice, but still a Laick; for the Ministers to whom the King had offered them at first, refused them with Detestation. This Laick Incumbent then had a Seat and Voice in Parliament, as Bishop, Abbot or Prior; and if there was any Part of the Benefices not farmed out, they let it to their Friends in Fee-Farm, some to their own Children, either immediately, or under the Name of a third Person. They received likewise the Homages, the Ground-Rents, and all the Rights of Lords of the Manour. But being only Tenants for Life, they could not leave the Fees to their Heirs; and therefore having consulted Lawyers, they got the Lands of the Benefices, of which they were Titulars, to be erected into Baronies. These Erections were made partly before the annexing of the Church Lands to the Crown, and partly after, to wit, the Lands of the Abbeys and Priories; as for the Lands of the Bishopricks, they were never erected into Temporalities, because the King had still a Design to re-establish the Bishops. By this Means the Benefices being secularized, and the Nature of them changed; all those, in whose Favour they had been erected into Baronies, acquired a hereditary Right for themselves and their Heirs to the Ground and Quit-Rents, and to all Rights belonging to Lords of the Manours, as feudal Lords of those Lands, and all those that possessed them in Fee-farm, became the Vassals of those *Lords of Erection*: Such are they called in *Scotland*.

UPON the Majority of King *James*, all the Church Lands, as well of Bishopricks, Abbeys, and Priories, as of Prebends, Chaplainies, &c. were annexed to the Crown by an Act of the first Parliament held by King *James* after his Majority, on the 29th of *July* 1587, except nevertheless some Benefices and Commanderies of *Malta*, which had been already erected into Baronies, and some others that the King had bestowed upon some particular persons, whom he made Barons afterwards. The Tithes were also excepted, which, in that Act, are called *the Spiritualities of the Benefices*. By this Act of Annexation, the King became superior of all the Church Vassals, who paid his Majesty the Ground Rents, if they were not Vassals of the Titulars excepted in the Act: And because the Lands annexed to the Crown cannot be dismembered from it, unless by giving them in Fee-farm; the same Parliament allowed the dismembering of the Church Lands, for that Intent, so that the King could give them to such as he had a liking for, but could make no more new Erections.

FOR all that, this same King continued to make Erections in Favour of several Persons, who, to secure themselves from the Act of Annexation,

1633. had Interest enough to get them to be ratified by the Parliament. This was a Favour that no body was denied: However, it was ordained, that these new Barons should hold their Baronies of the Crown, and, in doing Homage to the King upon the Change of a Lord, should present him, some, with twenty five Pounds Sterling, some, with forty one Pound thirteen Shillings and four Pence, once for all. This Sort of Homage is called in *Scotland* *Blench-holding*, because it is more free and easy than that of Ground-rent or Ward-holding, and is not due unless it be demanded. They were likewise obliged to give a competent yearly Allowance to all the Ministers who had Benefices within their Baronies, according as they should be regulated by the Commissioners that should be appointed for that End.

KING *James* pitied the Condition of the Ministers, which was very poor: For though at the beginning of the Reformation, in the Year 1561 it was ordained, that the Third of the Benefices should be employed for the Maintenance of the Ministers, which was ratified by the Parliament in 1567: Yet of the two Estimates that were made of them, one was so pitiful, and so much under-rated, that it scarce deserved the Name of an Alms; and the other of the Year 1584, though a little more reasonable, was made with so much Reluctancy of the Parties concerned, that all that the Ministers could get of it was spent in the Charges of collecting it; infomuch, that many chose rather to quit their Share of it, than to be plagued with the tedious Proceedings at Law, or to fall under the Curse of the Sons of *Eli*, and prostrate themselves before those severe Masters for a Bit of Bread. Therefore in the Year 1606, this good King having anew ratified all the Erections, he gave Commission to some of the three Estates, for augmenting the yearly Allowance of the Ministers who had Cures in the Benefices erected into Baronies: And because then all the Barons of Erections renewed their Contracts with the King, a Stop was put to them, until such Time as the yearly Allowances of the Ministers, the highest of which did not exceed twenty five Pounds Sterling, were rated, in order to insert them in a Clause of the Contracts.

THE same Year 1606, the Bishops were re-established and put again in Possession of their Dignities, Lands and Castles, the Act of Annexation being rescinded for that Effect, and they allowed to have Recourse to Justice against the Fee-farms. They never could recover some Papers of Consequence that were in the Hands of the great Men of the Kingdom. Nevertheless, the greatest Part of those Fee-farms were made void from Time to Time, upon some Defect in the Forms of the Contracts, but chiefly for want of the Consent of the Chapters, which were not restored to their Temporalities till 1617, excepting the Priory of *St. Andrews*, the fattest Benefice in *Scotland*, of which the Duke of *Lenox*, Lord High Chamberlain and Admiral of the Kingdom, was possessed. It was in the same Year 1617, that King *James* being returned to *Scotland*, after fourteen Years Absence, endeavoured to make void the Erections: But finding so strong an Opposition from the Lords that held them, that pacifick Prince desisted, contenting himself with naming new Commissioners, for settling the yearly Allowance of the Ministers at thirty three Pounds six Shillings and eight Pence Sterling, which he obtained of the Lords of Erection with great Difficulty: For 'tis not to be imagined with what Zeal they embraced the frugal Opinion of that Apostle, who was vexed at the pouring the Perfume upon the Head of our Saviour, and how much they grumbled to part with the Skins of the Badgers, while they had covered themselves with the Silk and Scarlet of the Tabernacle.

KING

KING *Charles*, upon his Accession to the Crown, made a vigorous Attack upon the Erections, and a general Revocation of every Thing that had been dismembered from the Crown, as from his own Patrimony, that of the Prince, whose Title in *Scotland* is *Duke of Rothsay*, from Benefices, Patronages of some Cures, hereditary Offices, &c. The Justice of that Revocation was founded upon the Laws of Nature and Nations, which provide, that all Persons injured, especially Minors, which the State always is, be fully restored to their Rights. It was likewise founded upon the Laws and Customs of *Scotland*; and indeed, the Revocations made by other Kings, and particularly by *James VI.* in the Year 1587, are to be seen in the Registers of the Parliament of that Kingdom, and this of King *Charles* was entered in the Register of the Council, on the 9th of *February* and the 21st of *July* 1626, and was afterwards publicly ratified by the Parliament in Presence of his Majesty this Year 1633.

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WHAT bred most Uneasiness amongst the Nobility, was the Revocation of the Erections of Benefices, both in their Temporalities and Spiritualities: For by the Temporality of Benefices, they had a great many Vassals who formerly held of the Abbots and Priors, whom they treated with the utmost Rigor, whenever it happened that they could take the least Advantage of them, by their failing to render the meanest Services; and by the Spirituality, they tyrannized over the Vassals, who durst not gather in their Harvests till the Fields were tithed; so that very often all the Corn was rotten upon the Ground; which obliged many of those Vassals to make a Thousand Submissions to their Superiors, in order to obtain a Lease of their Tithes, though at four Times the Value. The King was of the same Mind with his Father, to give the Benefices to the Ministers with the Title of Abbots and Priors, who in that Quality would have Seat and Voice in Parliament. He was not afraid of being denied as the late King had been, for Episcopacy having been for a long Time re-established, the Rigour and Excess of the first Reformers were much abated; and that immoderate Zeal which attends all Novelties in Religion, was no more to be found but in the Minds of such as were for having their Weakness or affected Ignorance to pass for Scruples of Conscience.

IN the Year 1626, the King having sent the Earl of *Nithsdale* into *Scotland* about the same Affair, the Lords of Erection met at *Edinburgh*, and sent Deputies to Court; the King likewise appointed some, who were of his Privy Council, and who had a Conference before his Majesty, with some Persons who were there for the Clergy; but of so mean Parts, that had it not been for the Zeal the King shewed for their Cause, it had been dropped: However the King at that Time laid aside his Design of re-establishing the Abbots and Priors, but continued steadfast in his Resolution of going on with the Revocation, and making it turn to the Advantage of the Ministers; the Lords of Erection, afraid of the Rigour of the Laws, submitted to the King's Pleasure, except such as were possessed of Erections before the Act of Annexation. These begged of his Majesty, that he would be pleased to order such a Compensation as he should think fit to be given them for the Erections, and upon what Conditions they were to dispose of their Tithes to the Vassals; and in fine, what Augmentation he would have made to the Ministers Stipends. In order to engage the King to be favourable to them, they offered him a Tithe of all the Tithes, which was afterwards called, *The yearly Right of Tithes*. Whereupon the King, having a Mind to use them better than they expected, resolved to redeem those Lands at Ten *per Cent.* and declared, that in Regard of the Resignation they made of them to him, he would pay

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pay them eighty three Pounds six Shillings and eight Pence Sterling, for eight Pound six Shillings and eight Pence of Ground-rent, which should be a certain Revenue, and that they should still continue in Possession till the Payment of the Sum; so that the King gained nothing by that Bargain, but Vassals, whereby they themselves were great Gainers, being made the King's Vassals: And instead of Tithes, the King ordered that the Minister of each Benefice should have, in Corn or Money, the Value of near fifty Pounds Sterling of Rent, with the Parsonage, and a Piece of Land adjoining of four Acres and a half: And as for the Overplus of the Tithes, that each Proprietor should buy it at the Rate of seven Years Purchase. The King having thus ordered Matters, he named Commissioners of the three Estates for valuing the Tithes, and making Provision for the Ministers out of them, according to his Decree, and the Remainder to be left to the Proprietors, except the yearly Right of Tithes payable to the King, which the Proprietors were not to buy off. And this yearly Right was given by his Majesty to the Earl of *Lowdun*, on the 7th of *May* 1642.

Now, all that the King had decreed concerning the Lands and Tithes of the Erections, and what the Commissioners did afterwards according to his Majesty's Decision in Favour of the Ministers and Proprietors, as also the yearly Right, was also ratified in the first Parliament held by his Majesty in Person. The same Parliament likewise confirmed the ecclesiastical Immunities, with all the Laws formerly made for the Establishment of Religion in the State it then was. The Act of Parliament made in the Year 1606, establishing the King's supreme Authority over all Persons, and over all Causes, with the same Fulness of Power, that the greatest of his Predecessors had possessed and exercised it, was also confirmed: But as this Act had a Clause in it, that, according to the Act of Parliament made in 1609, it should be in the Power of the Kings to make Laws concerning the Decency of the Garbs of the Ecclesiasticks and Magistrates; some having consented to the first Part of the Act, opposed the said Clause. Whereupon the King having pressed them to give their Opinions upon the whole Act, in the Terms it was drawn up in, they answered, that it was a Demand consisting of many Articles; and that it was neither necessary nor reasonable to confound that Power with his Majesty's royal Prerogatives, in order to surprize the Parliament. These were the Earls of *Rothes*, *Eglington*, *Lowdon*, and the Lord *Balmarino*, a Man of great Judgement, very cunning and active, but deeply engaged in the Puritan Faction.

1634.

THE Year after the King had returned to *London*, this Lord caused a Writing, in the form of a Remonstrance to the King, to be dispersed, wherein the Author complained of many Things that had been passed in the last Parliament by Force, and against the Laws and Method of Parliament, but wherein he struck indirectly at the King's Authority. Whereupon this Lord being accused and convicted of being the Author or Promoter of it, he was condemned to die. But the King, who could not constrain his natural Lenity, and who took Pleasure in the Exercise of Clemency above his other Virtues, pardoned him, hoping by that Indulgence, to gain over to his Interest one of the ablest Men in that Kingdom. During his Trial at *Edinburgh*, there got together a Multitude of People at the Entry of the Court of Justice, who all in a Mutiny gave some of the Judges insolent Language as they entered. For the Noise of the Liturgy had been already spread amongst the People, who had a great Regard for this Lord, because of his Zeal for what they called the Purity of the Religion of the Country; and he himself being a Lord of Election, was not the only Mal-content amongst the Nobility.

BUT

BUT besides the Affair of Erections, both the Nobility and People were grievously offended at the Respect the King had for the Clergy. The Confidence he had in the Bishops, and the Care he took to heighten their Authority, provoked them to the highest Degree. For in *Scotland*, as well as elsewhere, they are apt to look upon the Riches and Honours of the Clergy with much Jealousy, as if the Ecclesiasticks had fallen from the Clouds; that they should be related to no Body, and that their Dignities should make them become Strangers in their own Families. The preceding Year the King had increased the Number of Bishops, by erecting *Edinburgh*, till then belonging to the Diocese of *St. Andrews*, into a Bishoprick, and chusing for first Bishop, Doctor *William Forbes*, a Man of great Worth, but hated and much suspected by the Puritans, because he had a great Regard for the Opinions of the holy Fathers; and that he chose rather to follow these Guides in the Interpretation of the holy Scripture, than the modern Divines. The King afterwards established their Court, after the Manner of that of *England*, which was called, *the Court of the High Commission*, as being founded upon his Majesty's Commission alone, without being confirmed by the Parliament; every Bishop having Power to hold it in his own Diocese, and to judge all Affairs within ecclesiastical Cognizance without Appeal, by the Canons which the Bishops were then about drawing up: And that they might have the best Share in the Government of the State, the King made the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* Chancellour of *Scotland*, and all the Bishops Privy Counsellors. There were twelve of them in the Kingdom, under two Archbishops, of which he of *St. Andrews*, which was the first See, had for Suffragans the Bishops of *Edinburgh*, *Dumblain*, *Dunkel*, *Brechin*, *Aberdeen*, *Murray*, *Ross*, *Caithness*, and the *Orkneys*: And the other three, to wit, the Bishops of *Galloway*, *Argyl*, and of the *Isles*, were in the Archbishop of *Glasgow's* Province. The King had likewise a Mind, that the Bishops of *Scotland* should have the same Rank that the Prelates had in *England*, where the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was called *Primate and Metropolitan of all England*, walked before the Princes and the Officers of the Crown; and the Archbishop of *York*, who was called *Primate and Metropolitan of England*, followed immediately the Chancellor, or Keeper of the Seals, the other Bishops following at a great Distance behind the Earls and Viscounts. These were in general the Causes of discontent amongst the Nobility and the Puritan Commonalty, and the Motives of their Spite. But Things were not as yet ripe for an open Rupture.

THE King was carrying on an Affair with the Bishops, which gave the Mal-contents a more specious Pretence for rising up in Arms. His Majesty was displeased with the Confusion and Indecency that he had observed in the divine Service in *Scotland*, and knowing that the Disorder proceeded from the want of a publick Liturgy, whereby all well established Churches had settled the Order, and preserved the Uniformity of their Service; the King ordered the Bishops to convene the most knowing of the Clergy of their Dioceses, and to compose a Liturgy, after the Model of that of *England*, which he would not offer them, lest it should give Jealousy to that Nation, which cannot bear the least Thing that has any Mark of Dependence upon the Religion or State of *England*. All that the King desired was, that their Liturgy might be much like that of the *English*, and that there might be no material Difference between them.

KING *James* had had the same Design, and had caused a national Synod to be held at *Aberdeen* for that End, in the Year 1616, wherein it was ordained that a Liturgy should be composed as soon as possible, for the publick Use of all the Kingdom. But that Work not going forward,

D

in

1634.

*The Puritans
are offended at
the King's Re-
spect for the
Clergy.*

1634. in the Year 1618, he proposed to the Bishops five Articles of the *English* Discipline, which he ordered them to cause to be observed in their Dioceses. 1. "That both the Ministers and People should receive the Communion kneeling, and that the People should receive it from the Hands of the Ministers. 2. That the Ministers should go to baptize Children in private Houses, in case they were in Danger of Death. 3. That the Bishops should confirm Children being come to the Years of Discretion, and capable to answer to the Catechism. 4. That the Ministers should administer the Sacrament to the Sick that desired it. 5. That the Feasts of the Nativity, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Saviour, as also *Whitsunday*, should be observed." Besides these, the *English* observed the Feasts of the Apostles and Evangelists, with the Vigils, and those of the Annunciation and Purification of the Virgin, the Feasts of St. *John* the Baptist, St. *Stephen*, the *Innocents*, and St. *Michael* the Archangel: *All-Saints*, the *Circumcision*, *Epiphany*, the *Mondays* and *Tuesdays* of *Easter* and *Whitsun* Weeks. The King wrote in very pressing Terms, that he would be obeyed, and that by his royal Authority he could order Things of that Nature, after the Example of the Kings *David* and *Solomon*, and of the Emperors *Constantin*, *Theodosius* and *Justinian*.

But the Bishops having remonstrated to the King, that the Things would relish better with the People, and be more easily introduced, if they were imposed by the Authority of a national Synod, to which the King consented, and caused one to be called that same Year 1618, in the Town of *Perth*, and sent thither a Commissioner to represent his Person. The Bishops went there with the most learned and moderate of their Clergy, and allowed the Puritan Ministers to reason upon the Articles. At last, after great Debates made with much Heat on both Sides, to which the most venerable Synods have been subject, it was decreed, that the Things, which the King had proposed containing nothing that clashed with the Protestant Faith, and being very useful for the Edification of the People, and for heightening the Veneration of the Sacraments, which were treated with very little Respect, should be observed over all the Kingdom; and that all the Ministers at their Ordination should sign the Decrees of the Synod, and take an Oath from the Hands of the Bishop, to put them in Practice in their Parishes. The King afterwards having called a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, sent the Marquis of *Hamilton* to preside there in his Place. This was a most courteous Nobleman, and much beloved in the Country, who managed the Humours of the Members so well, that the Decrees of the Synod were confirmed by Act of Parliament. In this Procedure the King imitated the ancient Emperors, who leaving the Decision of Matters of Faith to the Bishops, approved of them, and caused the Canons to be published by their imperial Authority, that all might submit and be obedient to them, as well under the Pain of ecclesiastical Censures, as by the Authority of the Laws.

THE Puritans notwithstanding published Books, wherein they endeavoured to prove, that the Synod of *Perth* had not been convened in the due Form of Synods; that there was no Freedom, and that the Things that had been decided therein, were scandalous, superstitious, and altogether contrary to the Purity of the Gospel: That it was Idolatry to receive the Sacrament kneeling, and that the Nature of the Communion was, that every Body should break the Bread, and having taken a Bit of it, should present it with the Cup, to the Person that should sit next him at the Table: That the Administration of Baptism out of the Church was abusive, and favoured the Opinion of the absolute Necessity of Baptism: That the Confirmation of Children by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishops,

Bishops, was a Popish Sacrament: That it was contrary to the Nature of the Communion, to celebrate it any where but in the Church; and that the Observation of Feasts was a *Jewish* Superstition. Besides, they made their Pulpits ring again upon these Matters, and filled the Minds of the People with so many Scruples, that in the Episcopal Cities, when the Bishops with their Clergy began to administer the Sacrament, according to the Decree of the Synod, the Churches were deserted, although the People were left at Liberty to receive the Sacrament either kneeling, or sitting after the old Manner. The greatest Part of the People run to the Fields to perform their Devotions, and believed, that without hurting their Consciences, they could not be present at an idolatrous Service, nor receive the Sacrament from the Hand of the Minister, without transgressing the Institution of our Saviour, and depriving themselves of all the Benefit of the Communion. But of all the Decrees of the Synod none but that being put in Execution, except, that on *Christmas-Day*, the Minister who happened to preach, made a Sermon upon the Nativity, and changed his Text on *Easter-Day*, if it did not relate to the Mystery of the Day; the People by Degrees accustomed themselves to receive the Sacrament from the Hand of the Minister, but still sitting, and there were none but the zealous Puritans that stood it out; who, though they were rigid Observers of the *Sabbath Day*, chose rather not to go at all to Church on *Easter-Day*, than to hear a Sermon preached there upon the Resurrection of our Saviour.

THINGS continued in this State during the rest of King *James's* Reign. At the beginning of the Reign of the King his Son, the Ministers of *Edinburgh* seeing themselves in a Manner forsaken by almost all their Brethren, in the Observance of the modern Discipline, on Account of which they were at great Odds with a considerable Number of their Flocks; and being extremely troubled to see them leave the Town on the Communion Days, and go to the Puritan Ministers in the Country, they began to think of finding out some Remedy for it. For these Ministers, at their being received into the Ministry, either did not at all sign the Canons of the Synod of *Perth*, or at least were no ways pressed by the Bishops to put them in practice. On the contrary, they connived at all their Disorders, and even carested the most noted of the obstinate, in order, by that Means, to lessen the Hatred that the People bore against them. These Considerations obliged the Ministers of that City to write to the King, begging of his Majesty, either to dispence with the Obedience they owed to the Statutes of the Synod, or to oblige all the rest of the Clergy of the Kingdom to comply with them, that they alone might not bear all the Envy of the People, who charged them with being the only Favourers of that unlawful Synod. This Affair coming to the Knowledge of the chief Puritans of the City, they added their Request, and charged the Bearer of the Dispatches, with other Letters and Presents to some of the Courtiers, in order to oblige them to contribute their utmost Endeavours, that all the Clergy of *Scotland* might in general be freed from that Yoke, which was insupportable to tender Consciences. But the King answered them, that, after the Example of his Father of blessed Memory, he would support the Synod, and expected that all the Ministers of the Kingdom should conform themselves to it. This was what those of *Edinburgh* chiefly aimed at in the Alternative which they offered to the King, hoping that his Majesty being well informed of the small Account that was made of the Synod, he would take Care to have its Decrees punctually observed.

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THE King therefore, in all Things pursuing the Intentions of his royal Father, wrote oftentimes to the Bishops of *Scotland*, ordering them to set about the composing of a Liturgy, that might be the same in substance with that of *England*; that by that Uniformity, the Unity of the Faith of the two Kingdoms might be known: And as to what was purely ceremonial, they might regulate it according as they should think fit; the different Customs of Churches occasioning no Prejudice to the Unity of Faith. It will be fit to trace this Matter further back.

WHEN King *Henry VIII.* raised a Schism in the Church, he did not intend to make any Alterations in the Doctrine of the Catholick Faith; on the contrary, having made an Ordinance that was called *the Law of the six Articles*, which contained the six principal Points, about which there was then a Dispute, he caused all such as refused to comply with them to be severely punished. But the Bishops of *England* having shaken off their Subjection to *St. Peter's Chair*, established in *Rome* for preserving the Unity of the Government of the Church; it was not possible for him to prevent the Disciples of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, either from propagating their Doctrine in his Kingdom, or its taking Root in many Places. The Duke of *Somerset*, Uncle to the Prince of *Wales*, by his Mother, favoured it in private; but upon the Death of *Henry*, being declared Protector of the King and Kingdom, he instilled it into the Mind of Prince *Edward* his Nephew, and by an Order of the Council having commanded, that the People should receive the Sacrament in both Kinds, and the Images to be taken out of the Churches; he caused a Liturgy to be composed in the vulgar Tongue, which was approved of by the three Estates of the Kingdom, in the Year 1549, the second of *Edward's* Reign.

A SHORT Time after the Publication of the Liturgy, *Bucer* having been invited by *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to come quickly and labour in the Harvest, he came, and immediately sent for *Peter Martyr*, who likewise in great Haste came over to *England*. *Bucer* having caused the Liturgy to be explained to him, wrote to *Calvin* in what State he had found Religion in that Kingdom: *Calvin* answered him, that he wished the Prayer for the Dead, though very antient, the Chrism in Confirmation, and the extreme Unction of the Sick, were left out of the Liturgy; and advised him to leave off that Moderation, which he had formerly observed in the Reformation of the Church. He wrote in the same Sense to the Protector and the Archbishop, complaining that the whole Body of the Mass was to be found in their Liturgy. This Remonstrance had so great effect, that though the King, in the Answer he gave to the Petition of the People, who, upon the Suppression of the antient Service, had risen in Rebellion, had declared to them, that the new Liturgy was intirely conform to the Word of God, and the Doctrine of the primitive Church; yet the Things that displeased *Calvin* were left out of the Liturgy; and a second Liturgy being composed to the liking of *Bucer* and *Martyr*, it was confirmed by the Parliament, in the Year 1552.

To the Celebration of all the divine Service in the vulgar Tongue, was added the Translation of the holy Scripture, the frequent reading of which was recommended to the People. The great Benefit, that such as apply themselves to it with a Spirit of Humility and Piety, may reap by it, made them look upon that Liberty as very precious; because they saw, that the Use of it, which formerly was so much recommended to all the faithful by the antient Fathers, under the Direction of, and with Submission to their Pastors, had since grown into a Scruple of Conscience amongst the People, as if there had been Danger in reading it. They believed, that they received no less Consolation in praying to God with Spirit and Knowledge,
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and they felt an extraordinary Fervour of Devotion, having the Will and Affections heated by this new Light that was spread over their Understandings. These two powerful Allurements made the People believe, that the Reformers aimed at nothing but the Re-establishment of the Exercises of Piety, and were the most effectual Means, whereby they formed their Communion separate from the Catholick; whereas all these Things, let them be never so good and desirable, neither can nor ought to be put in Practice, but in the Unity of the Church, as it depends upon its sole Authority to re-establish them.

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THIS Reformation of *Edward VI.* was abolished upon the Death of that Prince, who reigned but a short Time: For his Sister Queen *Mary* restored all Things to the same State they were in before *Henry* divorced Queen *Katherine* her Mother. But *Elizabeth* succeeding her, she set *Edward's* Reformation on Foot again; and having caused something in that Prince's second Liturgy to be revised and corrected, it was confirmed anew by the Parliament, ordaining, that no other Form of Prayers should be read publickly in any Part of the Kingdom; and that the Catholicks, whom they called *Recusants*, because of their refusing to be present at this Service, should not be forced to assist at it, provided that they gave two Thirds of their Incomes, which they should be obliged to pay yearly to the Queen. For the Sake of these, this Prayer in the Litany of *Edward's* Liturgy, *Deliver us from the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable Enormities*, was struck out; and it remained so without Alteration, during all the Reign of that Princess, notwithstanding all the Disturbances raised by those, who, for too much affecting a strict Purity of Religion, began at that Time to be called *Puritans*. These were People, who having retired out of the Kingdom, because of *Mary's* Severity, became so much in Love with the Discipline they had met with in some Places beyond Sea; that as 'tis natural for Men in all Changes to affect Extreams, they thought they had not got well out of *Rome*, till they had got into *Geneva*. Their Number increased extreamly during *Elizabeth's* Reign, and they created her a great deal of Trouble, insomuch that she was often heard to say, *That she knew very well what would content the Catholicks, but that she never could learn what would content the Puritans.* But the Satisfaction they could not get from her, they expected from King *James*, because of his Education amongst the zealous Puritans of *Scotland*. And, indeed, he was no sooner arrived in *England*, than the Puritans offered him many Objections against the Liturgy, and they importuned him so much, that in the Month of *January* 1603, he ordered a Conference at *Hampton Court*, which that Prince, with many Bishops and Lords of his Council, held for three whole Days; during which Time the Puritans were heard, *John Reynolds*, Professor of Divinity in the University of *Oxford*, being Spokesman of the Meeting. At last the King, with the Consent of the Bishops, caused some Expressions of the Liturgy to be softened, in order to please those jealous People: And in the Rubrick of the Administration of Baptism in private Houses, where, in general Terms, all Sorts of Persons were indifferently allowed to baptize Children in Case of Necessity; that was limited to Curates, and such Persons as had a Call to the Ministry. 'Tis true the King himself had some Scruple about Laick Baptism, and spoke of the Baptism performed by Midwives with some Warmth: But the Bishops of *London* and *Winchester*, well versed in the Writings of the Fathers, removed all his Scruples about it, and represented to his Majesty, that the Custom was very antient, and to dispute the Validity of Laick Baptism, was arraigning the primitive Church;

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1635. whereupon the King was satisfied, and condemned all Sort of Anabaptism,
 & under whatsoever Pretence. For ever since, in *England*, Baptism admi-
 1636. nistered in due Form by any Person, has been reputed valid; and the *En-
 glish* Clergy contented themselves with saying, *Fieri non debuit, factum
 valet*. The Conference ended with a Request the King made to the Bi-
 shops, to set about a new Version of the Bible, complaining that he had
 never seen a good one of it; that that of the *English Geneva* Bible was
 the worst of all, and that its marginal Notes, in many Places, contained
 a false, scandalous, and seditious Doctrine.

THE Liturgy of *Scotland* was framed particularly according to the mo-
 dern Liturgy of *Elizabeth*, in adding to it something of *Edward's* first;
 of which there are some Copies still extant. The Puritans did not dislike
 to see that their Liturgy followed every where the Version of the Bible,
 commonly called King *James's*; whereas that of *England* for the most
 Part follows the vulgar Translation, especially in the *Psalms*, which are
 taken out of that ancient Expounder, whom the Puritans very much de-
 spise. Besides, they found another Alteration to the better, to wit, that
 the Epistle was more seldom taken out of the Books, which the Prote-
 stants look upon to be Apocryphal, according to the Canon of the *Jews*,
 than it is taken in the *English* Liturgy. But the other Differences seemed
 to them so important and essential, that, without insisting upon the Blef-
 sing of the baptismal Fonts, of which no Mention is made in the *English*
 Liturgy, they offered to shew that the whole Body of the Mass was to be
 found either expressly or virtually in the new *Scotish* Liturgy.

IN the first Place, they pitched upon the *Offertory*, which was left out
 of *Elizabeth's* Liturgy, and put in this of *Scotland*, where it was enjoined,
 that after singing the Nicene Creed, while the Priest officiating should
 read some Passages of the holy Scripture for the Offertory, the Deacon
 should receive the Offerings of the People in a Bason, and the Priest ha-
 ving presented it before the Lord, should afterwards set it upon the holy
 Table, with the Bread and Wine prepared for the Sacrament. " Then
 " he should say the Prayer of the Liturgy for the whole State of *Christ's*
 " Church, for the King, Bishops, Priests and Curates, and for all the
 " Necessities of the People, with a Thanksgiving for all those, who ha-
 " ving finished their Course in Faith, do now rest from their Labours, and
 " for the wonderful Grace and Virtue that God has declared in all his
 " Saints, who have been the choice Vessels of his Grace, and the Lights
 " of the World in their several Generations." The Service being ended,
 that which was offered was to be divided in two, one half for the Curate,
 and the other for the Poor.

IN the second Place, they were exceedingly startled at the blessing of
 the Elements, which are the Bread and Wine, which in the *Scotish* Liturgy
 is called the Prayer of Consecration, which the Priest was to say at such a
 Part of the holy Table, as he might freely and decently make Use of his
 two Hands; that is to say, they interpreted, standing before the Table, to
 be turning his Back to the People; because as the Table was to be placed
 at the upper End of the Quire, the Priest could not go out of the Place
 where he was at the left Hand of the Table, to be more commodious,
 than standing before the Table, where he could with all Freedom extend
 his Arms, and make the Sign of the Cross over the Elements; for they
 could not imagine, that the Liturgy meant any other free and decent Use
 of the Priest's Hands, but that. They likewise observed that the Priest,
 in

in reciting these Words of the Gospel, *He took Bread*, was obliged to take the Patten; in like Manner in saying, *He took the Cup*, to take the Chalice, and to put his Hand over as much Wine as he intended to consecrate, whether it were in a Chalice, or in a Flagon; whence they inferred that the Liturgy taught, that the Intention of the Person consecrating was necessary to the Validity of the Sacrament.

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BUT above all, they were frighted at the Words of the Prayer of Consecration. *Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and of thy almighty Goodness vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with thy Word and Holy Spirit these thy Gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son; which is not to be found in the English Liturgy, but only the following Words, Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee, and grant that we, receiving these thy Creatures of Bread and Wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy Institution, in Remembrance of his Death and Passion, may be Partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood.* These Expressions, in their Opinion, favoured of the Belief of Transubstantiation, which, said they, was plainly to be seen, as well by the Catholick Words, which the Priest was obliged to say at the Communion, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy Body and Soul unto everlasting Life, without what follows in the English Liturgy, And feed on him in thine Heart by Faith; as by the Answer of Amen, which the People was obliged to make to the Words of the Priest, according to the antient Custom of the Church.* Their jealousy increased at what was prescribed to the Priest, not to consecrate, but, as near as he could conjecture, what would be necessary for the Communion of the Congregation; that if it was needful to bring more Bread and Wine, the officiating Priest might pronounce the Words of Consecration over them, beginning at these Words, *who in the Night that he was betrayed, &c.* And if, after the Communion, there was any Remnants left, the Priest should cover them with a Corporal, and without suffering them to be carried out of the Church, should cause them to be made an End of by such Communicants as he should think fit to pitch upon for that Purpose.

IN the third Place, the Sacrifice seemed to them to be plainly discovered in the Prayer, which immediately followed the Consecration, which the Liturgy calls *the Prayer of Oblation*, in which the Priest said in Name of all the People: *We thy humble Servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy Gifts, the Memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make, having in Remembrance his blessed Passion, mighty Resurrection, and glorious Ascension, rendering unto thee most hearty Thanks for the innumerable Benefits procured unto us by the same. And we intirely desire thy fatherly Goodness, mercifully to accept this our Sacrifice of Praise, &c. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, our selves, our Souls and Bodies to be a reasonable, holy, and lively Sacrifice unto thee, humbly beseeching thee, that whosoever shall be Partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, and be filled with thy Grace and heavenly Benediction, and made one Body with him, that he may dwell in them, and they in him. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold Sins, to offer unto thee any Sacrifice: Yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden Duty and Service, not weighing our Merits, but pardoning our Offences.* The Prayer was concluded with the Lord's Prayer, with this Preamble, *we are bold to say, &c.* which seemed to them to mean, that because of the Propitiation made by the Sacrifice,

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we have the Boldness to call God our Father. In fine, they were afraid that the taking away of the Cup, might be insinuated in the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, which contained, that the Priests and Deacons shall first receive the Communion in both Kinds, and then the People in due Order; because it not being said in both Kinds, as in the *English* Liturgy, in their Opinion, it was an ambiguous and mysterious Expression.

BUT, that their Jealousy might appear to be well founded, and that no Levity of Belief might be imputed to them, they quoted many Passages of Divines, who had written upon these Matters, about that Time, with Approbation, in order to serve as a Commentary to the Text of the Liturgy. Doctor *Montague*, Bishop of *Chichester*, one of the most learned Men of the Age, was the first they quoted, who says, "That if Men were disposed for Peace, there needed no Dispute about the real Presence; because 'tis agreed on both Sides, that the Body of *Christ* is really present in the holy Sacrament, and all the Dispute is only about the Manner of that Presence: For Doctor *Andrews*, Bishop of *Winchester*, in writing against Cardinal *Bellarmin*, acknowledges, that they agree with the Catholics in the Object, and only dispute about the Manner, which they do not rashly define, but leave it among the Questions of the School, whether it be by Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation, and do not put it amongst the Articles of Faith, which ought not to be multiplied; because that Sacrament is a Mystery, nay a tremendous Mystery, the Residue of which ought to be consumed by Fire, that is to say, in the Allusion of the Fathers, adored by Faith, and not curiously pryed into by Reason." They likewise cited Doctor *Laurence*, who, conformably to these, teaches; "That he very much approves of those who express the Manner of the Presence in general and indefinite Terms; as, says he, this Expression, *Christ is there corporally*, displeaseth me; so this other, *His Body is not there*, displeaseth me no less; because St. *Paul*, the Church of *England*, and the Church of God, have always said, that the Body of *Christ* is in the Sacrament, truly, substantially, and essentially."

THEN, for the Sacrifice, they instanced Doctor *Heylon*, who says, "That as the Passion of our Saviour had by God's Appointment been prefigured to the *Jews* by the legal Sacrifices, before it happened; so by the Institution of our Saviour, it ought to be commemorated by us Christians in the holy Supper after it hath happened. It was a Sacrifice in Figure, a Sacrifice in the very Fact, and consequently a Sacrifice in the Memorial after it fell out. There was a Sacrifice amongst the *Jews*, and there must be one amongst the Christians: And if they have a Sacrifice, they must have Priests who sacrifice, and Altars to sacrifice upon; for without Priest and without Altar, no sacrifice can be made. There was then a bloody Sacrifice, now it is not bloody; a Priest then descended of *Aaron*, now descended of *Melchisedec*; an Altar then for the *Mosaick* Sacrifices, another now for the Gospel Sacrifices. At the Institution of the Sacrament, the Apostles were made Priests by *Jesus Christ*, and received a Power for themselves and Successors, to celebrate those holy Mysteries. That Commandment, *Do this*, is for the Priest, who has Power to consecrate; and this, *Take and eat*, is for the Priest and People."

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LASTLY, in order to avouch their Opinion of taking away the Cup, they brought in Doctor *White*, Bishop of *Ely*, who with *Montague* writes; "That the Communion in both Kinds had no other Foundation but the Tradition of the Church, and that it was commanded in no Place of the holy Scripture, no more than the Service in the vulgar Tongues": And because the Reservation of the holy Sacrament is an Argument for the present Practice of the Catholicks, the most learned Bishop *Andrews* was again brought upon the Stage, teaching; "That it could not be denied but the Reservation of the Sacrament had been long practised in the primitive Church: That in the Times of Persecution the People were suffered to carry out of the Church such a Portion of the Sacrament as they desired; to keep it by them, and to take it from Time to Time for their Consolation: But it was always sent to the Sick, though at never so great a Distance; it was likewise thought fit to keep it for pressing Occasions, that if the Priest was not in a Condition to go to consecrate in the sick Person's House, the Sacrament might at least be kept ready to be sent thither.

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'TIS certain that all these Additions and Alterations in the Order of the *English* Liturgy, proceeded not from the Inclinations of the Bishops of *Scotland*, who loved rather to have something retrenched, than to add any Thing to it; besides, they had put up a Petition to the King, that he would be pleased to leave it to the Discretion of the Ministers to make or not to make the sign of the Cross in the Administration of Baptism; to make Use of the Ring in Marriage, or to leave it off; and to read the Lessons of the Books which the Protestants look upon to be Apocryphal, or not to read them: To all which the King seemed to be inclined. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom the King trusted with all the ecclesiastical Affairs of the three Kingdoms, full of Zeal for Pomp and Ceremony in the divine Service, and wanting to see in all his Majesty's Dominions a Liturgy the nearest to the antient, that the protestant Communion could bear, drew up Memorials himself of all the Matters and Form of the Liturgy, and made the Bishops of *Scotland* approve of them. But as there is Danger in all Changes that Men undertake to make in Religion, as well as in the State; the Archbishop undervalued too much the Difficulties he had to meet with from the *Scots*, who are generally more rigid and scrupulous in Matters of Faith and Worship, than the *English*: For these being already accustomed to the Body of the Liturgy, it ought to have been their Business to shew the Way to their Neighbours, in what was new: Besides, it may be said, that that Prelate did not enough consider, that the new Liturgy would be the more suspected by the Puritans, that he had a Hand in it: For they were persuaded, that the Archbishop was about re-establishing the Catholick Religion in *England*. And to demonstrate to all the World, that it was not a whimsical Notion, and that they did not accuse him wrongfully, a *Scots* Minister wrote a Pamphlet, intitled, *The Conviction of the Canterburians by their own Depositions*, wherein having collected from the Writings of that Prelate, and of the most eminent Bishops and Doctors, who, he said, were of his Faction, many Passages upon controverted Points, which expressed a great deal of Conformity of Belief with the Catholick Doctrine in Things precisely belonging to Faith, that Piece was subscribed by the Clerk of the National Synods of *Scotland*, and presented to the Parliament assembled in *England*.

'TIS not to be doubted, but that Archbishop intended to grub up what he thought was the Tare of Puritanism from the Field of *England*. But

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1635. he was so far from having any Thoughts of re-establishing the Catholick
 & Communion there, that, on the contrary, he hoped by that outward Face
 1636. he put upon every Thing, and which very much resembled the primitive
 Church; and by preaching up a Moderation in Opinions, to which the
English have been more inclined than the other Protestants, ever since
 King *James* ordered the Heads of the most famous Universities of *Oxford*
 and *Cambridge*, to admonish the Students of Divinity, to begin their Stu-
 dies by the reading of the holy Fathers, and not of the modern foreign
 Divines, who maintain Maxims contrary both to the Political and Eccle-
 siastical Government of *England*. The Archbishop, I say, by these two
 Means hoped to bring over the Catholicks of that Kingdom to the *English*
 Communion, and to break that Bond of Unity which ties them to St.
Peter's See, the Center and Form of the Catholick Communion. It was
 no less in Favour of these than of the most moderate of his own Commu-
 nion, that he retrenched and altered some Thing for the better, in the
 publick Service, wherein there were some Expressions that gave Offence
 to both of them. He struck out of the Prayer for the King these Words;
Thou, Lord, who art the God of thy Elect, and of their Seed, at the Time
 that the King had no Children; but they laid to his Charge, that it was
 because he believed, that no Man without Temerity could presume upon
 his Predestination. In like Manner he retrenched this Part of one of the
 Prayers for fasting Days; *Thou hast delivered us from Superstition and Ido-*
latry, in which we were quite sunk, and hast led us into the most clear Light
of thy holy Word, whereby we have been taught how we must serve and ho-
nour thee, and how we ought to live with our Neighbour in Peace and
Truth, &c. Because this Prayer left no Room for having a charitable
 Opinion of their Ancestors, who had died in the Catholick Communion,
 if it was true, that they were sunk in Idolatry and Superstition. The Arch-
 bishop likewise altered in the Prayers of the Anniversary of the Gun-pow-
 der Treason on the Fifth of *November*, these Words; *Destroy, O Lord,*
that Babylonish and Antichristian Sect, who say of Jerusalem, let her be
destroyed, &c, whose Religion is Rebellion, and their Faith, Faction, &c. into
 these; *Destroy that Babylonish and Antichristian Sect of those who say, &c.*
who turn Religion into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction, &c. For these
 Words may be applied to all bad Subjects of what Religion soever they
 be; whereas the first, meaning the Catholicks, are false; for the Catho-
 lick Religion teacheth equally the Fear of God, and the Honour due to
 the Prince, and never suffers, under any Pretence whatsoever, that the
 first Table of the Law should break the second. So that if some particu-
 lar Persons have exceeded those Bounds, the Religion is still innocent,
 and cannot justly be called Rebellion, because of these Excesses, no more
 than the dangerous Maxims of *Buchanan*, and of him who wrote under
 the Name of *Junius Brutus*; nor those of some other Protestants upon that
 Subject, ought to be imputed to the Protestant Religion.

BUT whatever the Intentions of that excellent Man were, Posterity
 will hardly believe, that the *English*, formerly the *Benjamins* of the Fa-
 ther, and the *Josepbs* among their Brethren, had so much forgotten the
 eminent Piety and great Worth of their Ancestors, of so many Saints and
 famous Doctors, which that Nation has given to the Church, as to have
 imbrued their Hands in the Blood of their high Priest, and sacrificed to
 their Passions so illustrious a Head, that neither the Innocency of his Life,
 altogether exemplary, nor his venerable old Age, were able to soften
 them. As his Learning was eminent, his Morals were very strict; and
 it might be added, that he was a Bishop indued with the Spirit and Vi-
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gour of St. *Ambrose*, if, with the Brother of that Saint, he had believed that the Catholick Bishops are those who have Communion with the Bishop of *Rome*.

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THE Liturgy of *Scotland* having been framed in this Manner, the Bishops desired of the King, that it might be published by his Authority; and the Mal-contents themselves, who knew very well, that it would prove the Stumbling-block, and that the whole Storm would fall upon the Bishops and their Adherents, lent a helping Hand in it. Whereupon the King, it having the Approbation of the Bishops; and besides, being informed that it would be well received without the least Opposition in *Scotland*, dispatched Letters to his Council, for authorizing and establishing the Liturgy. The King's Letters were entered into the Register without the least Exception, by the unanimous Consent of all the Council, and his Majesty's Proclamation was afterwards published by Sound of Trumpet at *Edinburgh*, and all the other royal Boroughs, the 20th of *December* 1636, as followeth; " That the King having fundry Times, since his going down to *Scotland*, recommended to the Bishops of that his antient Kingdom, to set about the forming of a publick Liturgy, which he was desirous should be uniformly observed over all the Kingdom: That Liturgy being now finished, though he did not doubt but all his Subjects, as well Ecclesiasticks as Laicks, would receive it with all Submission; nevertheless judging it necessary to make known to all, that it having been his Will and Pleasure to authorize it, he had ordered his Privy Council to publish his Proclamation, whereby he commanded all his Subjects, of what Condition soever they were, to conform themselves to that Form of publick Prayers, which by the Advice of his Bishops, he judged to be most convenient for regulating the divine Service in the Kingdom: In like Manner he ordained all Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and other Ecclesiasticks, to take Care that all pay due Obedience, and that the Disobedient be severely punished, and that each Kirk-Session * * *Vestry*. have two Copies at least, before *Easter-Day* of the following Year, for the Use of the Parish.

BUT in order still the more to dispose the Minds of the People for the Reception of the Liturgy, the reading of it was delayed to the Month of *July*, and it was ordained, that it should be begun in the City of *Edinburgh*, that the Lords of *Session*, who were to break up the End of that Month, and the Nobility that were in Town about their Affairs at that Time, might be present, and give an Account in their several Countries, how the Liturgy had been received. On the 16th of the Month, the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, after the Forenoon's Sermon, acquainted the People, that the *Sunday* following the Liturgy would be publickly read in all the Parishes of the City. All that Week passed without the least Appearance of Discontent, either among the Ministers, or People; insomuch that it was thought the Liturgy would be received with great Applause. But on *Sunday* the 23^d, as the Bishop, in the Cathedral, and some Ministers, in the Parish Churches, had begun the Morning Prayers; a great many of the People in all the Churches rose up, and made such a Noise, and were so insolent, throwing Chairs against the Pews of the Clergy, that the Magistrates had Difficulty to appease the Tumult; and in Spite of them, the People were so enraged, that the Bishop was assaulted by the Rabble in going out of the Church; and in all Probability had been murdered, if the Earl of *Weems* had not quickly sent some Men, in order to rescue and carry him to a House near the same Church.

A COUN-

1637.

A COUNCIL was held betwixt Sermons, in order to prevent the like Disturbance at the Evening Prayers, which were read much more peaceably, because of the Guards that had been placed at the Gates of the Churches: Notwithstanding which, the People who had assembled in the Streets, insulted the Ministers as they came out of the Church, and the Bishop was very near being stoned and torn in Pieces, though he was in the Earl of *Roxburgh's* Coach, who was then Keeper of the Privy Seal, whom the Council had sent for to *Leith*, where he had been at Sermon that Morning. It was observed that some of the Officers of the Crown, and of the highest Rank in the King's Council, who by their Presence ought to have countenanced the publick Reading of the Liturgy which they had approved of, had absented themselves from the Church that Day, contrary to their Custom. That gave the Bishops Reason to suspect, that this Infurrection of the People had not happened by Accident, but that some of the great Men of the Kingdom had had a Hand in it. The Magistrates and head Men of the City laying the Blame of all the Disorder upon the Populace, wrote their Sense of it in most respectful Terms to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and the next Morning having met with the Council, in order to deliberate upon Means for finding out the Heads of the Commotion, and bringing them to condign Punishment, they offered in a very handsome Manner their Authority and Credit in the City for having the King obeyed, testifying very great Readiness to give his Majesty Satisfaction.

BUT soon after, as some Persons of Quality, in Concert with many Ministers, had presented a Petition to the Council, craving, that the Use of the Liturgy might be suspended till the King should be more fully informed of it; the Council ordered, that the Bishops should not urge the reading of it, till his Majesty had received that Petition, and declared his Mind more fully upon it. It was then, that some of the Council themselves began to declare openly against the Liturgy, which before they had approved of; amongst the rest Sir *Thomas Hope*, the King's Advocate, who made Use of an Evasion that was very ridiculous, saying, "That by his Consent to the Liturgy, he meant not an active, but a passive Obedience; and that he had no Thoughts of accepting it, but of suffering in condemning it."

AT this Time it was given out in the City of *Edinburgh*, that *Alexander Henderson*, a famous Minister among the Puritans, and the Soul of the Presbyterian Party, with many other Ministers that had opposed the Liturgy, desired to confer with the Bishops, and to give Reasons for their Opposition. The Earls of *Traquair*, *Roxborough*, and *Southesk* acquainted the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and the other Bishops that were then in Town with it, and begged of them to humour the Ministers in that, because that Conference would quiet the Minds of the People, and prevent new Disorders. The Bishops answered; That it was not reasonable to bring their Authority in Question, or to submit to a Dispute, the Liturgy that had been approved by the supreme Authority of the Kingdom, both Ecclesiastical and Political. That nevertheless for the Sake of Peace, they would accept the Conference, and having drawn up the Conditions of it, which these Lords thought reasonable to be sent to the King, that his Majesty might give his Consent to them, the Earl of *Southesk* desired, that they would allow him to communicate them to the Ministers, who demanded the Conference. These having seen them, the Earl reported to the Bishops, that the Ministers declined the Conference, but with one

Voice demanded a National Assembly. The Nobility, indeed, blamed the Ministers for having gone from their first Demand, but they kept still united with them in the Main of the Affair, and in the Pursuit of the Assembly. 1637.

ABOUT the Middle of *October* the Harvest being over, a great Number, as well of the Nobility, as of the Ministers and People, having come to *Edinburgh*, in order to learn what Answer the King had made to their Petition; a Proclamation was published the 17th, ordering all those that had come to the City, to leave it in twenty four Hours, under the Pain of high Treason; and because the Inhabitants of that City had opposed the Reading of the Liturgy, and had offered Violence to their Bishop, the Court of Sessions was removed for six Months to *Linlithgow*, a Town twelve Miles distant from *Edinburgh*, where there is a fine royal Palace, situate upon a Lake full of Fish; and afterwards to *Dundee*, a Town in the Shire of *Angus*, situate on the Banks of the River of *Tay*, there to continue during his Majesty's Pleasure. *The King supports the Liturgy, and removes the Court of Sessions from Edinburgh.*

THE Petitioners were sensibly touched at this Proclamation, and the next Morning having got together in great Numbers, they went in Crowds, some to the Town-Council, others to that of his Majesty, requiring them to join in declaring against the Liturgy, and to allow the Ministers *Andrew Ramsay* and *Henry Rollok* to resume their Charges in *Edinburgh*, from which they had been suspended by the Council, for having refused to read the Liturgy; and to restore *Patrick Henderson*, a Laick Reader, to his Office. These Demands were made with so much Commotion, that the People, who naturally have a great deal of Zeal for Religion, exceeded the Bounds of Respect that Day, and kept the Council in a Manner besieged, till the Nobility of the same Party quieted the Tumult. After this was over, and that the Inhabitants had retired to their Houses, the Petitioners presented a Petition against the Bishops, wherein they accused them of having abused the King's Authority, in order to surprize his Subjects, in imposing upon them, contrary to the Laws, a Form of idolatrous Service, and a Book of Canons, which gave the Bishops an absolute Power to change the Religion at their Pleasure. The Petitioners demanded Justice of these Attempts, and in Case the Council would not consent, till the King should be first informed of it; they begged that at least their Petition might be sent to his Majesty, who would be so good as to do them Justice.

THE King having received the Petition, with an Account of all that had passed, he was highly offended, and thought fit to delay declaring himself upon the Matter, according as he should see the Behaviour of the Petitioners, who, in their Petition to his Majesty had taken no Notice of the Disorders of the 18th of *October*. The King only ordered his Council to inform his Subjects of his Aversion to all Abuse and Superstition in Religion, and that he had no Intention to do any Prejudice to the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom: Which was done by a Proclamation published at *Linlithgow* the 7th of *December*.

AT the same Time, the King sent for the Earl of *Traquair*, Lord High Treasurer, whom his Majesty soon sent back with Instructions, and a Proclamation, which the Earl caused to be published in the Month of *February* 1638, in the Town of *Stirling*, where his Majesty's Council was then held. The Proclamation was, " That the Liturgy had been com-

1638. " posed by the exprefs Command of his Majesty. That he condemned
 " all those tumultuary Proceedings of his Subjects, by Petitions and Com-
 " plaints against the innocent Bishops: That all those that had subscribed
 " them, were Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity: That he pardoned
 " all those that should retract what they had done, and should continue
 " in their Obedience, and declared guilty of Rebellion such as should per-
 " sist in it; promising still to comply with the just and humble Remon-
 " strances of all his Subjects, provided they kept within the Bounds of
 " Respect and Obedience: That except the Inhabitants, and the Dome-
 " sticks of the Lords of the Council, all others that were in the Town,
 " should depart within six Hours after the Publication of the Proclama-
 " tion, under the Pain of high Treason." After the Proclamation had
 been published, the Earls of *Hume* and *Crawford* protested against it in
 the Name of all the Petitioners. The Tenor of their Protestation was;
 " That the Liturgy was full of Idolatry and Superstition, and ought not
 " to be imposed upon them without the Approbation of a National As-
 " sembly, which ought to determine these Matters: That it was a mani-
 " fest Injustice to deny them the Liberty of accusing the Bishops who were
 " guilty of great Crimes: That until they had cleared themselves, they
 " did not acknowledge them for Judges, either in Temporals or Spirituals;
 " and they protested against all that should be decreed in Council, while
 " the Bishops sat there, as void: That the *High-Commission* was a tyran-
 " nical Usurpation: That all their Petitions and Meetings were lawful,
 " having been done with no other Design, but for maintaining the Glory
 " of God, the Honour of his Majesty, and the Liberties of the Kingdom."
 This Protestation being publickly read at *Stirling*, a Copy of it was posted
 up upon a Stake in the Market Place. It was reported over all the King-
 dom, that, in Consequence of this Protestation, which, some Days after,
 was repeated at *Linlithgow* and *Edinburgh*, some of the Petitioners were
 transported with so much Fury, that they run headlong to pull the Arch-
 bishop of *St. Andrews*, with the Bishops of *Galloway* and *Brechin*, out of
 their Lodgings, in order to put them to Death, had it not been that the
 Earl of *Rothes* and some other Lords, though declared Enemies of the Bi-
 shops, abhorring the wicked Attempt, vigorously opposed that Outrage.

THE Petitioners went from *Stirling* to *Edinburgh*, where having drawn
 together a vast Multitude of all Sorts of Persons, in order to deliberate
 upon so pressing an Affair, they resolved to enter into a strict Union and
 Confederacy together, which they called the *Covenant*. This Covenant
 consisted of three Heads, the first was a renewing of the Oath that their
 Forefathers had taken, to defend, as well the Purity of Religion, as
 the King's Person and Rights, against the Usurpations of *Rome*, and to ad-
 here inviolably to the Confession of Faith, which was drawn up in the
 Year 1580, confirmed by a National Assembly and the Estates of Parlia-
 ment in 1581, and by an Order of Council subscribed by all Sorts of Per-
 sons in 1590. The Confession contains, in very bitter and injurious Terms,
 a disavowing of all the Articles, which the Protestants of the Communion
 of *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* reject in the Catholick Faith, and expresses not
 what they positively believe, (which is to be found in another ample Con-
 fession, not unlike that of the *Swiss*, which is inserted in the Acts of Par-
 liament) but what they do not believe, which they condemn with execra-
 ble Words. The second Head contained a Recital of all the Acts of Par-
 liament made in *Scotland* for maintaining the Religion, reformed after
 their Manner, as well in Discipline, as in Doctrine. The third contained
 an Engagement to four Things. " 1. Not to practise any more the Cere-
 " monies

monies newly introduced into the Administration of the Sacraments, nor to approve the ecclesiastical Government by Bishops, nor their Seat and Voice in the Parliament and Courts of Justice, until a free Meeting of an Assembly and Parliament had decided these Matters. 2. To detest and abhor all those Novelties, which, among the other Popish Points, are abjured in the Confession of Faith, because having seriously examined them, (which was plainly anticipating the Judgement both of the Assembly and Parliament) they had found that they tended to the Re-establishment of the *Romish* Religion and Tyranny, and that they were manifestly contrary to the Intention of the Reformers of Religion in *Scotland*, and to the very Words of the Confession of Faith, which ought to be understood of all those Innovations, no less than each of them had been therein particularly expressed. 3. To take a solemn Oath, that all and every one in his Profession, shall defend the King's Person and Authority, as his Majesty shall defend the Religion, Liberties, and Laws of the Kingdom, and that they shall mutually defend one another in maintaining this Cause, against all Persons whatsoever. 4. Seriously to reform themselves, their Families, Lives, and Manners, as it became People that had renewed the Covenant with God.

THE King was very much displeased with this Covenant, which his Majesty condemned as a rash, and unlawful Action, tending to an open Rebellion, alledging; 1. That the Covenanters had no Authority to enter into that League, nor to require an Oath of one another. 2. That although they had a lawful Authority to renew the Oath, they could not interpret it according to the present State of their Affairs, it being most certain, that to interpret a Law requires no less Authority, than that from whence it proceeded. 3. That it was a presumptuous Undertaking, to add any Thing to the Oath, and to enter into a defensive League against all those that should oppose them, without any Exception whatsoever: Lastly, that all Leagues amongst Subjects, without the Consent and Approbation of the King, were declared seditious and criminal by the ninth Parliament of *Queen Mary*, and by the tenth of *King James*. The Covenanters answered to all these Exceptions of the King, and that Dispute occasioned many Discourses, which were published on both Sides, wherein the Power of Princes and the Liberties of the People were fully treated.

BUT notwithstanding all the King's Declarations against the Covenant, it was subscribed in the Month of *February* by all those that were present in the City of *Edinburgh*, from whence Copies of it were sent through the Shires, where every Body subscribed it with so much Eagerness, that before the End of *April*, a Man was scarce reckoned a Protestant, who had not subscribed the Covenant. Nevertheless, not only the Catholics, with all those of the Clergy that adhered to the Bishops, refused it, but likewise many of those that were in publick Employments, did the same. There was also some Opposition from the Universities, especially that of *Aberdeen*, which started many Difficulties about it, which afforded Matter for a long Dispute amongst their Divines: And from that Time forward the Kingdom was divided into two Parties, under the Name of *Covenanters*, and *Anticovenanters*, like the *Guelfs* and *Ghibellins*.

THE King taking this formed Division much to Heart, called some Lords of his Council to Court, in order to deliberate upon Means for extinguishing this Fire, which threatened the Kingdom with a Civil War. At the same Time the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and some other Bishops, went

The King sends the Duke of Hamilton to Scotland.

1638.

went thither likewise. After a long Consultation, it was resolved to agree the Quarrel amicably, and not to make use of Force, but at the last Extremity. Whereupon the King having given Commission with full Power to the Duke of *Hamilton* to compose the Difference, and to act with the same Power as if his Majesty were there in Person, he sent him his *High Commissioner* into *Scotland*, accompanied with those Members of his Council. The Duke having staid some Time, and assembled his Majesty's Council at *Dalkeith*, four Miles from *Edinburgh*, he arrived there in the Month of *June*, with a great Retinue of Attendants that had gone to meet him, in which were the greatest Part of the Ministers of the Kingdom. The Duke, in order to soften the Minds of the People, which he found very much exasperated, wrote to the King, to allow the Council, the Session, and the other Courts of Justice to return to *Edinburgh*, whose Absence had created a great deal of Uneasiness in that City; which being very readily obtained, by express Order of his Majesty, he treated with the Covenanters about renouncing their Covenant; and gave them to understand, that they could not otherwise expect to obtain a National Assembly, which they so passionately desired, for regulating their ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE Covenanters made Answer, that that could not be done without manifest Perjury, and an abominable Profanation of the Name of God: But because the King had taken the Covenant to be a Conspiracy against the royal Authority, and made a heavy Complaint, that in their Engagement of a mutual Defence against all Sorts of Persons, the Person of his Majesty and of his Successors were not excepted in it, they presented to the Duke an ample Remonstrance in Form of an Explication of the Covenant, wherein they declared in Terms full of Respect, never to have had the least Thought, to undertake any Thing for breaking in upon, or lessening in the least the Dignity and Authority of his Majesty.

AFTER the Negotiation was broke off, without being able to conclude any Thing, the Covenanters begged of the Duke, that at his Return to Court, he would present their Petition to the King. But before he set out, in the Month of *July* he caused to be published a royal Proclamation, whereby the King declared, " That he would maintain the Protestant Religion, and that he would no more press the Liturgy, or the Books of Canons and Ordination, but by lawful Means: That he would reform the Court of High Commission, and speedily give Orders for the calling of an Assembly, and the meeting of a Parliament." The Covenanters immediately upon that read publickly their Protestation, which was to this Effect; " That they had never doubted of his Majesty's Sincerity, in the Profession of the Protestant Religion: That what the King had granted them, was not a sufficient Remedy for the present Distemper, because he did not abolish the Liturgy, nor the High Commission, both which having been imposed upon them contrary to the Laws: That their Meetings ought not to be condemned in abusive Terms, they being lawful: And that they would never break them up till the Purity of Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom should be well established by a National and free Assembly." The Duke set out with a Design to return to the Kingdom before the 5th of *August*, and having found the King at *Greenwich*, he delivered him the Covenanters Petition, and received new Instructions from his Majesty, with which he went to *Scotland* before the Day appointed.

THE Duke forthwith presented to the Covenanters eleven Articles from the King, to which his Majesty would have them agree, in order to obtain an Assembly, and a meeting of Parliament. The Articles were, 1638.
Eleven Articles presented to the Covenanters from the King.

“ 1. That the Ministers that had been deposed, or suspended by the Presbyteries, since the first of *February* last, without Warrant of the Ordinary, should return to their Charges, wherein they should not be disturbed, but after having been convicted by the Forms of Justice, of the Crimes they had been accused of. 2. That the Moderators of the Presbyteries, who had been turned out of their Offices since the aforesaid Day without Warrant of the Ordinary, should be restored; and all those that the Presbyteries had put in their Places, should desist from performing that Duty. 3. That the Ministers who had been received by the Presbyteries, since the aforesaid Day, should abstain from performing that Function. 4. That all the People should frequent their own Churches, and hear their own Ministers; and that the Elders should assist the Ministers in the Kirk-Sessions, in all the Exercises of Discipline, according to the Custom heretofore observed. 5. That the Bishops and Ministers should be regularly and peaceably paid their Revenues and Stipends. 6. That the Ministers should retire to their Cures, and that none of them should come to the Assembly, but such as shall be chosen Commissioners from the Presbyteries. 7. That according to the Act of Assembly 1606, which declares the Moderators of Presbyteries to be necessary Members of the Assembly, they should be all deputed to the Assembly from their Presbyteries. 8. That the Bishops and Ministers, who shall attend the Assembly, should be safe, both in their Persons and Honour. 9. That the Commissioners from Presbyteries should be chosen by the Ministers of that Presbytery only: And that no Laick, of what Quality soever, should meddle in it. 10. That all Meetings should be broke up, and that every one retiring to his own Home, should abstain from every Thing that might in the least trouble the Peace of the Kingdom. Lastly, that seeing the King was still displeased with the Covenant, and that the Respect they owe his Majesty required, that some Course be taken, whereby he might receive some Satisfaction therein; in the mean Time no body should be pressed to sign the Covenant, and that the Ministers should not mention it in their Pulpits.”

The Covenanters made Answer to all these Propositions; “ That they could not be judge of those which concerned the Power and the Actions of Presbyteries, nor determine whether their Proceedings were just or not; but that these very Presbyteries being subject to the Provincial and National Assemblies, it was very reasonable, that if they could not give an Account of their Proceedings to the National Assembly, and make it appear, that they were conformable to the Rule of the Holy Scripture, and to the ordinary Practice of this Church; they should undergo the Punishment and Censure they had deserved: That because from all Hands there were several Complaints against the Bishops, for having incroached upon the Presbyteries, on Account of their Disobedience to the Bishops, that Matter of Complaint ought not to be a Hinderance to the calling of a general Assembly, but ought rather to be a powerful Motive for calling it, since 'tis the Assembly alone, that ought to judge and determine all Things controverted in the Church: That it belonged to the Presbyteries, to which both the Elders and Parishioners are subject, to take Cognizance of the Cause of Disorder, which might proceed from the Ministers, as well as from the Parishioners, who ought all to

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“ comply

The Covenanters Answer to the eleven Articles.

1638. “ comply with the Orders of the Presbyteries, until the meeting of a general Assembly, the discontinuing of which occasioned great Disorder, both in the Presbyteries and Parishes: That the Bishops and Ministers might have Recourse to the Laws, for what regarded their Revenues and Stipends, and that Complaints of that Nature ought not to be a Hinderance to the calling of an Assembly. That no Ministers should come to the Assembly, or the Place where it shall sit, but such as should be Commissioners, or who otherwise should be so far interested to be there, that his Excellency and the Assembly should rest satisfied about it: That the Act of the Assembly of 1606, which has not been acknowledged as lawful, meant perpetual Moderators, which have ceased long since; and that it belonged to the Assembly it self to judge of what Members it ought to be composed: That as for them, they obliged themselves not to do any Violence either to the Bishops or Ministers; that, on the contrary, they would do their utmost to prevent it. That as they had never met with any other Design, but in order to find out Remedies for the Mischiefs that threatened the Church and State with Desolation; they could not break off their Meetings, where they behaved themselves as faithful Subjects, until the Distempers of both were cured: That they believed they had given his Excellency invincible Reasons, why they could not depart from, nor alter the Covenant without offending God, and wounding their Consciences: That they passionately wished, that the King and all his Subjects were Partakers of the Comfort they had received by that holy League, and they believed that they were bound in Conscience, to persuade all his Majesty’s good Subjects to join with them for the good of Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom: That as they did not invite their Brethren to sign the Covenant, but with all Meekness, without forcing or threatening the meanest Person, they hoped his Majesty would have no Reason to be dissatisfied with them on that Account.

THIS being all the Answer that the Duke could get from the Covenanters, and lest they should call an Assembly without the King’s Consent, he was very earnest with them not to undertake any Thing, till he should return to his Majesty, in order to consult with him about Means that might satisfy them as to their Demand of an Assembly, which he obtained of them with great Difficulty, provided, however, that he should return to *Scotland* before the 22 of *September*, upon Failure of which it should be lawful for them to take Care of their Affairs. In the mean Time a solemn Fast was celebrated in *Scotland*, and the Covenanters, not expecting the calling of an Assembly by the King, so soon as they thought the State of their Affairs required, published a Treatise, shewing, that the Church, in the like Circumstance, could take Care of her self: That the Power of calling an Assembly in Case the Prince be an Enemy to Truth, or negligent in advancing the good of the Church, is in the Church her self; and that the Protestant Communion of *Scotland* was obliged to act in that Manner in the State it then was; when after so many Errors and Abuses that had crept into Religion, *Arminianism* was openly preached in the Pulpits; by *Arminianism*, they meant the Doctrine of *James Arminius*, Professor at *Leyden*, concerning Predestination and Grace, which has divided the Communion of *Calvin* in the *Low Countries*, and has much imbroiled it in other Places. ’Tis very true there is a Dispute in the Church about these profound Mysteries, and that the Catholics quarrel together thereupon with too much heat; but, however, without any Danger of Schism, because both Parties inviolably adhere to the Center of Unity,

Unity, and receiving with Respect and Submission the Decisions that come from the principal Church, which is the Mother of all the rest, and where the Principality of the Apostolical See has always flourished, they hold their Peace, when the Bishop, who has that supreme Direction, commands Silence.

1638.

THESE Complaints of the Covenanters were fully set forth in a Discourse, which was published, *of the Necessity of Assemblies*, wherein Care was taken to insert Answers to the Reasons that might be alledged for the King's Prerogative. The Difficulty that pinched them most, proceeded from an Act of Parliament made in 1606, wherein the calling of Assemblies is put amongst the royal Prerogatives, to which they answered;

1. "That there was a Difference betwixt a solemn calling, by way of Citation, and publick Authority, and a voluntary meeting by Way of Request and Advice: That the first belonged to the King, and could not be done by any other Person without Usurpation, because it belonged to *Moses* alone to sound the Trumpet; but that the second was in the Power of the Church. 2. That a Distinction must likewise be made between a positive Power of calling Assemblies, and a negative and destructive Power: That by the Act, the first belonged to the King, but not the last, because the Act explains only by what Right the King had Power to call Assemblies, but gave him no new Power, which might derogate from the Liberties that God has given his Church, which has none more valuable, than that of having Power to meet: And that although that Axiom were true, that whoever has a Right not to will, has a Right to will, yet the reciprocal was not always so; that whoever has a Right to will, has a Right not to will. Lastly, that to take the Act aright, nothing is meant by it, but the Calling made with Respect to some particular Circumstances of Time and Place, as was plain by the Act of Parliament made in 1592, which leaves the Church at Liberty, when those Circumstances are not determined by the King. The Covenanters had not the least Regard to the Interest of the Bishops in the Assembly; and this Difficulty, that the Church is in the Bishop, and that the Assembly of Prelates is the Representative of the Church, gave them no Uneasiness; because, said they, the Bishops of *Scotland* had no more Right to represent the Church, than a handful of Inhabitants, that should turn Robbers, would have to represent the Corporation of the Town; or a Tumor that should render the Body monstrous, to represent the Body."

THE Duke having found the King altogether disposed, not only to satisfy the Desires of the Covenanters, but also to undeceive them of their Apprehensions, he made so much Haste, that he arrived sooner than he was expected. Immediately upon his Arrival at *Edinburgh*, a Proclamation was published, which the Duke thought must needs satisfy the Covenanters to the full. The chief Points of the Proclamation were;

"That the King annulled all the Acts of Council in Favour of the Li-
 "turgy and Book of Canons: That he suspended the Court of High Com-
 "mission: That no Person should be any more obliged to observe the five
 "Articles of the Synod of *Perth*: That the Bishops should be subject to
 "the Censure of an Assembly: That the Ministers at their Admission to
 "the Ministry, should be obliged to take no other Oath, but what is or-
 "dered by Parliament; That the Confession of Faith made in the Year
 "1580, should be signed by all the Kingdom: That his Majesty should
 "call a General Assembly to be held at *Glasgow* the 21st of November
 "this

*The King's
 Proclamation
 in Favour of
 the Covenant-
 ers.*

1638. “ this Year 1638, and a Parliament at *Edinburgh* the 15th of *May* of the following Year; And that, for the Sake of Peace, he should forget all that had passed.” All the Lords of the Council were extreamly pleased with this Proclamation, and highly commended the King’s Goodness and Piety, in having taken the true Method for preserving the Purity of Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom. These same Lords, in the Letter of Thanks which they wrote to the King, made an Offer to his Majesty of their Lives and Fortunes, for defending his sacred Person, and his royal Authority in the Profession of that Confession of Faith of 1580, which, they all solemnly signed after the Duke, who represented the King, and afterwards they appointed Commissioners in the Shires, for seeing it sworn to, and signed by all the Subjects of the Kingdom. The moderate Covenanters were satisfied with the Expressions of the King’s Will in the Proclamation that had been published, and in many Places they signed that Confession anew, which from that Time began to be called *the King’s Covenant*.

The rigid Covenanters protest against the Proclamation.

BUT the rigid Covenanters did not comply with the Proclamation, they thought that it tacitly condemned their preceding Actions, and deprived them of the Liberty of an Assembly. Therefore distrusting, as they said, not the King’s Sincerity, but of those who were in Favour about his Majesty, whose Advice they suspected, they drew up a long Protestation, and delivered a Copy of it to the King’s Herald. The Purport of it was; “ That what the King had granted them did not remove their just Fears and Apprehensions, and was not sufficient for curing the Wound of the State and Church: That his Majesty called their Fear a panick Terror, which was founded upon a real Change both of Religion and Laws, by introducing a Worship and ecclesiastical Government altogether Popish: That the King, in his Letters to the Council, having formerly so much cried up those Forms of Service and Government, they could not be satisfied with a bare Suspension of their Use, if his Majesty did not formally condemn them: That the General Assembly was deprived of its just Liberty, as well in the Election of its Members, as in the Matters that were to be treated there; for the King by his Proclamation ordered the Bishops to be there, though they ought not to be admitted without a Deputation from the Presbyteries, nor until they had declared, that they would make no Innovations in Religion, although it was in the Power of the Assemblies to abolish all ecclesiastical Laws that should be found prejudicial to the Church, and a stumbling Block to the People: That the Bishops being subjected by his Majesty to the Censure of the Assembly, they ought to appear there, not to have a Seat and Voice, but as Criminals, in order to answer to the Accusations that had been, or should be brought against them: That by the King’s Proclamation annexed to this Protestation, the Bishops should be duly cited to appear in the Quality of Criminals before the Assembly: That they could not anew sign the Confession of the Year 1580, in the Terms it was proposed, because that would be stinting too much the Covenant they had made; and its defensive League being cut off, the Covenant would be quite defeated; but though that Disappointment should not follow, there would still be Harm in multiplying Oaths to no Purpose, and playing with them as Children do with their Puppets: That the Papists would take Occasion from that, to continue still to upbraid them with changing their Religion monthly: That the other reformed Churches would be surprized at their Levity, if, in the same Year, their Confession of Faith should come forth, one while very full, “ mentioning

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“ mentioning many Abuses they had abjured; another while, much a-
“ bridged in more general and indefinite Terms, which would make the
“ World believe, that they had repented their having gone too great a
“ Length the first Time: That as, of Necessity, they must either abso-
“ lutely refuse the Oath, or take it according to the Intention of the Power
“ that imposed it, it was evident that the King had no other Design in
“ imposing this new Oath, but to oblige every Person to maintain the Re-
“ ligion as it is at present professed in the Kingdom, and consequently, as
“ it comprehends Episcopacy and the Innovations introduced since the
“ Reformation: So that in taking this new Oath, they would be forced,
“ but contrary to the former and to Truth, to acknowledge that the Li-
“ turgy and the Canons are not Innovations in Religion: That though
“ they were forbidden by the Proclamation, yet if they should, in any
“ Manner, declare that the Liturgy and Canons were not contrary to the
“ Confession of Faith, in a little Time these very Books, or some such
“ others, might be imposed upon them: That though there be no more
“ Difference between the Confession they had just now signed, and that
“ which was signed in 1580, than there is between the Old and New
“ Testament: Nevertheless, as it would be a horrible Impiety for a Man,
“ after having signed both the Testaments, to sign only the Old, for
“ Fear of displeasing a *Jewish* Magistrate who rejects the New; just so, if
“ they should now sign the Confession separated from the Explication they
“ have made of it, and if, by that Means, they agreed with those, who
“ having signed the Confession, at the same Time rejected that necessary
“ Explication, under Pretence of some material Difference between the
“ two; whereas 'tis nothing but the Confession explained; that Action
“ would be a manifest betraying of the Cause of God, and of their own
“ Consciences; that they were resolved constantly and inviolably to ad-
“ here to their Covenant, which had been sealed from above, and con-
“ firmed by the Fire of Heaven, and the wonderful Operations of the
“ Holy Ghost, in the Hearts both of the Pastors and People; that lastly
“ they appealed from the Council to the Assembly and Parliament, as to
“ the only supreme Tribunals of the Kingdom.

By this Protestation the Lords of the Council saw, that their Example in subscribing the King's Covenant would be followed by few, and the Appeal of the Covenanters from the Council to the Parliament surprized them above all Things, seeing that had been forbidden under the Pain of High Treason by the eighth Session of Parliament under King *James*, in the Year 1548. By the Proceedings of the Covenanters the Duke likewise judged, that nothing was to be expected from the Assembly; and that far from quieting the Minds of the People, it would irritate them the more; for he had been given to understand, that they had left no Stone unturned in order to have all the Commissioners to the Assembly rigid Covenanters, and of the most zealous for the Covenant, and for excluding the Bishops from the Place they ought to have in it, the Covenanters having determined that such as should be cited before the Assembly could have no Place there, had caused a Libel to be drawn up, containing many Articles of Accusation against the Bishops, as well in what concerned their episcopal Administration, as in what regarded their Persons, which they loaded with heinous Crimes. The Covenanters caused this Libel to be presented to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, the 24th of *October*, by some among them that were not Commissioners to the Assembly, that it might not seem that the Bishops had the same Persons for Judges and Parties, though by Virtue of the Covenant, they were all the same Thing. These then begged of

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the Ministers of that Presbytery, either to do them Justice in what they complained of, as if all the Bishops had been subject to that Presbytery, or if they liked it better, to remit the Affair to the Assembly. The Presbytery having considered the Request, ordered that the infamous and scandalous Libel should be remitted to the Assembly, and in the mean Time, that it should be publickly read the *Sunday* following in all the Churches within their District after the first Sermon. This was accordingly done, and shortly after in all the Churches of the Kingdom, to the End, said they, that the Delinquents might not pretend Ignorance for not appearing before the Assembly. It seemed to many, that this Procedure against all Forms of Justice, was done with no other Design, but to render the Bishops odious amongst the People, because the Assembly, in proceeding against the Bishops did not charge them with any Thing but Episcopacy, and did not at all enter into the Detail of their personal Vices, with which the unjust Libel was stuffed; which could proceed from no other Cause, but for want of Proofs of those pretended Crimes, there being no Likelihood, that the Assembly would have spared the Bishops, whom it had represented as Criminals before the People.

*The Assembly
is opened at
Glasgow.*

THE Time for opening the Assembly approaching, on the 17th of *November* the Duke went to *Glasgow* in great Pomp, being accompanied by all the Lords of the Council, who had had Orders from the King to assist him, and by a great Number of the Nobility and Gentry, who had flocked thither from all Parts. The Assembly was opened the 21st, and the eldest Minister of the Town having made a Sermon, proposed to begin with electing a Moderator. But the Duke remonstrated, that first of all his Commission must be read. He was seated under a Canopy in a Chair raised high from the Floor, having under him on both Sides, the Earls of *Traquair*, *Roxburgh*, *Argyl*, *Lauderdale*, *Southesk*, and Sir *Lewis Stuart*, the King's Advocate, whom his Majesty had appointed to be the Duke's Assessors. But the Assembly would not allow them to vote, pretending that they sat there only in the Quality of Counsellors, and not as Members of the Assembly. Besides, they said, that the King, of his own Accord, had never been, either in Person, or by his Commissioner, in any of the thirty-nine Assemblies, which the Church of *Scotland* had held since the Reformation. But at the Desire of the Assemblies, his Majesty sometimes sent his Commissioners, and sometimes he vouchsafed to be present in Person, not in order to multiply Voices, but to preside after the Manner of the ancient Emperors, who were present in the Councils, as Bishops in external Things: And that if this Assembly had been honoured with his Majesty's Presence, they all hoped that he would have been satisfied with giving his Advice, without calling other Persons, who had no Commission from the Church, of Purpose for carrying Matters by the Majority of Voices.

AFTER the reading of the Duke's Commission, Doctor *Robert Hamilton* presented him from the Bishops an Exception against the Assembly, and demanded an Instrument in Proof of its having been produced, after it should be publickly read. The Assembly answered, that they could not enter upon Business before the Election of a Moderator; and at the same Time *Alexander Henderson* was unanimously elected to perform that Office, who having taken his Place, the Duke required again, that the Bishops Exception might be read; but the Moderator still answered, that the Assembly could deliberate upon nothing, till it should appear, that it was composed of all its lawful Members, and for that End the Commis-

ons

ons of all the Commissioners must first of all be seen. The Duke knew that the Exception contained many Reasons of Nullity against the Election of the most Part of the Members of the Assembly, for which Cause he pressed the reading of it, before the Assembly should examine the Commissions of the Commissioners; and it was for the same Reason, that the Assembly was obstinately resolved to have the Commissioners acknowledged, because after that their Commissions should once be approved of, there would be no Room for excepting against them. There was among the Commissioners some few of the Covenanters that were called moderate, and a few Anti-covenanters; but though their Voices were of no Weight, their Number being but small, yet some Difficulties were started upon the Manner of their Election, which were necessary to be decided, before they could sit amongst the rest, which however was not done.

By this Means the Assembly having all its Members in the Interest of the Covenant, on the 27th of the Month, suffered the Bishops Exception to be read, the Tenor of which was: “ That they the Bishops, and others
 “ underwritten, declared, as well for themselves, as for, and in Name of
 “ the Church of *Scotland*, that the most proper and most necessary Means
 “ for healing the Divisions whereby it was distracted, was a General As-
 “ sembly lawfully convened, to which they were ready to submit; and
 “ that the calling of it belonged to the King, as it was acknowledged in
 “ the Assembly of *Glasgow* of 1610, and by the Parliament of 1612. So
 “ that the Clergy could not lawfully meet, without the Consent of his
 “ Majesty. But they found themselves obliged to protest against the As-
 “ sembly now met at *Glasgow*, as unlawful, disorderly, and of no Autho-
 “ rity. Their Reasons were, 1. That the Presbyteries had elected their
 “ Commissioners to the Assembly, and appointed a solemn Fast on the
 “ 16th of *September*, for obtaining the Blessings of Heaven upon the As-
 “ sembly, whereas his Majesty’s Warrant for calling the Assembly was
 “ not published till the 22. So that the Presbyteries having proceeded to
 “ that Election without being authorized by the King, it was altogether
 “ void. 2. That though the Presbyteries had had Authority for so do-
 “ ing, they had forfeited it, by having deposed the Moderators which the
 “ Bishops had named in their Diocesan Synods, and by having elected
 “ others in their Place, contrary to the Act of the Assembly of *Glasgow*
 “ of 1610, and the Act of Parliament of 1612, which appoint the Bi-
 “ shops to be Moderators of the Presbyteries, and in their Absence the
 “ Ministers whom the Bishops should appoint in their Synod. 3. That
 “ the Parliaments of the Years 1572, and 1612, having ordered the Mi-
 “ nisters under Pain of Degradation, to sign the Confession of Faith within
 “ the first Month of their Ordination, in Presence of the Ordinaries, or of
 “ their Commissaries, and to take from their Hands the Oath of *Supre-*
 “ *macy*, which is acknowledging the King’s supreme Authority in all
 “ Things, as well Ecclesiastical as Secular; the greatest Part of the Mi-
 “ nisters deputed to this Assembly had done neither the one nor the other;
 “ on the contrary, that they had not only refused to sign the Confession
 “ of Faith, which, on the 24th of *September*, the King had commanded
 “ all his Subjects solemnly to sign, and to bind themselves mutually to
 “ defend his Person and Authority; but that they had likewise protested
 “ against it, and as much as in them lay hindered, that none should put
 “ their Hand to it. 4. That the King, in condescending to call a General
 “ Assembly, meant, that his Subjects should keep to their Duty, and com-
 “ ply with his Orders; but that those Members of this Assembly, who have
 “ adhered to the last Protestation against the King’s Proclamation, were
 “ in

*The Bishops
 Exception as
 against the As-
 sembly.*

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“ in the same State as before the King had caused the Pardon for what
 “ had passed to be published: For having with Disdain refused to accept
 “ of that Pardon, as looking upon themselves to be no Ways guilty, they
 “ have ever since done their utmost to get every body to sign their Cove-
 “ nant, and continuing their private Meetings notwithstanding the King’s
 “ Prohibition; these same Covenanters had declared therein, that they
 “ could at all Times meet lawfully in Assembly, and there with full Pow-
 “ er determine all Things belonging to Religion, which is a manifest dis-
 “ owning his Majesty’s supreme Authority in all Things, and over all
 “ Persons. 5. That many of the Ministers of the Assembly were incapa-
 “ ble of being deputed to it, because that some of them had made no
 “ Conscience of the Oath, which they had taken at their Admission to
 “ the Ministry from the Hands of the Ordinary, having practised the quite
 “ contrary in Contempt of ecclesiastical Authority, and of the Censures
 “ of the Church, whereby, in many Places, they had been suspended;
 “ and that others of them had encouraged Rebellion in their Sermons,
 “ and spread seditious Libels amongst the People, which grievously wound-
 “ ed his Majesty’s supreme Authority, so much the more, that they taught
 “ that pernicious Doctrine, that all sovereign Authority was originally in
 “ the collective Body of the People, from whence it was conveyed to the
 “ Prince; and that not only in Case of Negligence on his Part, it remain-
 “ ed in that Body for supplying the Defect, not having conferred it upon
 “ the King, but to clothe him with it, and not to strip themselves of it;
 “ but also that in Case of bad Government, it returned to its Fountain;
 “ which happening, the King forfeited his Right, and the Subject was no
 “ longer bound to obey him. 6. That the Ministers had associated them-
 “ selves with a Lay-Elder out of each *Kirk-Session**, and that these El-
 “ ders, being commonly of the principal Nobility and Gentry of the Pa-
 “ rish, both by their Authority and Number, have influenced the Election
 “ of the Ministers for the Assembly: For since it was the Custom, upon
 “ such Occasions, to name five or six Ministers, in order to make Choice
 “ of one or two of them for the Assembly, and to make them withdraw
 “ during the Election, the Laicks had more Voices than the Ecclesiasticks,
 “ contrary to the Forms of all the Churches in the World, and particu-
 “ larly this of *Scotland*, where these forty Years the Presbyteries have
 “ never called any of these Lay Elders; and even when they did admit of
 “ them, it was so ordered, that they were always fewer in Number than
 “ the Ministers, it being for no other End, but purely to have their Affi-
 “ stance in the Exercise of Discipline, and not to contribute to the Ele-
 “ ction of Commissioners to the Assembly. 7. That though the Presence
 “ of Laick Persons was required at the Assembly, the King consenting to it,
 “ and that it was allowed them to make Remonstrances there, and to of-
 “ fer their Advice with Respect and Submission to the Judgment of the
 “ Assembly, yet it was an Incroachment upon the pastoral Office, con-
 “ trary to the holy Scripture, the Sense and Practice of the universal
 “ Church, that any Laick, who was not delegated by his Majesty, whose
 “ Right it is to have the principal Share in all the Deliberations and De-
 “ cisions, should have a decisive Voice in the Assembly. Therefore they
 “ thought they had just Ground to beg of his Excellency in the Words of
 “ the Fathers of the great Council of *Chalcedon*, to turn out the super-
 “ fluous Persons. Nor will a pious Prince be offended with it; but with
 “ *Theodosius* the younger will say, That it is not just that those, who
 “ are not of the same Dignity with the holy Bishops, should take upon
 “ them to treat of ecclesiastical Affairs. 8. That granting the pretended
 “ Commissioners to this Assembly of *Glasgow* had Authority, lawfully to
 “ judge

* Vestry.

judge the Bishops, nevertheless they have just Reason to except against them, because the greatest Part of them, before they came here, had not only condemned Episcopacy, but had also solemnly sworn to maintain the Covenant, wherein Episcopacy is abjured; which was an evident Prepossession, incompatible with the Quality of Judge. 9. That it was contrary both to Law and Reason, that the same Persons should be both Judges and Parties; but yet almost all the Commissioners to this Assembly had declared themselves Parties against the Bishops, in the Protestation that was made against the Bishops at *Stirling*, where the Covenanters declined the Act of the Council, while the Bishops should have a Seat there, because they looked upon them as Parties; besides, that it was not to be doubted, but those, who by their defamatory Libels, and the violent Conspiracy of their Covenant, (which had distracted the Minds of the People, and put Division in all Families, to the Scandal of Religion) had persecuted the Bishops, were their Parties: For in order to engage every Body in it, the Covenanters had caused a solemn Fast to be published and solemnized, not only in the Churches they were in Possession of, but also in those of many other Ministers, who having refused to join them in their unreasonable and impious Undertakings, had been compelled, some by open Force to sign the Covenant, and others suspended or deposed by the Presbyteries, notwithstanding their Appeal, which the Law has allowed of, for the Support of Innocence. 10. That the Ecclesiastical and Imperial Laws having provided, that the Primates should preside in the Synods, it was a grievous Thing to strip them of that Prerogative of their Dignity, and to cause to preside whomsoever an Assembly of Priests and Laicks should chuse, who might be a simple Priest or Laick, as has sometimes happened in *Scotland*. 11. That if the Fathers of the Council of *Chalcedon* have decided, that it was a Sacrilege to bring down the high Dignity of Bishops, to the low Degree of Priests; how absurd would it be to subject them to the Sentence of Priests, or rather of a Court, whose Judges are one half Priests, and the other Laicks, contrary to the Canons, and the Practice of the universal Church: Lastly, the Bishops took God to witness, that they did not offer this Exception upon a Consciousness of any Crime they felt themselves guilty of, offering to be answerable for their Actions before their Judges, and even to undergo the Sentence of his Excellency: But that they could not be silent in this Juncture, without betraying the Interests of Religion, the Rights of the Clergy, and the Honour of his Majesty; the Covenanters having in this Assembly taken upon them, to the Reproach of Religion, and the Contempt of royal Authority, to annul and abolish the Things established by the Assemblies lawfully convened, and by Parliament: For were it not for that Consideration, they solemnly declared, that they were so far from wishing ill to any Person, whatever unjust Treatment they had met with, that, on the contrary, they were all ready, after having justified their Innocence, to resign their Dignities at the King's Feet, and to sacrifice, if it were possible, their own Lives for appeasing the Storm.

THEN was read another Exception of several Ministers, who complained; "That the Laicks not having in former Times meddled with the Doctrine, but only assisted the Ministers in the Discipline, now take upon them to judge in the Presbyteries and Assembly of the Spirits of the Prophets, which are not subject but to the Prophets." But as the Protestation of the Presbytery of *Glasgow* had been begun to be read,

1638. which had been written in more pressing Terms, the Principal (Rector) of that University, though he had signed it himself, desired that the Reading of it might be delayed for some Time, which the Moderator readily agreed to; and though the Duke insisted that it should be read to the End, yet the Moderator refused it, alledging that every Man was at Freedom to withdraw his Protestation. The Duke answered him, That the Protestation was not only signed by the Principal, but by the most Part of the Ministers of the Presbytery of *Glasgow*, many of which had signed the Covenant; and that having been presented in Name of them all, it could not be withdrawn by one only, without the Consent of the rest. However, the Moderator continued stedfast in his Denial, and thought himself obliged, for the Credit of the Assembly, to put a Stop to the reading of a Protestation made by the Presbytery of the Place, where the Assembly was held.

WHEREUPON the Duke having maturely weighed the Reasons of the Bishops Exception, and that of several Ministers, resolved to dissolve and break up the Assembly, having found that the Reasons of Nullity against the Assembly did not admit of a Reply, as well in Respect of the Quality of the Members of the Assembly, which was composed rather of a Meeting of Laicks, than of an Assembly, as of the Form of their Election; and that it would be contrary to all Justice, to suffer those Men to be Judges of the Bishops, who had declared themselves their open Enemies, and who, by a solemn Oath, had conspired together to abolish Episcopacy. According to this Resolution the Duke having at Night advertised the Lords of the Council to meet the next Morning, the 28th of *November*, in the Cathedral Church, he went thither betimes, where having taken their Advice about breaking up the Assembly, he was confirmed in his Design. The Duke held a Council in the Chapter, at the same Time that the Assembly met in the Church, that, in going out from thence, none of the Council might acquaint the Covenanters with what had passed there.

THE same Morning *Archibald Johnston*, the new Clerk of the Assembly, who had been elected contrary to the Right of *James Sandilands*, an Advocate and Commissary* of *Aberdeen*, presented to the Assembly three or four Volumes, which contained the Acts of the General Assemblies since the Reformation. The Assembly had two Days before named Commissioners for revising them, who having made a Report that these Books were true Copies of the Acts of the reformed Church of *Scotland*, many were surprized how it had been possible in two Days to run over these large Volumes, which would have been Work enough for a whole Year to the most diligent Reviser. For all that, the Moderator, without any more ado, moved, that it might be put to the Vote, whether these Books ought not to be acknowledged for authentick Writings, and the publick Registers of the Church of *Scotland*. But the Duke begged of him not to make so much Haste in an Affair of such Importance, and remonstrated to the Assembly, that these Registers, that had lain so long in Obscurity, could not be received for Ecclesiastical Laws, which should be binding upon his Majesty's Subjects, until his Advocate had revised them. Nevertheless the Assembly, without having Regard to his Remonstrance, came to a Vote, and unanimously declared, that these Volumes were the true Body of the Canon Law of *Scotland*.

*Judge of the
Bishop's Court.

AFTER

AFTER that was over, the Moderator caused to be read a Writing to serve for an Answer to the Bishops Exception. This was a Collection of Citations out of the Books of their Discipline, which approved of the Government of Elders. But impartial Men could not see to what Purpose: For it seemed to them, that from there being such Elders in the Kirk-Sessions, and, perhaps, in the Presbyteries, it did not follow that those Elders ought to have Voice in the Assembly, or in the Election, the Exclusion of Ministers that compose it. Then the Moderator, in Answer to that Exception of the Bishops, that the Assembly could not be their Judge, having declared it self a Party, alledged, that that was the Exception of the *Remonstrants* against the Synod of *Dort*; such are the Disciples of *Arminius* called, because of a Remonstrance which they presented to the States, about *Calvin's* Doctrine of Predestination and Grace: But that all the Divines there assembled, and especially those of *Great-Britain*, rejected it as void and of no Force.

DOCTOR *Walter Balkanqual*, Dean of *Durham*, then standing behind the Duke, begged Liberty of him and of the Moderator, to shew that the Things were not the same. He had been at that Synod with some other *English* Doctors and Bishops: Not that they were there as Deputies from the Protestant Communion of *England*, which never acknowledged the Authority of that Synod, nor in the least ever submitted to its Decisions: But they were sent there by King *James*, who was angry with the *Armians* for having joined the *Barnavelt* Faction against the Prince of *Orange*, whose Interest he had much at Heart. This Dean having obtained Liberty to speak, said; "That there was a great Difference between the Exception of the Bishops against the Assembly, and that of the Remonstrants against that of *Dort*, in the Manner of the Prepossession of the Members of the one and the other: For though many of those of the Synod of *Dort* had declared themselves to be of the contrary Opinion to that of the Remonstrants, about all the Articles of *Arminius's* Doctrine against *Calvin*; however, it was not by any judicial Act, or any Thing equivalent to such an Act, such as solemnly to swear that *Arminius's* Opinions were false, and to combine together in a Covenant against him; which the Members of the Assembly of *Glasgow* had done against the Bishops: But it was only in discoursing familiarly, or in preaching, or in writing against one another, as private Divines, who both submitting to the Judgment of the Synod, waited the final Decision of the Points in Controversy bewixt them. So that if the Remonstrants had had good Grounds for excepting against all those that had declared themselves to be of the one or the other Opinion, it would have been altogether impossible for them to find Judges that were Divines, since 'tis the Custom of those of that Profession, not to remain neuter in Questions that are disputed in the Schools, but to imbrace either the Affirmative or the Negative, as the most probable Opinion. *Balkanqual* added, That if his Excellency and the Assembly were pleased, he would maintain against the most learned of the Assembly, that neither the Name nor the Office of Overseer or Lay-Elder had ever been heard in any Council, or in any particular Church before *Calvin*." Upon these Words, the Moderator answered with some Warmth; That it would have been thought very strange in *England*, if any of the Assembly had stood up in the *House of Convocation*, in order to speak against their Ecclesiastical Government; and that the Doctor's Father, a Minister of *Edinburgh*, had been of another Opinion. To which *Balkanqual* replied, "That he would not have asked Liberty to speak in the Assembly, had
" it

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“ it not been to clear to it a Transaction of the Synod of *Dort*, in which
 “ he had some Concern; and that, as to what the Moderator cast in his
 “ Teeth about his deceased Father, nothing more trifling could have been
 “ said, there being some present there, whose Fathers had been Papists;
 “ besides, that it was not so strange a Thing to see a Man have contrary
 “ Opinions to those of his Father, as to have some contrary to himself;
 “ and that the Moderator knew very well, that there were many present
 “ in the Assembly most exasperated against Episcopacy now, who for-
 “ merly had defended and espoused its Interest with as much Zeal and
 “ more Ambition than any Body whatever.

THE Moderator breaking off there, and turning to the Assembly, told
 them; “ That seeing the Election of its Members as well as its Compe-
 “ tency, were called in Question, that Point must be cleared, of which
 “ there could be no other Judge, but the Assembly itself. Therefore he
 “ had a Mind to take the Suffrages of all the Commissioners, in order to
 “ know whether they believed, that the Assembly was a competent Judge
 “ of the Accusations given in against the Bishops, notwithstanding the
 “ Reasons contained in their Exception.” Whereupon the Duke, being
 resolved not to let them proceed further, told them, “ That he had had
 “ an extreme Satisfaction in having, by the calling and opening of this As-
 “ sembly, made the Sincerity of his Master’s Intentions appear; but that
 “ his Grief was no less to find himself obliged to dissolve it: For what
 “ Hopes could one have of a good Issue of this Assembly, to which the
 “ Ministers were deputed by Lay-Elders, wherein these Elders had Voice,
 “ and to which the Bishops were cited to undergo the Judgment of their
 “ Parties, and that of the very Persons who had condemned them in their
 “ private Meetings? Therefore in the Name of the King he expressly
 “ prohibited them from meeting any more, and protested against all that
 “ the Assembly should do hereafter, as void of all lawful Authority.
 The Moderator made Answer by a Speech he had prepared for this
 Occasion, wherein, after having expressed a great Resentment of the
 Duke’s Resolution, and spoken to the Advantage of the King’s Power
 over Religion, calling him *oecumenical Bishop* in his three Kingdoms,
 he concluded, “ That as the Duke had served his Master with great Af-
 “ fection and Fidelity, it was their Duty, on the other Hand, to be as
 “ careful in preserving the Rights of the Kingdom of the Son of God,
 “ which is the Church.”

The Assembly
 dissolved.

AFTER the Moderator had finished his Speech, some Lords spoke
 much in Justification of their Procedure in the Election of the Commis-
 sioners to the Assembly; but the Duke soon stopped their Mouths, by cau-
 sing to be read two Papers which the Covenanters did not think had
 come to his Hands. These Papers contained the secret Instructions which
 the Covenanters had drawn up at *Edinburgh*, in order to be sent all over
 the Kingdom to their trusty Friends, who were to meet in the Presbyte-
 ries; and the Design was to inform them of the Method they were to
 observe, to the End that the Commissioners to the Assembly might be
 chosen from among those who had shewn the greatest Zeal for the Co-
 venant. For, said they, “ If their Enemies should happen to get the bet-
 “ ter of them in the Assembly, they would become a Laughing-Stock to
 “ the World, and, by their own Slothfulness, would lose the best Oppor-
 “ tunity that ever could offer itself, for recovering both their Political
 “ and Christian Liberty.” These two Papers having been read, the Mo-
 derator and some of the Elders said, that they knew nothing of them,
 that,

that, perhaps, these Instructions were nothing but the Advice of some particular Men to their Friends: But the Duke replied, that having from several Places had Copies written in the same Words, it was impossible that those, who wrote the Originals, could hit upon the very same Words, without having concerted the Matter. Besides, unbiaſſed Persons were fully perſuaded of the Truth of the Fact, ſeeing the Aſſembly did not oblige the Duke to prove that theſe ſecret Inſtructions, which quite deſtroyed the Freedom of the Aſſembly, had been drawn up by the private Meetings of the Covenanters at *Edinburgh*. At laſt as the Clerk was going to read the Proteſtation of the Aſſembly, againſt the Duke's Procedure, he roſe up, and went out of the Church, and was followed by all the Lords of the Council, who, in the Letter they wrote to the King, of the Diſſolution of the Aſſembly, gave him a very good Account of the Duke's Fidelity and Prudence, though the Succeſs had not answered his Care, nor the Wiſdom he had ſhewn in all his Conduct.

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As ſoon as the Duke was gone out, the Moderator deſired the Opinion of the Aſſembly upon two Things; 1. If, notwithſtanding the Order the Duke had given them from the King not to meet any more, they ought to continue the Aſſembly? All the Commiſſioners, except ſome that had retired with the Duke, answered, that the Parliament of the Year 1592, having declared, that the King's Prerogatives were not prejudicial to the Liberties of the Church, the King could not diſſolve the Aſſembly, which had met upon ſo important Affairs, and that they ought not to break up, till they had ſettled them; leſt it ſhould ſeem as if Religion depended upon the Will of the Prince. 2. If the Aſſembly, without having Regard to the Duke's Prohibition, by Order of the King, was not Judge competent of the Biſhops? It was answered with one Voice, That, notwithſtanding the Reaſons of their Exception, the Aſſembly could and ought to judge both the Perſons of the Biſhops and their Office; whereupon they began to attack them with great Heat.

THE Biſhops were all very ill uſed, purely upon the Score of their being Biſhops, yet they were not all equally ſo; ſome of them were more roughly treated than others, becauſe they had exerciſed their Office with more Knowledge and Vigour than their Brethren, who had had nothing of Episcopacy but the Name, the Rank, and Revenue, which happens too often to be the Caſe. The Biſhops then were all degraded without Exception, and ſtripped of their Dignities. The Sentence run thus; “ That
 “ the pretended Biſhops having been legally cited before the Aſſembly, in-
 “ ſtead of appearing there, had offered an Exception full of abuſive Words
 “ againſt its Members, and by that Means declared themſelves againſt the
 “ Eccleſiaſtical Order and Government eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom. Which
 “ the Aſſembly having conſidered, and examined the Complaints and Li-
 “ bels againſt them, they had been found Guilty. 1. For having in-
 “ fringed the Acts of the Aſſembly of *Montroſe* held in 1606, before E-
 “ piſcopacy had been eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*, which forbid Miniſters, that
 “ ſhould be deputed to the Parliament, to incroach upon the Eccleſiaſti-
 “ cal Jurisdiction and Liberties, under the Pain of Depoſition, Infamy,
 “ and Excommunication. 2. For having received Episcopical Conſecra-
 “ tion, which is condemned by the Confession of Faith, and the Acts of
 “ General Aſſemblies, as having no Foundation in the Word of God.
 “ 3. For having, by Virtue of that Jurisdiction which they had uſurped,
 “ and of that of the High Commiſſion, introduced many Novelties in Re-
 “ ligion, to the Prejudice of the Reformation. For theſe Cauſes the Aſ-
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bly, moved with Zeal for the Glory of God, and the Reformation of the Church, hath ordained, that these pretended Bishops be deposed, and by this Decree depose them from the pretended Episcopal Function, and declareth them incapable of ever hereafter entering the Council, the Parliament, and the Committees, for representing the Clergy of the Kingdom there."

ALL the Bishops indifferently were comprehended in this Degradation, but the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* and *Glasgow*; the Bishops of *Edinburgh*, *Galloway*, *Ross*, *Brechin*, *Aberdeen*, and *Dumblane* were besides declared incapable of exercising any ministerial Function, as Persons infamous. They likewise were excommunicated with the greater Excommunication, and delivered over into the Hands of the Devil, to be looked upon by all the faithful as Pagans and Publicans. The Assembly ordered the Moderator to pronounce this Sentence in the Cathedral Church, after Sermon, in the Face of the Congregation; and all the Ministers to intimate the Execution thereof to their Congregations over all the Kingdom. The other six Bishops were not treated with so much Rigour. For the Assembly did not order the Sentence of Excommunication to be fulminated against them, unless they should refuse to acknowledge it, and submit to the Sentence of their Degradation, as also to all the Acts of the Assembly; and to do Penance according to the Order that should be prescribed them by it. But the Bishops of *Murray*, *Orkneys*, *Argyle*, and the *Isles*, were declared incapable of the Ministerial Function; and the Bishops of *Dunkel* and *Caithness* were only suspended, who, upon Condition of their Submission to the Assembly, and of their Repentance, should continue in their Ministry; the first in the Benefice of St. *Madoxe*, and the last in some other Cure.

THE Assembly having thus deposed the Bishops, proceeded to the Abolition of Episcopacy, and declared that it had not only been condemned by many Acts of Assemblies, but, that going a little higher, it had even been abjured in the Confession of Faith of the Year 1580, in these Words: *We detest the Roman Antichrist, and his damnable Hierarchy*. They argued in this Manner. "That the *Roman Hierarchy*, according to the Council of *Trent*, consisted in Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, that is to say, in Deacons who baptize and preach, which is the Hierarchy condemned in the Confession, where it is called Antichristian: That it is so called, not for making a Distinction between the Hierarchy of the Church of *Rome*, and some other lawful one; but because, wherever the Hierarchy is found, it is said to be of Antichrist: That in like Manner the other Grievances of the Papacy are called Antichristian, such as the Invocation of Saints, their Canonization, and the Dedication of Altars; not that there is any other Invocation and Canonization that be more lawful than those of Antichrist, but because that since the Mystery of Iniquity has begun to work, all the Depravations, whether in Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline, which the Pope hath imposed upon the Church, are justly called Antichristian."

ONE of the most learned Ministers of the Assembly, named *Robert Bailly*, excepted against this Explication. He saw that it involved in Perjury all the Ministers, who, at their Ordination, had sworn the Articles of the Assembly of *Perth*, and promised Canonical Obedience to their Ordinaries. For that Reason, he desired, that it might be said, "That Episcopacy and the Ceremonies re-established by the Assembly of *Perth*, had been

“ been abolished by the Reformers, who drew up the Confession without
“ making Mention of the Abjuration which the Assembly had a Mind to
“ add to it, and of which *Bailly* was aware, that he and those, whose
“ Case was the same with his, might not split upon that Rock.” Not-
withstanding which the Assembly continued obstinate in their Opinion,
that Episcopacy had been abjured in the Confession, and then quoted a
great many Acts of Assemblies, which shew; “ That the Office of Bishop,
“ as it was commonly understood in *Scotland*, had no Foundation in the
“ holy Scripture, but had been devised by human Folly, to the Ruin of
“ the Church of God: That it was unlawful in itself, and, that all such
“ as had been invested in it, not having been called thereto by God, ought
“ to abdicate it, and leave off all pastoral Function, till they be admitted
“ into it anew.” Whereupon the Moderator asking the Opinion of the
Assembly, proposed the Matter in these Terms. “ If, according to the
“ Confession of Faith, as it was professed in the Years 1580, 1581, and
“ 1590, there was any other Bishop but a Pastor of a particular Flock,
“ having neither Pre-eminency nor Power over his Brethren; and if, ac-
“ cording to that Confession, all other Episcopacy has not been abjured,
“ and ought not to be abolished in the Church of *Scotland*? ” All the As-
sembly with one Voice, except *Robert Bailly*, who was not allowed to
vote, for Fear of some Dispute, answered, “ That all Episcopacy, distin-
“ guished from that of Pastor of a particular Flock, hath been abjured in
“ the reformed Church of *Scotland*, where it ought to be rejected; and
“ therefore Prohibition ought to be made, under Pain of Ecclesiastical Cen-
“ sure, that no Person for the future presume to usurp that Office, or write
“ in its Defence; and that neither the Ministers, nor People, any more
“ obey the pretended Authority of that Office.” ’Tis very plain, that a
more ample Conclusion necessarily followed from these Premises: For
though the Assembly, out of Cunning, did not decree the Abolition of E-
piscopacy but in their own Communion, that they might not incur the
Indignation of the Protestant Hierarchy of *England*, which continued then
in its first Vigour. Yet the Reasoning upon the literal Sense of the Con-
fession, and the Decrees of the former Assemblies that were quoted, di-
rectly inferred the Nullity of Episcopacy considered absolutely and in it
self, and that it was an Usurpation that ought to be condemned and abo-
lished, wherever it was, as well in *England*, and elsewhere, as in *Scotland*:
Unless the Fathers of the Assembly thought, that what is declared Anti-
christian in the Confession of *Scotland*, may be Christian and Catholick in
the Belief of *England*.

THE other Decisions of the Assembly were but Consequences and Ap-
pendixes to this: For the Assembly declared, “ That the lawful Power of
“ Provincial and National Presbyteries and Synods, though it had been
“ unjustly suppressed, had never been lawfully abolished, but that they
“ always could canonically ordain, suspend, and degrade the Ministers for
“ just Causes; chuse their Moderators, and exercise all Ecclesiastical Ju-
“ risdiction, each within its own District, whatever Opposition the pre-
“ tended Bishops had made against it. Then were condemned all the
“ Synods held by the Authority of the Bishops, since the Re-establishment
“ of Episcopacy in the Year 1606, and particularly that of *Perth*, the De-
“ crees of which were annulled, and the Oath, which the Bishops made
“ the Ministers take at their Admission to the Ministry, was declared a-
“ busive, and not obligatory, as having been extorted contrary to the
“ Laws and Liberties of their Church. As for the Establishments which
“ the Bishops had newly made, the Assembly had been a long Time be-
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“ fore prepared to condemn them with Execration, so that at one Sitting
 “ Sentence was passed upon them. In the first Place the Liturgy was a-
 “ natematized, as well because of the Manner in which it had been
 “ composed, and imposed upon them by the pretended Prelates, without
 “ the Order and Authority of their Church, as because of the Matter it
 “ contained, there being in it many Errors and Seeds of great Supersti-
 “ tion and Idolatry. The Book of Canons had the same Fate, as having
 “ been invented by the same pretended Prelates, in order to exercise a
 “ tyrannical Power, as well over the Consciences, as over the Liberties
 “ and Estates of the People; and also for enervating all the Ecclesiastical
 “ Discipline and Government by Assemblies, Presbyteries, and Kirk-Sess-
 “ ions formerly established in their Church. The Order of the Consecra-
 “ tion of Bishops, and of Ordination, whether of Priests or Deacons was
 “ comprehended under the same Execration, because it was done by the
 “ Bishops, without either Ecclesiastical or Political Authority, and that
 “ it established in the House of God, Offices that are not to be found in
 “ his Word. Lastly, the Court of High Commission was demolished, for
 “ having been established without the Consent of the Assemblies and Par-
 “ liament; besides, that it destroyed all the Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiasti-
 “ cal Assemblies; that every Thing depended there upon the Discretion
 “ of the Commissioners; and that it put the Power of the two Swords
 “ into the Hands of Ecclesiasticks, as well as the Keys into the Hands of
 “ Laicks, who had Voice in that Court.” This Assembly, however, had
 no Regard to that Inconveniency, when its own Interest was at Stake, and
 in the Opinion of many, in making the Decree, it fell into the same Ab-
 surdity it had there condemned: For it appears to be altogether putting
 the Keys into the Hands of Laicks, to give them Voice in the Kirk-
 Sessions, Presbyteries, and Assemblies, where Affairs of greater Importance
 are treated of, than in the Court of the High Commission.

MOREOVER, the Assembly declared, “ That though the Ecclesiasticks
 “ were obliged to give their Advice in Matters concerning Religion, and
 “ every Man’s Conscience; yet their Access to, and Seat in the supreme
 “ and inferiour Courts of Justice, were incompatible with their Profession,
 “ which sets them apart for the Work of the Gospel. For which Cause,
 “ the first Ministers after the Reformation never demanded a Seat in Par-
 “ liament; on the contrary, they refused it when it was offered them.
 “ But as they could not excuse themselves from accepting it, the Assem-
 “ bly of *Montrose*, foreseeing the bad Consequences of that Office, made
 “ Regulations for limiting and restraining that Power in the Persons of
 “ Ministers. Notwithstanding which, Experience having made it appear
 “ in the Bishops, that the pernicious Consequences they were afraid of, were
 “ inevitable, the Assembly being resolved to root out the Mischief, with
 “ one Voice, except two or three that had not thoroughly informed them-
 “ selves about the Matter, ordered, that the Ministers of their Communi-
 “ on should no longer hold any civil Office, such as Counsellor of State,
 “ Judge of the Treasury, or of the Court of Sessions, or have a Seat in
 “ Parliament, or be Judges or Assessors in any Court of Justice. For that
 “ End the Assembly annulled all the Acts of Assemblies to the contrary,
 “ particularly of that of *Montrose*, which having been constrained by
 “ the supreme Authority, had rather tolerated these Offices for a Time,
 “ than approved of them by a Freedom of Suffrage.” Such as took no
 Part in this Affair, thought it very strange, that those of this Assembly,
 who believed, that the Institution of Lay-Elders, and their Place in Ec-
 clesiastical Councils were of divine Right, held at the same Time, that
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the Ecclesiasticks, without infringing that Right, could not have Seat in his Majesty's Councils.

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TOWARDS the End of the Assembly Judgment was given upon the Covenant, the final Decision of which was referred to it; and it was said, "That the Covenanters having obliged themselves at the first signing of the Covenant, no more to practise the Novelties introduced into the divine Service, nor to approve of the Ecclesiastical Government, till the Assembly had passed its Judgment thereupon; it now declared, that those Things were repugnant to the Confession of Faith, and ordained, that all and every one should hereafter sign the Covenant, with this Clause put before their Subscriptions in these very Terms: *The Article of the Covenant, which was sent back to the Assembly, being now decided by that of Glasgow, which has declared the Acts of the Assembly of Perth, the Episcopal Government, and the secular Power of Bishops null, abusive, and unlawful, we sign the Covenant, and according to the Decision of that free and lawful Assembly.*"

IN the mean Time the Duke of *Hamilton*, who was waiting to see an End put to the Assembly before he should return to Court, being advised of this last Decision, caused a Declaration to be published at *Edinburgh*, wherein he made it known; "That it was no ways the King's Intention, that any Person should sign the Confession of Faith, taken in a Sense that did not agree with the Episcopal Government, expressly forbidding all his Majesty's Subjects, of what Condition soever they were, to sign the Confession but conformably to this the King's Intention." The Covenanters had granted, that such was his Majesty's Intention; and had given it for a Reason of their refusing to sign the King's Covenant, having established for a Maxim, *That all Oaths ought to be taken according to the Intention of the Person that imposeth them.* But by the Answer they gave to the Duke's Declaration, it seems they were of another Opinion, at least they sung to another Tune: For they therein declared, *That Men were obliged to consider Rem Juratam in an Oath, rather than the Intention of the Person that imposeth it, or of him who takes it;* which seems to be something new, and not maintainable; because, to speak in their Terms, *'Tis to play with Oaths as Children do with their Puppets.* Moreover, in this Answer, they said, that upon the Remonstrance they made to the Lords of the Council, these Lords had not signed the Confession, having Regard to the King's Intention, that is to say, *as it is now professed*, in order to comprehend in it the new Ceremonies and Episcopacy, but *as it was professed in the Year 1580;* and in their Order injoyning all the Subjects to sign it, they expressed themselves in the same Manner. Whereupon the Assembly, lest any Body should venture to swear to the Confession contrary to its true Sense, and to take a new Oath, which should contradict the first, and by that Means bring the Curse of God upon himself, for having profaned his Name, and broken his Covenant, by its own Ecclesiastical Authority forbid all the Members of the reformed Church of *Scotland* to swear or sign the Confession inferring a contrary Sense, but that they were all to sign it in the Sense of the Assembly, whose Business it was to give a judicial Explication of it.

AT last, the Assembly having made an Act for yearly General Assemblies, and appointed the next to be held at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *July* 1639, for a Conclusion resolved, that a Petition should be sent to the King, to beg of him to approve of the true Sense they had given

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the Confession. The Sum of their Petition dated the 12th of *January* 1639 was, " That all the Commissioners of the Assembly met at *Glasgow* by his Majesty's Authority, considering the great Blessings, both upon Church and State, that flow from the Union of Religion and Justice, of Truth and Peace, when it pleaseth the supreme Providence to order the royal Power to concur with the Ecclesiastical Authority; acknowledge with all Sincerity of Heart, how much all the Kingdom had been overjoyed and comforted by the Goodness and Piety of his Majesty, who had graciously granted the Freedom of a National Assembly: That imagining they could not testify more truly their most grateful Acknowledgment, than in shewing themselves worthy of so great a Favour, it had been their chief Care in all their Procedure to behave themselves with such Order and Moderation, as it became the faithful Subjects of so great a Prince: That his Presence in Person would have been the Height of their Happiness, which would have made them hope, that his Majesty being taken with the Beauty of the House of God, would have given his royal Approbation to all their Ecclesiastical Statutes: That they could not conceal, that their Joy had very soon been turned into Bitterness, when they had perceived, that his High Commissioner, who represented his sacred Person, not only laboured, before the opening of the Assembly, to stint its Liberty, both in the Election of its Members, and in the choice of the Matters to be treated of therein; but also as if his Excellency designed rather to thwart than countenance their lawful Proceedings, he had suffered nothing to pass in the Assembly while he remained there, without some Censure and Protestation: That after some Days that had been spent in debating, his Excellency, contrary to their Expectation, had risen up, and to their great Grief, having commanded them not to assemble any more, by a Proclamation that would be found not to be grounded upon any Reason that can bear the Examination of Parliament, or his Majesty's own Judgment: So that had they obeyed that Order, so contrary to his laudable Intentions, the whole Kingdom had been hurried into an Abyss of Miseries: That they had chosen rather what was expedient as well for the good of Religion, as for the Honour of his Majesty, and the Welfare of his Subjects, than to give Way to the first Impulse of his High Commissioner, which would have ruined all; whereupon they were so little afraid of the Trial of Light, which is an Enemy only to wicked Deeds; that on the contrary, they promised themselves, that the more it was considered with what Moderation they had behaved, without any Partiality towards the Power which God Almighty and his Majesty had put into their Hands, the more all their Actions would be approved of and justified: That they were the more persuaded of it, that having been in a Manner interdicted, they had redoubled their Care in proceeding with all Circumspection as in the Presence of God, and as if his Majesty in Person had had an Eye upon the Assembly, where they had never followed any other Rule but the Word of God, and the Acts of their former Assemblies: That they had made it their Business rather to renew the ancient Laws made in the Time of the late King of blessed Memory, for the Reformation of Religion, than to approve the Novelties, which the Avarice and Ambition of Men, abusing their Authority for their own Interests, had introduced into Religion; so that the Assembly having so great Lights before their Eyes it could not authorize other Regulations but those it hath established, without war-
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ring against God: That though they knew that the best Actions are
 often misinterpreted, yet they had wherewithal to comfort themselves,
 considering that Truth is the Daughter of Time; so that though Cal-
 lumny often takes the Start, yet Truth follows close at its Heels, and
 always gets the better of noble and generous Minds, to which Cal-
 lumny never finds Access: That when his Majesty shall be pleased
 maturely to consider all that hath passed in the Assembly, they were
 willing to be reputed the worst of all Men, and most unworthy to
 breathe the Air of his Majesty's native Country, if the Cause they have
 maintained there did not purely tend to the Service of his divine Ma-
 jesty, and to have his House governed according to his Will; if they
 have not observed during all the Course of the Assembly most humble
 and loyal Regard for his Majesty, whose Honour, next to that of God,
 was the most dear to them; if they have not kept within the Bounds
 of their Reformation, without making Reflections upon the Institu-
 tions of other reformed Churches; if they have not rather failed by
 too much Lenity, than by Rigour in their Censures, never having
 exceeded the Rules prescribed by the Church of *Scotland*; if, what-
 ever Men, who regard nothing but their own Interest, may object, the
 Ecclesiastical Discipline and Government, confirmed by the Assembly,
 be not found useful for advancing the Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST,
 for strengthening the Obedience due to his Majesty in this Kingdom,
 for the Glory of the Crown, for the good of all his Subjects, and for
 the Terror of his Enemies; and if, to their Knowledge, and as much
 as human Weakness could permit, they have passed no Act, which
 could deserve the Wrath and Indignation, wherewith they were so of-
 ten threatened, provided that their Decisions be examined by the Prin-
 ciples which his Majesty's Father, of immortal Memory, and their
 pious Ancestors have laid down, and which Religion would not allow
 them to transgress: Lastly, that having always, with so much Sincer-
 ity, had a Regard for the Glory of God, the good of Religion, the
 Honour of the King, the Censure of Impiety, and of People who had
 given themselves up to Iniquity, and for the Re-establishment of the
 true Government of their Church, without hurting in the least Thing
 any other reformed Church, they were full of Hopes that the mild
 Influences of his Majesty upon this Kingdom, dispelling the Storms,
 would restore the Calm; and that the Confirmation of the Acts of the
 Assembly which he should be pleased to make in the Parliament,
 which, by his Proclamation, was to meet in the Month of *May*, would
 establish them so well in Religion, that his Crown would thereby re-
 ceive much Lustre and Glory, and his People be prosperous and hap-
 py under his Majesty's flourishing Reign."

THIS Letter was followed by a Declaration of the 4th of *February*,
 which the Covenanters addressed to all the good Christians of *England*,
 in order to justify their Intentions and Actions, from the Calumnies
 wherewith their Enemies might traduce them. This Declaration was
 well received by all the *English*, who favoured the Cause of the Cove-
 nant, but it was suppressed by the King's Authority, who caused a Pro-
 clamations to be published the 27th of *February*, and ordered it to be
 read in all the Churches of *England*. This was, according to the Title,
a Declaration of his Majesty, for informing all his most faithful Subjects
of England, of the seditious Actions of some in Scotland, who, under a false
Pretence of Religion, intended the intire Subversion of his royal Authority.
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Nevertheless the *English*, for the most Part, were little affected with it: They had a better Opinion of the *Scots*, and were nettled, that the King, far from having communicated this Affair to the Parliament, which his Predecessors would have assembled for Matters of less Consequence, had not so much as imparted it to his Council in a Body. At last the King declares the Covenanters Rebels, and prepares to bring them to Reason by Force of Arms.

The End of the first BOOK.



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B O O K II.

THE Court did not relish this Design of War. Some, who minded nothing but themselves, saw no Advantage in it, nor any Thing to be got but Blows; and they were heard frequently to wish, that the Emperor *Adrian's* Wall were still intire. Others, who favoured the Covenant and the Reformation of *Scotland*, were afraid, that by having Recourse to Arms was to forge Fetters for themselves, and abhorring a War wherein Victory itself would prove fatal to them, judged that those, who had advised it, were equally Enemies to both Nations. Nevertheless, whatever Aversion they had to it, they were not sorry that an Occasion had offered, for obliging the King to call the Parliament of *England*, which might not only procure Redress of the Grievances of which they complained, but might likewise stifle this War in the Bud, and punish severely the Authors of this Difference, as Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity.

IN the mean Time, the King, without minding the Parliament, borrowed large Sums of the chief Nobility, and of the Gentlemen of the long Robe; but especially of the Protestant Clergy of *England*, who be-
The King raises both Land and Sea Forces, and the Covenanters prepare for a stout Defence.

1639. ing very much interested in this Quarrel, contributed largely for the Preparation which the King had ordered to be made, which gave Occasion to the Ill-affected to Episcopacy, to call this War, the Bishop's War. All those of the King's Household, as well Ordinaries as Extraordinaries, were ordered to follow his Majesty in Person, with their Vassals armed. Many Volunteers went along in order to please the King, and a good Number of old Officers, who desired no better; readily offered their Service; so that a very handsome Army was quickly raised. The Earl of *Arundel* was made Lieutenant General of it, and *York* was appointed to be the Place of Rendezvous. At the same Time the King ordered a certain Number of Men of War to be fitted out, which were manned with five or six Thousand Men, with which the Duke of *Hamilton* was to sail for *Scotland*, where his Majesty had caused Commissions to be given to the Marquis of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Nithsdale* and *Airly*, for levying Men for his Service.

ON the other Hand, the Covenanters were not idle, taking Care not to be surprized nor prevented. Their first Care was timely to furnish themselves with Arms and Ammunition, and to send to seek Assistance from all the neighbouring Princes and States, from whom they expected any Relief: And because they were threatened by the *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland* with a Descent upon the West Coast, where the Passage from *Ireland* to *Scotland* is short, the Marquis of *Argyle* was intrusted to take Care of that Coast. The North Country was put under the Inspection of the Marquis of *Montrose*, and Colonel *Monro* had Orders to take Care that nothing should stir in the Shires joining the Borders of *England*. The Covenanters having thus taken Care of all the most important Things, with great Ease made themselves Masters of the principal Fortresses of the Kingdom, to wit, the Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Dumbarton*, into which they put strong Garrisons; and for the Security of the City of *Edinburgh*, with incredible Diligence they caused the Port of *Leith* to be fortified, which is but about a Mile and a half distant from it. This Place had been long in the Hands of the *French*, who, in the beginning of the calamitous Reign of Queen *Mary*, stood out a hard Siege against the reformed of *Scotland*, who were assisted by an *English* Army, which Queen *Elizabeth* sent them under the Command of the Lord *Gray*. At last the Chevalier *de Brosse*, who commanded within, by Order of their most Christian Majesties, in the Year 1560, surrendered the Place a few Days after the Death of the Queen Regent, the Queen's Mother, who died in the Reputation of Sanctity, and was very much regretted by all the Protestants of the Kingdom. All the Fortifications of it were demolished, in such a Manner, however, that the Vestiges are still to be seen at this Day; but the Covenanters wrought upon another Plan, and made regular and modern Fortifications there. At the same Time, they disarmed all suspected Persons, or who remained neuter; and having taken the Castle of *Dalkeith* by scaling the Walls, they carried off all the Arms and other warlike Stores, which the Duke of *Hamilton* had caused to be laid up there the Year before. It was in this Castle that they found the Crown, with the Sword and Scepter, which the principal Lords among the Covenanters caused to be carried with great Solemnity to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. Amongst these Preparations of War, they did not forget to cause to be published a long Remonstrance, to serve as an Answer to the King's Proclamation of the 27th of *February*, and to give an Account to the *English* of all their Proceedings and Designs.

1639.

THE Marquis of *Huntly*, who had formerly served in his most Christian Majesty's Armies, and commanded the *Scots Troop of Guards*, which is the first of *France*, was the first who took up Arms for the King in the North Country: But the Marquis of *Montrose*, who had a strict Eye upon him, having assembled about a Thousand Men, marched into the North, and made himself Master of *Turrif*, in the County of *Buchan*, where *Huntly* had ordered his Friends to meet him. The Marquis being come near this Village with two Thousand Men, the most Part Horse, received Advice, that it very much concerned the King's Service, not to shed any Blood as yet on either Side; whereupon he marched below the Village, and retired to his own House. But having very soon after raised new Troops, in order to be revenged of the Trick that had been put upon him at *Turrif*, *Montrose* got the Start of him again with fifteen Hundred Men. Then it was that an Interview was brought about between *Huntly* and *Montrose* at *Inverury*, each of them accompanied by twelve Horsemen, where *Huntly* signed a Paper, whereby having bound himself to maintain the King's Authority with the Liberties and Religion of the Kingdom, he retired again to *Strathbogy*, where he was not long at Rest: For the head Men of the Covenanters, who had come against him, being met at *Aberdeen*, with the Nobility and Gentry of the same Party in that Neighbourhood, they sent *Laurence Oliphant* to *Huntly*, to desire him to come to the Town to confer with them upon the publick Affairs. He made Answer, that he was very willing to go there, provided he had Assurance that he should be at Liberty to return, which being granted him under their Hands, he went to *Aberdeen*: But *Montrose* was immediately solicited not to suffer him to stay in the Country, whatever Promise he might give to live peaceably: And though *Montrose* opposed with all his Might that they should not go back from his Word, yet it not being in his Power alone to hinder it, *Huntly* and his eldest Son were carried Prisoners to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, from whence they were not released till the Peace of *Berwick*.

The Marquis of Huntly and his Son the Earle of Aboyne; are the first that take up Arms for the King in Scotland; the Marquis of Montrose marches against them.

IN the mean Time, the Duke of *Hamilton* arrived in the Month of *May*, with the Fleet before *Leith*, and having cast Anchor in the Road, he sent to the Governor of *Edinburgh*, ordering him to receive the King's Commands with Submission, and to cause his Majesty's Proclamation to be published, as it had already been at *York* the 25th of *April*, wherein the King expressed much Indignation against the Covenanters, even to forbid their Debtors and Tenants to pay them their Debts and Rents that they owed them. The Governor begged of the Duke not to press him for an Answer, until the Parliament had met, which was to be opened very soon according to his Majesty's Proclamation, which had been published in the Month of *September* of the preceding Year. The Parliament being met, refused at first to obey the Duke's Order; but having received an express Letter from his Majesty, commanding them to separate, the Order was obeyed; and besides, hearing that the King was advancing with his Army, they chose Sir *Alexander Lesly*, an old Soldier of great Experience, for their Generalissimo, to whom all the covenanted Lords swore Obedience in the Orders of War, and he reciprocally took an Oath, faithfully to discharge his Office. Whereupon every body betook themselves to their Arms, and General *Lesly* having reviewed the Troops, which the Officers had raised in the different Countries, upon the *Links* (Downs) of *Leith*, he marched towards the Borders, and incamped at *Dunce* in the Shire of *Berwick*, six Miles from the Town of that Name. The King incamped a little on this Side of the Town of *Berwick*.

The Duke of Hamilton arrives with the Fleet in the Road of Leith.

As

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As the Covenanters Army was ready to march, *Montrose* was desired to go to the Northern Parts, against the Earl of *Aboyn*, the Marquis of *Huntly's* second Son, who had taken the Field with three Thousand Foot, and five Hundred Horse. *Montrose* having but eight Hundred Men, in all Haste marched straight to the Earl, who was incamped at *Cowry*, nine Miles from *Aberdeen*, where having driven back his advanced Guards, and caused some Canon Shot to be fired upon the main Body; all the Foot took to their Heels, and the Horse having returned with *Aboyn* to the Bridge of *Dee*, two Miles from *Aberdeen*, three or four Companies of Men well accoutred, came out of the Town to join him. The Marquis having received a Reinforcement of three Hundred Men, pursued them to the Entry of the Bridge, where he found them well resolved to dispute the Passage. The Fight was there very obstinate, but after that Colonel *Johnston*, who performed Wonders, was disabled by the Shard of a Stone which broke one of his Legs, and that Colonel *Gun*, not having taken Notice of a Feint that *Montrose* made, as if he had a Design to pass the River above the Bridge, had drawn off the Horse from it, *Montrose* forced it, and made himself Master of the Town. There are two Towns, the old and the new, situate upon the two Rivers of *Don* and *Dee*, which, besides what they have in common with all the Rivers of *Scotland*, to abound in Salmon, have also that Peculiarity, that they produce Pearls, which are not of so fine a Water as the Oriental; but to make Amends, they are for the most Part larger and rounder. The old Town is an Episcopal See, and has a very famous University in it, of which was Doctor *Francis Mayronis*, of the Order of *St. Francis*, Author of that famous Act which is kept for a whole Day in the Hall of the *Sorbonne*, whence 'tis called *Sorbonnique*: The new Town stands about a Mile distant from the old in a fertile Soil, at the Mouth of *Dee*, which falls into the *German Ocean*. It was a City of great Commerce, rich, and very populous, which, though it unhappily suffered by its Losses, yet it is renowned for its Loyalty, having done and suffered more for the King's Service, than all the other Towns of the Kingdom. In all Probability, if Duke *Hamilton* had had Orders to land in that Harbour, fortify the Town, and join the *Gordons* in that Northern Country, where without Doubt, the most considerable Strength of the Kingdom lies, he would have given the Covenanters a great deal of Uneasiness; and by that powerful Diversion, had obliged them to keep in the Heart of the Kingdom, the Army which *Lesly* marched to the Borders.

Upon the
March of the
King's Army
and of that of
the Covenant-
ers to the Bor-
ders, a Peace
was clapped up,
and the Troops
were disbanded.

No Act of Hostility was committed between the two Armies. The Covenanters again petitioned the King, making abundance of Protestations of their Fidelity to his Person and Crown. Besides, they sent Letters to those *English* Lords that they looked upon to be the best Patriots, such, in their Opinion, were the Earls of *Essex*, *Pembrok*, and *Holland*; and in their Letters they still took it for granted, that this War was approved of by no Man that had an Affection for the Freedom and Religion of the two Kingdoms. At the same Time the Earl of *Dumfermling* having had Liberty to go to the royal Army, upon his Return he assured the Covenanters, that not only these Earls, but the greatest Part of the Nobility, shewed an Aversion to this War, and favoured the Petition they had presented to the King, which encouraged them to persist with more Heat; so that after some Messages on both Sides, the King was pleased to allow that six of their Number should come on the 10th of *June*, in order to treat in the Earl of *Arundel's* Tent, with the like Number of *English* Lords.

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THE Treaty having continued for some Days, the King had a Mind to assist in Person, where, after with some Warmth, he had asked the Covenanters several Questions, which they answered with much Submission and Respect; the Peace was made by the Mediation of the most moderate of the King's Council, upon Conditions that fully satisfied both Parties, excepting, that the Covenanters complained, that the King, in the Narrative of the Proclamation of Pacification, called the late Assembly of *Glasgow*, a Sham Assembly, and taxed their taking up Arms with Rebellion, which his Majesty had the Goodness to soften at their Request, and caused some bitter Words to be struck out, and the Expressions that seemed to them ambiguous to be explained, in order to remove all Jealousy from their Minds. The King, that nothing might be omitted to persuade them of the Sincerity of his Intentions, declared; "That though his Expressions seemed harsh in some Places, yet he had not the less Affection for them: That he must have a Regard to his Reputation among Foreigners, and that all Dispute about Words was frivolous, when they agreed in the Thing itself, especially having answered their Petition according to their Wishes." Indeed, the King had granted them a free General Assembly, which was to meet the sixth of *August* following: And what overjoyed them, a Meeting of the Parliament, wherein he was to be present in Person the 20th of the same Month, in order to confirm and ratify all that the Assembly should decree.

As soon as the Marquis of *Montrose* had had the News of the Peace, which was happily concluded the 18th of *June*, with Orders to disband the Troops in two Days; the Marquis, without giving Ear to what those, who only wanted to pillage the Country, advised him, which was for some Time to conceal the Proclamation of Pacification, and to turn it to his own Advantage, he made it to be proclaimed immediately; and having sent home his own Followers, he returned to *Edinburgh*, from whence he went to wait upon the King at *Berwick*, with three or four Lords of the Kingdom, whom his Majesty had sent for. The King told them, that he was sorry he could not go to *Scotland* as he had intended, having received Letters from the Queen and his Council of *England*, that other very pressing Affairs required his Presence at *London*; but that he would depute the Earl of *Traquaire*, with full Power to represent him both in the General Assembly and Parliament. Whereupon the King returned to *London* and *Traquaire* to *Scotland*, vested with the royal Authority.

THE Earl opened the General Assembly at *Edinburgh* the 12th of *August*. The Acts of the Assembly of *Glasgow* were there confirmed, the Earl thereto consenting by Word of Mouth, and by a Paper signed with his Hand, to this Effect; "That he the Earl of *Traquaire*, his Majesty's High Commissioner in this present General Assembly, declared in Name of the King, that his Majesty, without having Regard to his own Inclinations, nor to many other important Considerations, being willing, out of his matchless Goodness, to remedy the present Divisions, and to give intire Satisfaction to his Subjects, consented, as he his Commissioner gave his Consent to the Act confirming the Acts of the General Assembly of *Glasgow*."

The Earl of Traquaire goes High Commissioner to Scotland, holds a General Assembly at Edinburgh, which confirms that of Glasgow.

THEN the Assembly presented a Petition to the Earl and Council, to this Effect: "That all the Members of the Assembly having considered, that after so many of his Majesty's Favours towards his People,

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“ there wanted nothing to crown his Goodness, but that all his Subjects
 “ might be joined in one Covenant with God, with his Majesty, and
 “ among themselves; and presuming that the chief Obstacle to that
 “ good Work, proceeded from the Informations given his Majesty, that
 “ their Intention was to shake off the Yoke of his Obedience, and to
 “ lessen the royal Dignity and Authority. In order to remove out of
 “ the Way of the so much desired Union that stumbling Block, and to
 “ clear themselves from that Reproach; they, in their own Names, and
 “ as representing all the Societies and Congregations of the Kingdom,
 “ declared before God and Men, that they never had the least Thought
 “ of withdrawing themselves from his Majesty’s Obedience, nor of cast-
 “ ing off that royal Authority, which, in a Series of a Hundred and
 “ eight Kings, they and their Ancestors had acknowledged with great
 “ Submission and Delight: That far from having had the least Intention
 “ to attempt any Thing which might prejudice the Dignity of his
 “ Crown, on the contrary, they acknowledged, that all their Happiness
 “ depended upon the Welfare of his royal Majesty’s Person, who is God’s
 “ Vicegerent among them, for the Defence of Religion, and the Admi-
 “ nistration of Justice: That they had solemnly sworn, and still swore,
 “ not only their mutual Defence and Assistance, every one according to
 “ his Power, for the Cause of Religion, and the Security and Authority
 “ of his sacred Person, provided he should maintain the true Religion,
 “ the Liberties, and the Laws of the Church and State of the King-
 “ dom; but also that they should be always ready, as good and faithful
 “ Subjects, to venture their Lives in maintaining, according to the Laws,
 “ his Majesty’s Honour and Interest, at all Times, and in any Manner
 “ that he shall be pleased to demand Proofs of their Fidelity and Obedi-
 “ ence. Therefore having thus cleared themselves from that Calumny,
 “ they most humbly intreated his Excellency and the Lords of the Coun-
 “ cil, that according to the laudable Example given by their Ancestors
 “ in the Year 1581, they would be pleased to ordain by an Act of Coun-
 “ cil, that all his Majesty’s Subjects, of what Condition and Quality so-
 “ ever, should sign the Covenant, which they had formerly signed, as a
 “ Testimony of their Fidelity to God and the King.”

The Council having deliberated upon this Supplication, ordered that the Covenant should be signed by all the Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, of what Quality and Condition soever. Whereupon the Earl signed the Covenant, with the Explanation of the General Assembly of *Glasgow*, in the Quality of a Subject, but refused it as his Majesty’s High Commissioner. Then the Earl desired that the Assembly might declare, that the Things prohibited now in their Communion, might not be binding upon any Person when out of the Kingdom, and that they might freely follow the Customs of other Places without Danger of Censure. But *David Dick* the Moderator, in Name of the Assembly opposed that, alledging that that Liberty could not be allowed with a safe Conscience, which obliged the Earl to require an Instrument, which was granted him.

Two Bishops
 abjure Episco-
 pacy.

DURING this Assembly, the Bishops of *Dunkel* and the *Orkneys* abjured Episcopacy; and because, perhaps, ’tis an Action without Example, here is the Bishop of *Orkney*’s Abjuration, which was presented to the Assembly signed with his own Hand, and by many Witnesses, which ordered it to be inserted in the Records for eternal Memory. “ To all and every
 “ one whom it may concern, and to whose Knowledge this present Deed
 “ may

“ may come, particularly to the Reverend and Honourable Members of 1639.
 “ the General Assembly of *Edinburgh*, I Mr. *George Græme*, formerly
 “ pretended Bishop of the *Orkneys*, being heartily sorry and grieved, for
 “ having, out of worldly Respects, embraced the Order of Episcopacy,
 “ which has no Foundation in the Word of God, and which hath had
 “ many terrible and pernicious Consequences in many Parts of Christen-
 “ dom, especially in this Church of *Scotland*; I have renounced and ab-
 “ jured, as by this present Declaration I renounce and abjure all Epif-
 “ copal Power and Jurisdiction condemned by the lawful General Assem-
 “ blies of this Church, and likewise abjured by Virtue of that National
 “ Oath, which was taken in the Years 1580, and 1581; and I promise
 “ and swear by the great Name of our Lord God, that while I live, I
 “ never shall exercise such a Power in this Church, either directly or
 “ indirectly, and that I never shall approve of it, not even in my pub-
 “ lick or private Conversation; but on the contrary, that I shall firmly
 “ adhere to all the Acts of the General Assembly of *Glasgow* of 1638,
 “ and sincerely and faithfully with all my Might contribute upon all
 “ Occasions for executing the Acts of that Assembly, and advancing the
 “ Work of the Reformation in this Country, to the Glory of God, the
 “ Peace of the State, and the Comfort of all good Christians, so help
 “ me God.” I have said that this Action is without Example; for
 though there has been found many Bishops, who having laboured in the
 Vineyard during the Heat of the Day, and fed with the Word of God the
 Flocks, over which the Holy Ghost had placed them Bishops, have im-
 braced a solitary and religious Life, in order to employ the Decline of
 their Days in seriously examining their own Consciences: And that many
 also after having preached the Gospel to others, have been willing to see
 whether they themselves were reprobate or not; and to think seriously
 of the Account they were to give of the Administration of their Charge,
 which, in the Language of the Fathers, ought to make the Angels trem-
 ble; yet there is not one to be found, who, at leaving it off, have ab-
 jured it as an Office contrary to the Gospel, and an Order of Antichrist,
 which he could not hold with a safe Conscience. And ’tis as prepos-
 terous from those Examples, to infer any Thing to the Prejudice of Epif-
 copacy, as if, from the Retirement of some Emperors and Kings, who
 have stripped themselves of their Purple, in order to put on the Hair-cloth
 of the Monks, one should conclude something to the Disadvantage of Roy-
 alty, and the Imperial Dignity.

THE Assembly ended the 30th of *August*, by a Letter of Thanks to
 his Majesty, and appointed another to be held at *Aberdeen* the 20th of
July 1640. Then the Earl of *Traquaire* opened the Parliament, where-
 in Affairs became more perplexed and desperate than ever. The Cove-
 nanters complained that they were not fairly dealt with, and that no-
 thing of all that the King had promised in the Treaty of Pacification
 had been performed. On the other Hand, his Majesty complaining of
 the Covenanters in much stronger Terms, disowned a Writing which
 they affirmed truly to contain all the Conditions of the Peace, which
 the King ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the Hangman of *London*,
 and sent Orders to his Commissioner to adjourn the Parliament to the 2^d
 of *June* of the following Year. The Earl, according to his Majesty’s Or-
 ders, about the End of *November*, adjourned the Parliament, which in
 full Assembly protested against that Adjournment; whereupon the Earl
 in all Haste went to Court, in order to inform the King of all that had
 passed there, and of the turbulent State of the Kingdom.

ABOUT

1639.

ABOUT the End of the Year, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, Primate and Chancellor of *Scotland*, died at *London*, well stricken in Years. He had first been Parson of *Calder*, and by his Merit arrived to the highest Dignities of the Kingdom. King *James* had employed him in the most important Negotiations, after that wise Prince had discovered his bright Parts, and the great Penetration he had in Affairs. His old Age had not clouded them; for this notable Man, in all his Conduct, preserved to the last, both a ready Wit, and a sound Judgment. It was the Height of his Happiness, in the Opinion of Men, to die full of Years and Honour, before he saw the Desolation of his native Country, wherein that of his Family was involved; and to be buried near the King his Master, in *St. Peter's Church of Westminster*, the burying Place of the Kings, and where the most stately Trophies of Death are to be seen.

THE Parliament dispatched after *Traquaire* four Commissioners to the King, to wit, the Earls of *Lowdun* and *Dumfermling*, with Mr. *Douglas* and Mr. *Barklay*, the first Sheriff of the Shire of *Teviotdale*, and one of the ablest Men in *Scotland*. Their Instructions were, "That they should not make their Application to the *English* Council, which had no Authority over them, but to the King in Person, and should ask of him Reparation of the Injuries that had been done them since the Pacification. 1. Of the breaking up of the Parliament without their Consent, which was an Action for many Ages without Example, and a manifest Breach of their Laws and Liberties, which the King had newly promised to maintain and observe in all his Proceedings. 2. Of the numerous Garrisons, even composed of *English* Soldiers, that had been put into the Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Dumbarton*. 3. That the *Scots* trading in *England* and *Ireland* were obliged to take an Oath which condemned their Covenant." The Covenanters to these Instructions added an ample Declaration, for informing the *English* of the Matter of their Complaints. But in the Month of *March*, after the Commissioners had had Audience of the King, they were arrested Prisoners. About the same Time the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* having held a Parliament in the Month of *January* in that Kingdom, and raised four Subsidies, which make a Hundred and seventy Thousand Pounds, came to *England* to be present in the Parliament, which the King had appointed to sit at *London* in the Month of *April*.

An Accusation is drawn up against the Earl of Lowdun upon Account of a Letter written to the King of France. And the Parliament of England having met, is soon dissolved.

As the Time for the meeting of the Parliament drew near, an Accusation is drawn up against the Earl of *Lowdun*, Prisoner in the *Tower*, upon Account of a Letter which the Covenanters had written to the King of *France*, which Letter had been signed by this Lord. The Accusation was, "That the Covenanters rising up against their own King, had had Recourse to a foreign Prince for Succour and Assistance, by which Means, as much as in them lay, drawing the Arms of *France* into *Great-Britain*. *Lowdun* answered, that the Letter had been written in the Month of *May* 1639, when the *Scots* were threatened with War, and that it was known, that the Ambassadors and Residents at the Courts of the neighbouring Princes and States, had represented the Cause of the Covenanters as very odious: That their Intention was to justify themselves to their Allies of what had been laid to their Charge, and particularly to the most Christian King, whose Ancestors had been the ancient Friends of the *Scots*: That had they neglected that, they were afraid that by the false Reports, which were spread

" every

“ every where, that Prince might have conceived a bad Opinion of them,
 “ and become their Enemy: That the Assistance they had asked of him, was
 “ not by the Means of Arms, though they believed they could do it in a
 “ pressing Necessity, but of Intercession only, that it might please his
 “ most Christian Majesty to be their Mediator with the King; and that
 “ the Letter, rightly considered, contained nothing else. That though it
 “ made Mention of Assistance, yet the secret Instructions given to their
 “ Envoy, explained what sort of Assistance they wanted: That however
 “ the Letter may be interpreted, the Style of it did not please the chief
 “ Men of the Covenanters, and that they had not resolved to send it:
 “ That the Direction of the Letter *Au Roy*, with which the Covenanters
 “ were especially reproached, as if they had acknowledged the King of
 “ *France* for their Sovereign, was not put by them, but by some of their
 “ Enemies, after the Letter was forced out of their Hands: That in fine,
 “ the Thing having been done before the Treaty of Pacification, and the
 “ Act of Oblivion, it ought no more be mentioned.”

THIS artful and bold Answer put a Stop to any farther Proceeding in this Affair, which came to nothing, though the King touched upon it at the opening of the Parliament of *England*, which was on the 13th of *April*, in order to shew the Necessity he was under of having Recourse again to Arms, for chastising this Disloyalty of the Covenanters. “ But
 “ they immediately wrote an ample Apology to the Parliament, and gave
 “ them a brotherly Advice to be careful, as well to maintain their Laws
 “ and Liberties, as to beware of the Counsel of those wicked Politicians,
 “ who had not desired the meeting of the Parliament for any other End,
 “ but to put Arms in the King’s Hands against the Subjects of *Scotland*,
 “ and by that War to ruin, or at least to reduce all the People of the
 “ two Nations to the Condition of the most wretched Slaves: That after
 “ so many Dissolutions of the Parliament of *England*, this present Meet-
 “ ing was not made with a Design to redress the Disorders of the State,
 “ and remedy the Mischiefs which the People suffered, but to be domi-
 “ neered over, and kept under by a prevailing Faction, who would leave
 “ them no Means possible for recovering themselves, if they did not op-
 “ pose it with great Steadiness and Resolution: That there was just Cause
 “ to suspect some pernicious Design, when, at the very Time that the
 “ Parliament in *Scotland* was put off from Time to Time, though the
 “ Prince had promised that it should sit, one was granted in *England*,
 “ where it was not expected, and another forced upon *Ireland*, where it
 “ was not desired.”

IT was strongly debated in Parliament, if, before all other Things, they ought not to gratify the King in the Demand he had made of a Supply for carrying on a War against the Covenanters. The House of Lords was for the Affirmative; but the Commons stiffly opposed it, and the Reason they gave was, that the ancient Custom of Parliaments was, first to enter upon redressing the Grievances of the Subjects, before any Supply was granted: And that the Power of levying Money for the Maintenance of some Men of War in the Channel, which his Majesty promised to part with for Supplies, was not acknowledged by Parliament for a royal Prerogative, but an Imposition contrary to all the Laws.

THE King promised them, that all the Grievances, of which they complained, should be redressed, but would have them to consider, that if they delayed giving him a good Sum of Money, the Summer would be

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spent, and so he should lose the fair Opportunity he had of bringing the Covenanters to Reason. But to that several of the House replied, that it was not reasonable that the People should contribute of their Money, for carrying on a War, of which they were not the Cause, which they had not desired, and which even could not be successful, but to the Detriment of the whole Kingdom: That on the contrary the People would contribute of their Estates much more willingly, to prevent the so many Mischiefs, whereof this War was the Cause, and to punish those, who by Means thereof, disturbed the publick Tranquillity. Whereupon the King having taken Advice of his Council, sent to make this Proposal to the Parliament; that his Majesty demanded twelve Subsidies, each of which amounted to fifty Thousand Pounds, upon granting of which his Majesty would be so good as to put a Stop to the levying of that Money which made so much Noise.

THE Messenger was ordered not to insist upon having precisely twelve Subsidies; but to be contented with the half. However, he acted quite contrary to what was expected of him, and to what he had been ordered to do; for he told the Parliament, that the King would absolutely have twelve Subsidies, for which he was willing to part with his Right that was controverted. They forthwith rejected the Proposition, as a Thing they would by no Means consent to, and the Messenger having reported the Answer to the King, his Majesty, who assuredly believed that he had followed his Instructions, was nettled that they had refused so reasonable a Proposition; the 5th of May he went to the House of Lords, sent for the Commons, and dissolved the Parliament, protesting, however, with Words full of Sweetness, that in all the Course of his Government, he should have no less Regard for the Laws, when no Parliament was sitting, than if it were still in Being.

As soon as the Parliament was up, a Paper was posted up at the *Royal-Exchange* of *London*, containing Things very dangerous and tending to Sedition, in order to stir up the Prentices of the City, who frequently commit great Insolence there, to go and set Fire to the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Palace at *Lambeth*, just over against *Whitehall*, on the other Side of the River. This Design, in some Measure, had its Effect; for on the 8th of May about Midnight, that Palace was attacked by above five Hundred of the meaner sort of People; but it was so well defended, that the Palace suffered no Damage. The Archbishop caused it to be fortified afterwards, and planted with Cannon for its Defence: For they never left off spreading abroad Libels against him, and threatening to kill him, though one of the Accomplices had been torn in Pieces with four Horses in *Southwark*. The Count *de Rozetti* run some Risk at this Time, and soon after retired out of the Kingdom. He had succeeded Master *Con*, a *Scots* Gentleman of great Learning and eminent Virtue, who had been the Pope's *Nuncio* residing with the Queen, and who died at *Rome* when the Pope was upon the Point of making him a Cardinal.

AT the same Time that the Parliament was opened at *Westminster*, by the King's Permission, the Clergy assembled in *St. Paul's* Church, the Cathedral of *London*, and made several Canons for maintaining his Majesty's Supremacy, for suppressing the Catholick Religion, Socinianism, and the Sectaries. They likewise made some for the Uniformity of the publick Worship, and drew up an Oath that all the Ecclesiasticks were to take, whereby they obliged themselves to acknowledge, that the Doctrine of the Communion

of *England* contained all Things necessary for Salvation, and that its Government by Bishops and Archbishops ought not to be altered; but, on the contrary, that it ought to be maintained in the State it was in. They likewise promised never to propagate, either directly or indirectly, any Popish Doctrine in the Church of *England*, nor, at any Time, to endeavour to subject it to the Church of *Rome*. This Oath and the Canons were authorized by the King's Letters Patent, and his Majesty approved of all that had been done in the Convocation.

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AMONG the Bishops, *Godfrey Goodman*, Bishop of *Gloucester*, refused to take the Oath, for which he was suspended, and put in Prison: But he afterwards followed the Example of his Brethren, and the Suspension being taken off, he was set at Liberty. But the Convocation having continued sitting after the Parliament had been dissolved, as a new one was called in the Month of *November*, the sitting of the Convocation after that Time was judged to be contrary to Law; the Canons were annulled, and the Bishops, with the inferior Clergy, were condemned to pay great Fines.

THE Covenanters hearing that the Parliament of *England* had been dissolved in the Month of *May*, and being told besides, that their Proceedings in the Parliament, begun by the Earl of *Traquaire*, were taxed with Rebellion, without their being heard: That the Commissioners they had sent to Court had been made Prisoners: That their Ships were arrested in the Ports of *England* and *Ireland*: That Preparations were making in those two Kingdoms for making War against them, which had been already declared: That the Parliament of *Ireland* had declared them Rebels: And that in their Sight the Garrison of the Castle of *Edinburgh* committed Acts of Hostility upon the City and its Inhabitants; they judged it very necessary for them, not to spend any more Time idly without minding their own Security, and as the Time for the meeting of the Parliament drew near, they resolved to call it for giving the necessary Orders about the Preservation of the Kingdom in this pressing Necessity of their Affairs. They did not neglect betimes to levy Troops, and, impatient of being kept in Awe by the Garrison of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, they blocked up that Castle, which General *Ruthven*, Earl of *Forth* and *Brentford*, who had served in the Wars of *Germany* with great Honour till he was well grown in Years, held for the King.

The Covenanters hearing that the Parliament of England had been dissolved, raise Forces, besiege and take the Castle of Edinburgh, and some other Places that held out for the King.

THE Castle of *Edinburgh* is situate at the West End of the City, upon a Rock of a round Figure, which looks as if Nature had made it for that Purpose. The Rock is above forty Fathom high, and steep on the South and North Sides. They go up to it from the Town by a great Winding, where there are three Gates well fortified, at thirty Paces Distance one from another, and the West Side of the Rock falls shelving insensibly, and loseth itself in the Plain. The Top of it is very spacious, the Wall that surrounds it being above six Hundred Fathoms about. Towards the Town there is a large Platform, mounted with above twenty Pieces of great Brass Canon, always pointed against the Town and the Port of *Leith*, besides a great Number of other fine Pieces in the Magazines. Behind this Platform are the Apartments of the Castle, which are very noble and magnificent. At the first Gate there is a great Spur well lined with hewn Stone, upon which there are several small Pieces of Cannon, also pointed against the Town; however, the Governour was intended to have razed it, because of the great Number of Men that was requisite

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requisite to guard it. At the Foot of the Rock towards the North, there is a Spring which makes a little Lake, that serves both for a Wall and Ditch to one third Part of the Town, the rest being surrounded with only a simple Wall without Ditch. The Governor, at the beginning of the Blocade, which was in the Month of *May*, gave a very hot Alarm to the Town, which he could have annoyed more than he did. Above all he could level his Cannon exactly against the Steeple of the great Church of *St. Giles*, which is built in the Form of the Pope's triple Crown, and is one of the finest in *Europe*. The Companies of the Tradesmen of the City had caused it to be built, and they saved it from the Fury of the Mob, at the Time that the first Reformers pushed them on to destroy all the Monuments of the Piety of their Forefathers.

The Covenant-
ters besiege the
Castle of Edin-
burgh.

* *Way.*

THE Covenanters, in order to shelter themselves from the Fire of the Castle, raised Intrenchments of Earth and Dung in the great Street, which makes the Length of the Town, and is very broad; and having caused some Houses that were nearest the Castle to be filled with the same Stuff, they raised two Batteries against that of the Castle, which battered the Town. They set up several others, one at the Corner of the great Church-yard, near *Hariot's* stately Hospital, whose Founder was Jeweller to King *James*, and another beyond the Lake, in the Place called the Long-gate*. But that which did greatest Harm to the Garrison, was raised behind the Castle near *St. Cuthbert's* Church, to which the Soldiers were most exposed. At last having made Lines of Communication between the Batteries, they summoned the Governor to surrender, promising him honourable Terms. But he, who was intirely attached to the King's Interest, answered them, "That he could not surrender the Castle" without his Majesty's Orders, who had intrusted him with it; nevertheless that he should live peaceably with them, provided they committed no Act of Hostility, and raised their Blocade." The Covenanters, not content with this Answer, and resolving at any Rate to have the Castle, Colonel *Alexander Hamilton*, who did the Duty of Master of the Ordnance, and who understood it wonderfully well, undertook to get under the Spur, by sapping, where having sprung a Mine, which had great Effect, Captain *Weddal* attacked it with sixty Men, but they had no sooner mounted the Breach, than a Cannon loaded with Cartridge Shot being fired, laid twenty of them dead upon the Spot, and the Captain himself having had one of his Thighs broke, tumbled headlong from the Top of the Breach. The rest, not able to bear the Fire of the Castle, threw themselves down after their Leader, and at the same Time some Musketeers of the Garrison lodged themselves behind the Breach, which they repaired the Night following with Palisadoes.

THE Covenanters attempted no more to take the Castle by Storm, but knowing that Provisions began to fall short in it, they hoped to have it soon by Famine. By that Means they had made themselves Masters of the Castle of *Dumbarton*; for Colonel *John Henderson*, the Earl of *Forth's* Brother-in-Law, who commanded within, had been forced to surrender, because he and all the Soldiers of the Garrison having ate nothing for many Days but Salt Meat, had taken the Scurvy. The Covenanters upon this Surrender desired the Earl to follow the Example of his Brother-in-Law, and because he could not believe that the Castle of *Dumbarton* had been given up, they sent the Colonel to him in a Litter, who told him all that had passed. Whereupon the Governor, by that judging it would be in vain to expect Relief, made a honourable Capitulation,

tulation, and in the Month of *September* marched out of the Castle at the Head of his Garrison, with Drums beating, Colours flying, and Balls in their Mouth. From thence he was conducted to *Berwick*, where having refreshed for some Days, he went to wait upon the King, who made him Captain of his Guards. About the same Time the Castles of *Carlavrock* and *Thraive*, the one at the Mouth of the River of *Nyth*, in the Shire of *Nithsdale*, and the other in an Island near the Mouth of the *Dee*, in the Stewardry of *Kirkudbright*, fell into the Hands of the Covenanters by the same Means. The Earl of *Nithsdale* defended the first with great Resolution, and upon this, as well as upon all other Occasions, gave signal Proofs both of his Courage and Zeal for the Service of the King, his Master.

IN the mean Time the Parliament having met in *Scotland* the 11th of *June*, without the King's sending a Commissioner to it, the Lord *Burly* was chosen President of it. No Ecclesiasticks went there, but the Parliament having abolished the Distinction of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and having annulled all the Acts as well of the Parliaments held under King *James*, as of the Council and Court of Sessions for the Bishops, Abbots, and Priors having Access and Seat, they declared that the Lords, Gentlemen, and Burgeses of the Towns composed the three Estates of the Kingdom, and that their Commissioners now, and in all Time coming were, and should be the lawful Meeting of the Parliament, which hath full Power to determine all Things that concern the publick Good of the Kingdom.

The Parliament of Scotland meets without the King's Order, changes the ancient Form, ratifies the Covenant, with the Acts of the Assembly of Edinburgh, and establishes the Committee.

THEN the Parliament confirmed and ratified the Covenant with all the Acts of the General Assembly of *Edinburgh*. It likewise ordained, that all the Parishes, of which the Bishops had been Patrons, should hereafter be provided by the Presbyteries, and that their Vassals should run no Risk in not having done their Homage, since the first of *April* 1638, until the Parliament had taken Care of that for the Time to come. But because the King had declared in his Manifesto's, that the Meetings and Leagues of the Covenanters were contrary to the Statutes of Queen *Mary* and King *James*, the Parliament declared, that those Statutes did not mean Leagues, or Covenants, and Meetings made for the King's Security, and the Defence of Religion, the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom; so that all the Meetings that they had had since the Troubles, having been held for no other End, they ought to be looked upon as commendable and lawful: But, on the contrary, that many Proclamations published by the King, commanding under the Pain of Rebellion Things both unjust and unlawful, as well to the Prejudice of the Reformation of Religion, as of their Liberties, against which the Covenanters had formerly protested, were void and null. For which Cause, the Parliament made void those Proclamations; with the Orders of Council for publishing them, and declared, that no Person could be reputed a Rebel, but by the Sentence of Parliament, or of the Judges Ordinaries, after having been convicted of having transgressed against the Laws, which ordain, or forbid some Thing under the Pain of Rebellion.

THIS same Parliament ordained for the Liberty of the Country, that the Governours of the Castles of *Edinburgh*, *Dumbarton*, and *Stirling*, should be named by the King with the Advice of the Parliament, or of the Council, if the Parliament was not sitting: And that those Governors

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could not hold the Governments, but till the next Parliament, at which Time the King should confirm them in that Possession, or put other Persons in their Places with the Advice of the Parliament, without Prejudice, however, to the Earl of *Mar's* hereditary Constablenesship of the Castle of *Stirling*. After many Acts which this Parliament made for the Civil Government, and the Subsistence of the Army, another was made for triennial Parliaments, and for a *Committee*, which, being composed of some Number of the three Estates, should always sit, and be divided into two Parts, one of which should be with the Army, and the other at *Edinburgh*, or elsewhere, according to the Exigence of Affairs. Besides, it was ordained, that this Committee should have full Power in the Government of the State, and in the Orders of the War, without Prejudice to the Court of Sessions, and the other inferior Courts of Justice established in the Kingdom. At last the Parliament having caused a Writing to be drawn up, in order to be signed by all, whereby they obliged themselves to acknowledge this meeting of Parliament for a free and lawful meeting, and with all their Might to maintain the Acts therein made, as well for the good of Religion and the State, as for the Honour and Safety of the King's Person, it was adjourned to the 19th of *November* following.

The King orders his Army to rendezvous at York, and the Covenanters determine to march thence into England.

DURING the sitting of the Parliament a good Army was raised, and the Covenanters having determined in their secret Council to march it into *England*, and to publish two Manifesto's declaring the Reasons of their Design, and discovering their Intention to the *English*, the greatest Part of whom they knew wished no Harm, either to their Cause or Persons; General *Lesly* ordered the Rendezvous to be at *Dunee*, whither the Army marched, composed of between seventeen and eighteen Thousand Men, the Earl of *Callender* being Lieutenant General of it. The King had caused the Towns of *Berwick*, *Newcastle*, and *Hull* to be provided with all Sorts of Ammunition and Provision; and as soon as he was informed of the Design of the Covenanters, he ordered a Fleet to sail to the Coast of *Scotland*, in order to put a Stop to their Commerce. The King having afterwards ordered his Land Forces to rendezvous at *York*, appointed the Earl of *Strafford* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to be Commander in Chief of them, though the Earl of *Northumberland*, who could not be there, because of his Indisposition, had been declared Generalissimo from the beginning of the Levies.

A General Assembly meets at Aberdeen.

THE Cares of the War did not hinder the Covenanters from holding their yearly General Assembly at *Aberdeen*, which being opened the 28th of *July*, without any Commissioner from the King, *Andrew Ramsay* was chosen Moderator of it. Nothing of any Moment was decreed anew, only an Order was given to demolish every Thing that they thought looked like the Remains of Idolatry, such as Crucifixes, and the Images of *Jesus Christ*, of the blessed Virgin, or of Saints, which in many Places had still remained intire, particularly in the North Country; so that the Assembly having appointed another to be held at *St. Andrews* the 20th of *July* 1641, and ordered the Moderator to desire the King's Council to intreat his Majesty to send a Commissioner there on his Part, this broke up on the 5th of *August* 1640.

THE Noise of Arms called People elsewhere, and the Time for marching the Army towards the Borders and entering *England* drew near. This Invasion displeased the Marquis of *Montrose*. He had observed, that when

when they were deliberating upon it, those who gave their Opinion against that Design put the rest to a Nonplus, whether it was that the Affair had not been well concerted, or that the Strength of their Reasons did not admit of a Reply. In his Opinion the Covenanters had gone too far, and he thought that they could not justify their Proceedings like good Subjects. Whereupon the Marquis resolved within himself to leave them, and by submitting to the King, to adhere for ever to his Interest. But because all the Kingdom was strictly united and combined together, and that there appeared not one single Man in it who declared for the King by quitting the Interest of the Covenant, the Marquis did not think it fit to break with them all at once; on the contrary, he found, that it was absolutely necessary to temporize a little, in order quietly to undeceive his Friends, who were engaged as well as himself among the Covenanters. He had two Regiments of Foot and one of Horse in the Army, and his most trusty Friends had five or six there. This was sufficient to make a considerable Party, whereby, if they had been as resolute as he, the Covenanters Design would have been stifled in the Bud, and the Storm that was ready to fall upon their Neighbours would have been dispelled.

THE Marquis happened to be at *Edinburgh* about some Affairs, when it was solemnly concluded in the Committee of the Army, that they should march into *England* as soon as possible. At his returning, the Covenanters were willing upon his Account to take the Matter again under Deliberation. He seemingly gave his Vote with the rest, and pretending to approve of the Resolution that had been taken, suffered himself to be carried away with the Violence of the Stream, which would have swallowed him up, if he had made the least Shew of opposing it. The Army being thus encouraged by this Unanimity of Opinion, decamped from *Dunee*, and advanced to the Banks of the River of *Tweed*. The Regiments drew Lots which should pass it first, which fell to the Marquis's Lot, who passed the River at the Head of his Foot on the 21st of *August*, and all the Army followed.

THE Covenanters met with no Opposition till they came to *Newburn*, about six Miles from *Newcastle*, whither the Earl of *Strafford* had detached my Lord *Conway* with twenty five Hundred Horse, and one Thousand Foot, to hinder the Covenanters from passing the River of *Tyne*. But it was not much disputed, for though the royal Cavalry charged the Covenanters with a great deal of Vigour, yet the Infantry, which had come to the War against their Will, having fled, the Cavalry gave Ground, and left the Passage to the Enemy. There were but few killed on either Side: But the Covenanters took three of the most gallant Officers Prisoners, Colonel *Wilmot*, Sir *John Digby*, and *Oneal*, an *Irish* Gentleman; the two last were Captains of the light Horse. This Battle was fought on the 28th of *August*, and opened the wealthy Town of *Newcastle* to the Covenanters, who, some Days after, put a Garrison into *Durham*, commanded by Major General *Bailly*; and having taken a Fort upon the *Tyne* below *Newcastle*, they made themselves Masters of some Ships that had been loaded with Corn for the King's Army.

ABOUT this Time some Troops of the Garrison of *Berwick* having had Advice that the Covenanters had left great Store of Ammunition in the small Town of *Dunee*, which boasts of the Birth of the *Doctor Subtilis*, sallied out in order to carry it off; but having found the Place better

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ter fortified than they imagined, they were repulsed with Loss, and pursued by the Earl of *Haddington*, who then commanded that frontier Town for the Covenanters. But soon after that Lord, one of the best accomplished Gentlemen of all the Kingdom, was unhappily crushed, with his two Brothers, under the Ruins of the Castle of *Dunglas*, Fire having been put to the Powder in the Cellars, either through Carelessness, or maliciously by one of that Earl's Pages, and he was generally regreted by every body.

The King summons the English Nobility and Gentry to meet him at York, where he receives one Petition from the Covenanters, and another signed by a great many of the English Nobility.

** Ship Money.*

IN the mean Time, the King, by publick Proclamation, had ordered all the *English* Nobility and Gentry to repair to *York*, with their Vassals in Arms under his Standard the 20th of *September*. As his Majesty had gone thither in Person, the Covenanters presented to him a Petition, which contained many Protestations of their Fidelity, and of the Innocence of their Intentions in thus entering *England*. But the King having found their Expressions too general, wrote to the Earl of *Lenrik*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*, to get them more particularly to specify their Demands. As they were about that, a Letter was sent to the King signed by twenty Earls and Barons of *England*, "Wherein they represented to his Majesty the deplorable State of the Kingdom, and the Mischiefs that attended this War. They particularly took Notice of the Danger of his Person, the wasting of the royal Treasure, the Oppression of his Subjects, and the Rapine committed by his Army, where the Papists, and others ill affected to Religion, had Command, though the Laws did not allow them so much as to keep Arms in their own Houses. To this they added the dangerous Effects that his Majesty's Design of calling the *Irish* and Foreign Troops into *England* would produce, if he persisted in it; the Monopolies which ruined Commerce; the Tax for the Guard Ships*; the Complaints of all his Subjects of the long Discontinuance of Parliaments, and of the Dissolution of the former Meetings without any Effect. In order to remedy which, they most humbly begged of his Majesty to call a Parliament as soon as possible, but with all Freedom, that the Differences betwixt him and his Subjects might be there accommodated without the shedding of Blood, and decided to his Majesty's Honour, and the Comfort of all his People." By the Word *Monopolies* they meant, as well the Duties laid without any Necessity upon several Commodities, the Profit of which accrued to some private Men, as the Liberty given to some others only to vend certain Goods, which too much confined the Freedom of Commerce, to the great Discontent of the People. And as to the Ship Money, which afforded Matter of Complaint to many of the Nobility, even because of the Consequence, they meant that Sum of Money, which the Kings of *England* were wont in Time of War to levy chiefly upon the Maritime Towns, as the most concerned, and proportionally upon all the other Parts of the Kingdom, for maintaining a certain Number of Men of War for guarding the Coast. Now, at that Time the King's Officers levied immense Sums for that End, which was pretended to be employed for quite other Purposes; but it was without any Ground; for besides that the King offered to make his Officers account for it, he did not stick to demonstrate, that these Sums were not sufficient for maintaining the Ships, and that he was obliged to issue Money out of the Treasury besides.

THE King having received this Petition, the 24th of *September* he convened all the Lords at *York*, where having declared to them; that of his own Accord, he had determined to call a Parliament at *London*

the 3^d of *November* following, he asked their Advice about what Answer he should give the Covenanters, and how he might with Honour treat with those who had invaded *England*: And to make them understand the whole State of the Affair, he ordered the Earl of *Traquaire*, who had been his last Commissioner in *Scotland*, to give an Account of all that had passed there since the beginning of the Troubles. The King desired likewise that they would fall upon Means for subsisting his Army, till the Subsidies should be raised by Parliament. The Lords, after having proposed many Overtures, concluded with this, that his Majesty would be pleased to give full Power to sixteen of them, for treating and agreeing with the Covenanters about Conditions of Peace: Which the King having granted, the Covenanters were desired to depute a like Number of their Nobility, to whom an ample safe Conduct was sent.

ALL these Commissioners from both Sides being met at *Rippon*, the Earl of *Lowdun* spoke for the Covenanters, and the Earl of *Bristol* for the *English*. The most Part of the Demands on each Side, were agreed to without much Difficulty; but it seemed harsh to the *English*, having their own Army to maintain, that the Covenanters should at the same Time demand Money of them for the Payment of their Army. However those *English* Lords, having the Peace of the two Kingdoms much at Heart, which at any Rate they had a Mind to bring about, agreed to that Demand of the Covenanters, and settled these Articles with them. 1. "That there should be a Truce and Cessation of Arms for two Months. 2. That during the Truce one Thousand Pounds a Day should be paid to the Covenanters Army. 3. That in Default of the Payment of that Sum, the Covenanters might levy it by Force upon the Counties of *Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*. 4. That the Covenanters should have these Counties for their Winter Quarters. 5. That no Preparations of War should be made during the Truce. 6. That private Offences and Injuries should not break it. 7. That the Merchants might freely traffick in both the Kingdoms, without having Need of Passports, but that the Soldiers should not be allowed to go without their Quarters."

WHILE these Things were transacting between the Commissioners of both Nations, the Marquis of *Montrose* found an Opportunity of writing to the King. He begged of his Majesty to expect from him all the Duties of a loyal and faithful Subject, and to do him the Favour to believe, that he would never depart from his Obedience. The Covenanters being punctually advised of all that passed at Court, found Means to get a Copy of his Letter: Whereupon the Marquis being cited before the Committee; General *Lesly* interrogated him with great Haughtiness, and told him; "That he had seen Princes lose their Heads for Things of less Importance." *Montrose*, without being concerned, owned the Letter, and having replied boldly; "That to write to the King was not keeping Correspondence with an Enemy, but paying his Duty to their Master;" with great Resolution and Address he got clear of this, truly, very ticklish Affair. The Covenanters had no Mind to discover their Anger against him, for Fear of a Revolt in the Army, where he had a powerful Party, but which did not answer his Expectation: For though many of the Nobility had signed an Association with him, and had bound themselves to venture their Lives and Fortunes, for maintaining the Religion and royal Authority, with the Liberties of the Kingdom; as also for opposing with all their Might the Designs of some particular Men, who, under Colour

*The Treaty of
Rippon.*

*The Marquis
of Montrose
writes to the
King.*

1640. of the publick Good, with which they cloked their own Interests, had a Mind to command magisterially in an arbitrary Manner, and to raise themselves above their Equals: Yet some of these very Men, who had entered into the Association, discovered it, and the rest having withdrawn from it afterwards, the whole Design came to nothing.

*The King opens
the Parliament
at London.*

AFTER the Truce of *Rippon*, the King left *York*, in order to open the Parliament at *London*, where in the first Meeting, he signified, that the staying of the Covenanters Army in *England* gave him much Uneasiness; and in the second Speech he made to the Parliament the 5th of *November*, he urged them to fall upon Means for turning the Rebels out of the Kingdom: That he was forced to call the Covenanters such, while they should have an Army in a Condition to assault this State, though in his Treaty with them, he called them his Subjects, for such they likewise were. But though the Parliament took very kindly the Sense that the King had shewn, of what the North of *England* had suffered by the Covenanters Army, they had no Thoughts of turning it out of *England*; on the contrary, they very readily gave the necessary Orders for its Substantance. At the same Time, the Parliament began to attack the chief Officers of the Crown, and the most eminent of the Prelates. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* were sent Prisoners to the Tower of *London*. Doctor *Wren* Bishop of *Norwich*, was accused of High-Treason, for having caused a great Number of the Puritans of his Diocese to retire to *New-England*, because, said they, that he obliged them with too much Rigour to conform themselves to the Liturgy, and their Ecclesiastical Order. They had a Mind likewise to attack Sir *John Finch* and Sir *Francis Windebank*, the one Lord Keeper, and the other first Secretary of State; but they thinking it more safe to justify themselves at a Distance, retired out of the Kingdom, the Lord Keeper to *Holland*, and the Secretary to *France*, where he died.

AFTER that the Parliament had caused such as they thought guilty to be arrested, they thought of causing Reparation to be made to some, who they believed had been unjustly persecuted, and called home three that had been banished, whose exemplary Punishment had made a great Noise. The Affair happened in this Manner. About the same Time, *Henry Burton*, a Minister, *John Bastwick*, a Doctor of Physick, and *William Pryn*, a Barrister of *Lincoln's-Inn*, published very scandalous Books against the Bishops, wherein they were not satisfied with accusing them of having introduced many pretended Novelties, as well in Doctrine as Worship, and of exercising a Jurisdiction contrary to the Laws; but were transported with so much Passion, that, having nothing to reproach them with as to their Persons, except that they were Bishops; all the most odious Things, that could be imagined against Episcopacy, were to be found in expresse Terms in their Writings, for they told plainly; " That the
" Hierarchy was *Joshua's* accursed Thing: That the Cathedral Churches
" were the high Places, which had not been abolished, and the Concu-
" bines with which the Bishops begot sacrificing Priests: That the Bi-
" shops were the Members and Offspring of Antichrist: That they were
" the Corrupters of the Word of God, and Mountebanks of *Rome*. That
" the Plague, with which the Kingdom was then afflicted, would not be
" at an End till the King had caused them to be hanged, as the *Gibeo-*
" *nites* caused the Sons of *Saul* to be hanged before the Lord. That the
" King's Chapel, which the Bishops designed for the Model of all
" Churches, might be compared to *Nebuchodonosor's* Statue, and *Julian's*
" Altar."

“Altar.” The Bishops, in the Apologies they wrote themselves, and in those they caused to be written, defended themselves with great Vigour, and shewed with profound Learning, that no new Doctrine was publicly taught by their Authority, and that in the Points objected of the personal Succession of Bishops, of Antichrist, of the Possibility of the Law, of Justification by Faith and Works, of free Mercy, and of the Power of the supreme Magistrate, all their publick Doctrine was agreeable to the Confession of Faith, which was drawn up into 39 Articles in a Synod held in the Year 1662, for which Cause 'tis commonly called *the Book of Articles*. It was well known, said the Bishops, that the Puritans sought by all Means to wrest and corrupt the Sense of them, in order to support their own Whims, which they had a Mind should pass for the publick Doctrine of the Protestant Communion of *England*; and that they themselves being the sole Authors of all the Novelties, they never left off accusing all others of them, who were not of their Opinion.

THE Manner of observing *Sunday* was the principal Stumbling-Block, and afforded Matter of Complaint to the Puritans; in the first Place, that the Bishops, not content with teaching a false Doctrine concerning that holy Day, they had persuaded the King to make it be prophaned by his Authority. The Occasion of this Complaint proceeded from two Things pretty extraordinary: One was a Book written by *Theophilus Braburn*, a Minister, which he had the Boldness to dedicate to the King, wherein he undertook to prove, that the Lord's Day was nothing but an Idol, and that Christians were bound to the Observance of the *Jewish Sabbath*: The other was the common Opinion of the Puritan Ministers, who taught, that Men were obliged to keep *Sunday* with the same Strictness, as the *Jews* were bound to keep the *Sabbath*. Whereupon the Bishop of *Ely* had Orders from the King to answer *Braburn's* Book, and he demonstrated plainly, that not only the fourth Commandment, not being purely moral, had ceased in its literal Sense since the Gospel; but also that there was not one Commandment in the New Testament for the religious Solemnity of *Sunday*, the keeping of which was founded as well upon the Apostolical Tradition, as upon the Practice of the universal Church, and that innocent Recreations after the divine Service were not forbidden in it. Nevertheless the King had a Mind that the People should not be hindered from making Use of that Liberty after having assisted at all the Service, and that the Ministers should not give them any Scruple of Conscience about it. For that End, he caused to be printed, with some Modification, the Declaration which King *James* had made upon that Subject in the Year 1617, as he was going to *Scotland*. The King therefore ordered the Bishops to cause it to be read publickly in all the Churches of their Dioceses. Many Ministers refused to obey, and chose rather to quit their Ministry, than to read the Declaration. But though these Ministers were blamed for being too scrupulous, and leaving their Charges too rashly; yet for all that, the pressing of the Declaration with Rigour was found Fault with, at a Time when the Bishops had so many better and more important Things to teach the People, who, it seems, did not stand in Need of having a greater Latitude given them, nor, to use the Archbishop's Expression upon another Occasion, to be pushed on to what they have always abundance of Inclination of themselves.

IN the second Place, they called to Mind the Prohibition which King *James* had made, that young Ministers should not treat of the Mysteries
of

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of Predestination and Reprobation in their Sermons, it not being allowed to any but the Bishops and Deans of Chapters to speak of them in publick; and by that Means, said the Puritans, the Efficacy of the Gospel had been destroyed; seeing instead of preaching it with the Power of the Spirit, no more was required now but to preach moral Exhortations to the People. This Reproach much surprized the Bishops, who wondered that these People looked upon the Mystery of the Cross, in which the great Apostle wished all his Knowledge to be comprehended, and that great Mystery of Godliness, God manifested in the Flesh, to be nothing but moral Discourses, and that they had imagined that the Preachers would have nothing to say to the People, if it was not allowed them to enter into the Council of God, and opening the Book sealed with seven Seals, to search into these hidden Mysteries, of which the Apostle, who had been ravished up to the third Heaven, could not speak, without crying out, O the Depth! But that learned Prince thought it was more safe to follow the Opinions of St. *Augustine* and St. *Prosper*, who held, that it was good sometimes to conceal some Truths, in Consideration of those who were not capable to comprehend them, because they do not profit but when they are unknown. It was for this Reason, that the King, following the Example of his Father, after he had found that the Disputes about Predestination and Grace were carried on with too much Heat in *England*, and that the two Parties fought with the Protestant Confession of Faith, each of them making it favour their own Opinion; in the Year 1628 he made a Declaration, which he ordered to be printed on the Frontispiece of the Book of Articles, where both Parties were enjoined to keep to the Grammatical Sense, and to the Letter of the Confession, without commenting upon it, with a Design to make a Faction, and to wrap up all controverted Things, under the general Expressions of the holy Scripture, where the Promises of God are offered to all Men in general Terms.

THIS was not all, for in the last Place, the Puritans charged the Bishops with a Design of crying down the preaching of the Gospel, as well by the Suppression of Lecturers, as by the Injunction they had made not to preach any more second Sermons on *Sundays*; but only to catechize for half an Hour in the Afternoon, which the Bishops looked upon to be more useful for the Edification of the People, than many Sermons, where the Preachers, neglecting the holy Scriptures, and that sound Doctrine which keeps up Piety, take a Pride in their Eloquence, and their Knowledge in the *Belles Lettres*, which render the Fruits of the Cross of *Jesus Christ* useless. They meant by Lecturers, Ministers who performed no other Pastoral Duty but that of preaching. The Bishops did not look upon them as Members of their Clergy, nor of the Hierarchy of their Communion, the Contrivance of them being owing to a Puritan, named *Travers*, about the End of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign. The Occasion of it was, as well the Whim of the Puritans, who make all Religion to consist in a continual Preaching, as the Non-residence of some Parsons, who, by the Laws of *England*, were allowed to hold two Benefices, and who appointed Curates to perform the Duty, but these preached very seldom; so that many zealous People, and besides, ill affected to Episcopacy and the Form of the Prayers of the Liturgy, made Foundations for maintaining Lecturers, and by that Means supplying the Defect of the Ordinaries. These Lecturers were extremely despised by the rest of the Clergy, who, in jesting upon them, commonly applied the Fable of the Bat to them; because when the Clergy wanted to have the

Lecturers

Lecturers contribute towards their Taxes, they excused themselves upon the Account of their not having either Title or Benefice, and would pass for Laicks; and on the other Hand, when the Laicks had a Mind to tax them, they shewed their Habits, and pretended to be of the Clergy. This Contempt, however, did not hinder them and the Puritan Ministers, who always resided, from getting Possession of the Pulpits; whence it came, that when the Episcopal Authority was at a low Ebb, the People readily lent a helping Hand to the Suppression of the Liturgy, and the abolishing of all the Ceremonies, which are the Hedge of Religion.

As for the pretended Novelties in the Worship, which the Puritans inveighed against so bitterly, they were as ancient as their Reformation; for Queen *Elizabeth* had ordained, that the People should stand up when the Gospel was reading, and should sing the *Gloria Patri*: That they should be uncovered and bend the Knee at the Name of *Jesus*: That the Communion Table should be placed at the upper End of the Quire, and that the Churches should continue in the same Condition they were formerly in; so that there was no Innovation in the Rails that had been put again in some Places, and which were absolutely necessary for preserving the Respect due to those Places. For it was very reasonable, that in *England*, during the Sermon, the People should be kept from Leaning or Sitting upon those Tables, or upon the Altars that were in the Cathedral Churches, and the royal Chapels; and upon which, for a long Time in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, the Cross continued to be placed, which made the Puritans complain, who called the Sign of the Cross, *the Mark of the Beast*: Insomuch that one of them, named *Parker*, wrote a Book, in order to prove, that the Sign of the Cross was a Transgression of all the Commandments of God. 'Tis also true, that during that Princess's Reign, the People, in receiving the Sacrament, turned towards the East, and in entering the Churches bowed towards the Place where the Communion Table stood, which they looked upon to be the most holy. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, on the 14th of *June* 1637, making a Speech in the Star-Chamber, in Favour of this Ceremony, said: That the Altar was the Place upon Earth where God made his most peculiar Residence, nay, much more than in the Pulpit; for at the most there was nothing there, but *This is my Word*; but upon the holy Table, *This is my Body*; and as more Reverence is due to the Body of our Lord, than to his Word, so more is due to the Throne where his Body mostly reposeth, than to the Seat of his Word. Then directing his Discourse to the Knights of the Garter, he told them, That they were obliged to join with the Bishops in maintaining this Ceremony, laying before them, that as *Henry V.* assisted at the Solemnity of that illustrious Order after his returning from *France*, where he had for a long Time made War, he was surprized to see, that the Knights in going to the Offering, made a profound Reverence before the King's Chair, which had not been as yet practised; and having asked the Duke of *Bedford*, his Brother, the Reason of it, he answered the King, that it had been so ordered by the Knights, in a Chapter they had held three Years before. Whereupon the King ordered, that for the future the Knights should make him no Reverence, till they had first made it with great Humility before the Altar, in the same Manner as the Churchmen did it.

LASTLY, as for that Calumny, that the Bishops usurped his Majesty's supreme Authority in their Ecclesiastical Courts, in dispatching
S every

1640. every Thing there in their own Names, and under their Seals, they grounded that upon what passed in the Minority of *Edward VI.* when some Persons, Enemies of Episcopacy, associated themselves with some Lords who favoured the Design of abolishing Episcopacy, in order to appropriate the Revenues of the Bishops to themselves. These therefore persuaded that Prince's Council, to ordain, that whatsoever should be done in the Ecclesiastical Courts should be in the King's Name, and under his Seal bearing his Arms. Which occasioned, that though these Courts acted in that Manner with Respect to Matrimonial, and other mixed Causes, yet Excommunication, and the other Censures, purely Spiritual, were no longer in Use, it being absurd to pretend to fulminate Excommunication in the King's Name; so that the wicked no more were afraid of the Censures of the Church, were hardened in their Sins, and became impenitent. The Clergy complaining of this Abuse, and Bishop *Latimer* preaching before the King at *Westminster* in the Year 1550, he conjured him to restore to the Church that Power which *Jesus Christ* had left it, which, however, was not done during his Reign: But Queen *Mary* repealed *Edward's* Order, which was never renewed, though both Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* took the Title of supreme Governour in all Things, and over all Persons both Ecclesiastical and Secular. The Bishops, however, did not fail to maintain still, that they had their Jurisdiction immediately from *Jesus Christ*, acknowledging nevertheless, that they could not exercise it within the King's Dominions, but with his Majesty's good Will and Pleasure.

THE Authors of these defamatory Libels were cited before the Court of High Commission, and put in different Prisons, where they remained until the Cause was brought before the Star-Chamber, which took Cognizance of Crimes against the State. This Court not entering into a full Examination of the Affair, insisted only upon this, that these Men had written against Things established by Authority, and condemned them to have their Ears cut off in the Pillory, which was executed in *New Palace-Yard* the last Day of *June* 1637. They were afterwards sent Prisoners to the Islands of *Silley*, *Guernsey*, and *Jersey*. But as soon as the Parliament was met at *London* in 1640, these three Prisoners were sent for by Order of the two Houses, and made their Entry into *London*, accompanied by a vast Crowd of People, all carrying Branches of Rosemary and Lawrel in their Hats, for a Token of their Joy. This Action of the People in their Favour, was differently spoken of at that Time, some highly blaming it as scandalous and seditious, done in Contempt of the royal Authority, and to put an Affront upon Justice; others abhorring the Rigour of the Punishment that had been inflicted upon these Men, took this Mark of the Peoples Affection, for a Presage of the Suppression of the Courts of High Commission and Star-Chamber, as it happened six Months after. The Parliament having afterwards taken the Affair under Consideration, repealed the Sentence that had been given against these Libel Scriblers, and restoring them to their Employments, ordered that, for Reparation of the Injuries they had suffered, they should receive out of the Estates of the Archbishop, and of those of the other Members of the Courts of High Commission and Star-Chamber, to wit, *Burton* six Thousand Pounds, *Pryn* and *Bastwick* five Thousand each.

The Treaty removed to London.

Now, the King having removed the Treaty of Peace to *London*, which was begun at *Rippon* by a Suspension of Arms, the Parliament ratified

fied his Majesty's Commission given under the great Seal to the *English* 1640.
Commissioners the 23^d of *November*, for concluding the Treaty with the
Commissioners of *Scotland*, who repaired thither the 20th of the same
Month, with their Power signed by the Committee of the Parliament at
Newcastle and *Edinburgh* the 30th of *October* and 4th of *November*. At
the same Time, the Parliament of *Scotland* having been adjourned to the
20th of *November*, it met at *Edinburgh*, and the Lord *Burly* having been cho-
sen President as before, it was again adjourned to the 4th of *January*, and
then at the King's Desire to the 15th of *July*. In the mean Time, the
Commissioners of the two Nations, having prolonged the Truce, which
was to end the 16th of *December*, entered upon a Conference. Their
Treaty lasted till a great Part of the following Year was spent, because at
the same Time, the Parliament of *England* was, with great Heat, taken
up with the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*, Prisoner in the *Tower*.

THE Covenanters, first of all, presented this Declaration; " That 1641.
" though, as his Majesty's most faithful and dutiful Subjects, they ac- The Covenant-
ters present a
Declaration of
the Independen-
cy of Scotland.
" knowledged, that they depended intirely upon him their sovereign Lord,
" whether he made his Residence in *Scotland* or in *England*; and though
" they had a Respect for the Parliament of *England*, as by the Interest
" of Nature and Religion they were bound: Yet as they were persuaded
" that the Parliament of *England*, at present had not the least Thought
" of incroaching upon that of *Scotland*, or of attempting any Thing
" upon its Laws and Liberties; so they were desirous to inform Stran-
" gers and Posterity, of the Nature of this Treaty, who might draw
" some bad Consequence from it, because of the coming of the *Scots* to
" the Parliament of *England*. Therefore they declared, that neither by
" this Treaty with the *English*, nor by the Desire they had of having
" the Articles of it confirmed by their Parliament, nor by any Deed
" whatsoever, did they mean to depend upon it in the least, much less
" to make it judge of their Persons or Laws, or to do any Thing that
" might occasion the least Prejudice to their Liberties. That they had
" come only to treat freely and brotherly, in order to join with them in
" all that might forward the Good and Peace of the two Kingdoms; as
" if, upon the Account of the King's Residence in *Scotland*, *English* Com-
" missioners went there on the like Occasion."

THEN the Covenanters gave in their Demands, which were all grant- The Demands
of the Cove-
nanters.
ed them, without any Modification that could give them the least Ground
of Complaint: For it was determined; " That the Acts of the Parlia-
" ment held in the Month of *June* 1640, should be published in the
" King's Name, by the Advice of the Parliament, in order to have the
" Force of Laws: That the Governments of the Castles of *Edinburgh*
" and *Dumbarton*, with the other Fortresses of the Kingdom, should be
" given by the Advice of the Parliament, for the Defence and Security
" of the Country: That all those, who, on Account of the Covenant,
" had been made Prisoners in *England* or *Ireland*, and whose Goods had
" been confiscated, should be set at Liberty, and have their Goods re-
" stored them: That the *Scots*, who should hereafter traffick in those
" Kingdoms, should not be molested in any Manner whatsoever, for ha-
" ving signed the Covenant, and should not be obliged to take any Oath
" that may be contrary to the Laws and Religion established in *Scotland*,
" provided only that those, who should be settled in *England* or *Ire-*
" *land*, should be bound, like the other Inhabitants, by the Laws and
" Oaths established by their Parliaments; That the *English* and *Irish*,
" trading

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“ trading in *Scotland*, should enjoy the same Privilege: That the King
 “ should not hinder the Parliaments of *Scotland* and *England* from pro-
 “ ceeding in the Course of Justice against all his Subjects, of what Con-
 “ dition soever; and that those, who by Sentence of Parliament, should
 “ be declared incapable of Offices, or of approaching his Person, should
 “ be barred therefrom by his Majesty: That the Ships and Goods taken
 “ at Sea, or detained in Harbours, should be restored on both Sides, with
 “ Damage and Interest: That in Consideration of the Losses which the
 “ Covenanters have sustained since the beginning of the Troubles, the
 “ two Houses of Parliament should give them for their brotherly Assi-
 “ stance, three Hundred Thousand Pound: That a third of it, with all
 “ the Arrears that were owing the Covenanters Army should be paid
 “ whenever it should be disbanded; and that the publick Faith should
 “ be engaged for the Payment of the other two Thirds of the Sum, at
 “ two Terms, to wit, at the Feast of St. *John* 1642, and at the same
 “ Time of the Year 1643. That all the Proclamations, Declarations,
 “ and Libels that had been published against the Fidelity, and derogating
 “ from the Honour of the Covenanters, should be suppressed in the three
 “ Kingdoms; and that at the solemn Thanksgiving for the Conclusion of
 “ the Peace, publick Testimony should be given of the Fidelity of the
 “ Covenanters towards the King, over all his Majesty’s Dominions: That
 “ in the first meeting of the Parliament of *Scotland*, the King should sa-
 “ tisfy the Covenanters about the disposing of the Offices of the King-
 “ dom, and that at all Times he should satisfy them with Respect to
 “ the Religion of those who should be about his Person, and that of the
 “ Prince his Son; as also concerning the Number of *Scots* Men who were
 “ always to attend their Majesties and his Highness: That his Majesty
 “ and the Parliament approving of the Covenanters Demands, for the
 “ Uniformity of Ecclesiastical Government within the two Kingdoms,
 “ the Parliament of *England* should proceed in the Reformation thereof,
 “ which had been begun, according as it should be judged most conve-
 “ nient for the Peace of both: That the Quantity and Value of the Cop-
 “ per Money which was already, or shall be coined hereafter, should be
 “ rated by the Advice of Parliament: That an Act of Oblivion of all
 “ that had passed on Account of the late Commotions concerning Religi-
 “ on should be enacted in the Parliaments of the three Kingdoms, and that
 “ all Magistrates should be forbidden to inquire into any Act of Hostility,
 “ whether between the King and his Subjects, between Subject and Sub-
 “ ject, or into any Thing whatsoever done in Prejudice of his Majesty’s
 “ Authority, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, or of the Interest
 “ of private Persons; saving, however, to the *Scots* that should be in *Ire-*
 “ *land*, a Right to prosecute at Law for Reparation of their Damages:
 “ That, in order to remove all Umbrage and Jealousy between the two
 “ Nations, the Garrisons of *Berwick* and *Carlisle* should be disbanded,
 “ and all the new Fortifications demolished; and in like Manner the
 “ Fortresses that are in *Scotland* should be put in the same Condition
 “ they were in before the Troubles: That, in order to preserve a good
 “ Union firm and stable between the Kingdoms, it should be decreed by
 “ the Parliaments of all the three, that they could not declare nor make
 “ War against one another without the Consent of their Parliaments; and
 “ that the Declaration of War should always be three Months before the
 “ breaking of the Peace: That if the Freedom of Commerce should hap-
 “ pen to be interrupted by the Outrage of some People who may have
 “ taken up Arms, the Parliament of the Kingdom, where such Things
 “ shall

“ shall be committed, should be obliged to punish rigorously those Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity; and if, after Complaint of it shall have been made to the Commissioners that shall be appointed for the Execution of the Treaty of Peace, Justice be not done, in that Case, the Peace should be looked upon to be broken: That if any Subjects of either of the Kingdoms take up Arms, and make War upon the Subjects of the neighbouring Kingdom, without the Consent of the Parliament of their own Kingdom, they should be prosecuted as Traytors to the State whose Subjects they were: That to the End that the Articles of this Peace, which is about to be happily concluded, may be inviolably observed, the King and the Parliaments should name Commissioners of the two Nations, who during the Intervals of Parliament, may decide all the Differences and Disputes that may happen about the Articles of the Treaty, and adjust all that may be disputable between the Subjects of his Kingdoms, being still answerable for their Proceedings to the King and Parliaments: That since the Articles of the Treaty must be confirmed by the Parliaments of *England* and *Ireland*, and that after all the Armies should be disbanded, the said Articles must be confirmed by the Parliament of *Scotland*, his Majesty should give full Power and Freedom to the Parliament that must soon after sit in *Scotland* to confirm the Treaty, and to deliberate upon all that may be judged necessary for the good of the Peace of the Kingdom: That his Majesty's High Commissioner should have full Power to approve all the Acts, which for that End should be made by the Parliament, and that he should not dissolve nor adjourn it, till after that all the important Affairs for the good of the Kingdom, should be fully decided and concluded: That all those, who having committed any Crime against the State, in the Kingdom where they have settled, or of which they are Natives, should afterwards go to the other Kingdom, and should be condemned by the Parliament of the Kingdom, where the Crime had been committed, as Incendiaries, that is to say, had sown Division between the two Nations, or between the King and his People, should not be protected in any Place of his Majesty's Dominions, but should be mutually delivered up to the Parliament that should demand them: That in order not to delay the Conclusion of the Treaty, these other Demands should be superseded, to wit; 1. That no Alliances may be made with Foreigners, nor War declared against them, without the Consent of the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms. 2. That both be obliged to assist one another in case of a Foreign Invasion. 3. That all his Majesty's Subjects be reputed Denizens in all his Kingdoms, and enjoy the same Priviledges in all his Dominions; and that these Propositions requiring Time in order to be considered, they should be referred to the Commissioners chosen by the King and the Parliament, to be taken under Deliberation, and reported to the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms.”

This Treaty, so advantageous to the Covenanters, was concluded, and confirmed by the Parliament of *England* in the Month of *June*; but the Armies were not disbanded till *August*. The Parliament would not suffer the Covenanters Army to leave *England*, while the Royal stood, though the first was so chargeable, that besides the three Hundred Thousand Pounds of voluntary Assistance, the Arrears that were owing it, when it was sent away, amounted to more than a Hundred and twenty Thousand Pounds. The Parliament, in order to provide for this Expence, and other publick Necessities, was not satisfied with ordering six Subsidies to

1641. be raised, but had Recourse to Expedients altogether extraordinary: For a Tax was laid on at so much a Head over all the Kingdom, to which the King consented. Each Duke was rated at one Hundred Pounds; each Marquis at seventy five Pounds; each Earl at sixty Pounds; each Viscount and Baron at forty Pounds; each Knight of the Bath at thirty Pounds; each other Knight at twenty Pounds; each Esquire at six Pounds thirteen Shillings and four Pence; each Gentleman of a Hundred Pounds yearly Rent at five Pounds; and so in Proportion every body was rated, without excepting the very poorest, who paid six Pence a Head.

The Design of taking the Earl of Strafford out of the Tower by Force is discovered.

FROM thence many took Occasion to discredit the Proceedings of the Parliament, and to blame them for the great Diffidence they had shewn of the King, by entertaining a foreign Army at so great Charges, in order to make Use of it to counterballance the royal Army. 'Tis true, having discovered the Plot that some young Lords and Gentlemen had laid for taking the Earl of *Strafford* out of the *Tower* by Force, they became very jealous of his Majesty. They were persuaded that the King was in the Secret, and remembered what they had heard his Majesty say in the House of Lords on the 28th of *April*, to wit; *That he could not disband the Irish Army, for Reasons best known to himself.* How soon this Plot was discovered, the Parliament caused to be seized all those concerned in it that had not betimes made their Escape; and having examined them, they gave out, that they had found by their Depositions, that the Design was to have made the royal Army march to the Gates of *London*, in order to intimidate the Parliament, and that the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* being set at Liberty, was to have brought over eight Thousand Men from that Kingdom, the most Part Catholics. 'Tis possible that that might have been concerted amongst those Gentlemen, but it had never entered into the King's Mind, nor had the Lord Lieutenant ever made such a Proposal to his Majesty. The Parliament forthwith deputed some Lords for the Security of the *Tower*, and taking Advantage of this unlucky Accident, for representing to the King, that the State was threatened with some dangerous Conspiracy, they pressed his Majesty to grant them, that the Session of Parliament could not be broken up without the Consent of the two Houses. They had already obtained, that a Parliament should be called every three Years, and determined the Lord Lieutenant's Death.

NEVER had a Trial been carried on with more Solemnity than this. *Westminster-Hall* was pitched upon for the Place of Trial, where Scaffolds were erected on both Sides with nine Rows of Seats above one another, the two uppermost for the Commissioners of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the rest for the Members of the House of Commons, who had resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole House for accusing the Lord Lieutenant. The Bishops, who, by the Canons, and according to the Custom at all Times observed in *England*, never assist at criminal Processes of this Nature, were not present: But they entered a Protestation, that their Absence should not do Prejudice to any of their Privileges that were due to them as Lords Spiritual of the Parliament. The Peers of the Realm were seated in the Middle of the Place, under a Throne which had been prepared for the King, where his Majesty did not appear, but at all the Sitings was in a close Box with the Queen: The Earl of *Arundel* was appointed Lord *High Steward*.

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THE Lord Lieutenant was almost every Day brought from the *Tower* 1641. to *Westminster-Hall* by Water, from the 22^d of *March* to the End of *April*, where he answered to all the Interrogatories with so much Presence of Mind and Eloquence, that he drew Compassion from many, and Admiration from all present. The Parliament did their utmost to involve him in the Crime of High Treason; and the most able Lawyers having taken it in Hand, made the Hall ring again with these Words, *We have a Law*; however, they quoted none which implied directly, that any Action, whereof the Lord Lieutenant was accused, was Treason: But the Parliament having Recourse to a sort of new Law, declared; That all the Accusations accumulated amounted to that Crime, and that without being drawn into Precedent. This Manner of Proceeding was altogether extraordinary: For the Laws not regarding the past, provide only for the future; and this Procedure seemed to be without Example, that while a Man was upon his Trial, a Law should be made of Purpose to condemn him, and then be presently repealed. After all, they found nothing to fix upon, but Words spoken by the Lord Lieutenant full of Zeal for his Master's Service, and some Actions which the Necessity of the King's Affairs did not admit of being directed by the Rigour of the Laws. It often happens that the Actions of the most innocent great Men, are interpreted in ill Part, and that there is no less Danger in having a great Reputation, than in having a bad. In fine, the House of Commons passed the Bill of Attainder against this great Man, and their Judgment was seconded by the Wishes of the People, who, afterwards having got together twice in the *Palace-Yard*, to the Number of five Thousand Men, addressed themselves to the Peers, and, with great Eagerness, demanded of them to do Justice upon the Lord Lieutenant. The Prince's Favour and the Love of the People seldom jump with one another. The Lords gave them fair Words, and a few Days after confirmed the Sentence of the Commons, who behaved themselves with extream Malice against the Lord Lieutenant, though they had not impeached him but upon Words, which Sir *Henry Vane*, when called to witness, at first denied to have heard; and afterwards having recollected himself, he maintained that they had been spoken. He bore the Lord Lieutenant a particular Grudge, because he had taken the Title of Lord *Raby*, being descended of the ancient Lords of that Estate which Sir *Henry* had purchased. The Words in Question; *That if the King pleased to make Use of the Army that was in Ireland, he might subdue the Kingdom with it*, were indefinite in Sir *Henry's* Notes, which were presented to the House, without mentioning in express Terms what Kingdom was meant, whether that of *England* or that of *Scotland*. There were likewise in the Notes some Words of the Lord *Cottington's*, which Sir *Henry* said he did not hear, but he affirmed that he heard those of the Lord Lieutenant, which, however, the other seven Lords, who were in the Cabinet Council with this Secretary of State, when it was pretended that these Words were spoken there, asserted that they did not hear.

THE King consented, that he should be stripped of all his Employments, but declared plainly to the two Houses, that he could not condemn him for a Crime which he did not believe him to be guilty of; and he should always have the Protection of the Innocent as much at Heart, as the Punishment of the Guilty. But the King being often importuned, in a tumultuous and seditious Manner, not to stop the Course of Justice, and even requested by the Lord Lieutenant to suffer the Malice of the People to be quenched in his Blood, he held a Council at *White-Hall*, where having

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ving again heard the Judges, who had pronounced the Sentence of Death against him, and called four of his Bishops to give him their Opinions about some Scruple of Conscience, he gave a Commission to the Earl of *Arundel*, the *Keeper of the Privy Seal*, and the *two Chamberlains* to pass the Bill of Attainder. Out of cruel Necessity something was to be yielded to the Times. The Situation of Affairs was very unhappy in all the three Kingdoms. The Storm that had arisen upon the Head of this illustrious Criminal, and which was still increasing, threatened Shipwrack to the State, and the Torrent of the People's Animosity run with such Violence, that there was no Possibility of stopping its Course.

THE 12th of May was appointed for the bloody Catastrophe of this cruel Tragedy. Whereupon the King, willing to try something yet in Favour of his Minister, wrote to the Lords, in order, if possible, to mitigate the Sentence; or, at least, to put off the Execution of it for some Days. He sent the Letter by the Prince of *Wales*, to let them see how much he had this Affair at Heart. But neither the Presence of that Prince, nor his Intreaties, which he added to those of the King, his Father, could prevail any Thing with them. They would not so much as read the Letter, but returned it without being opened. The Day appointed being come, the Parliament having deputed six Lords and four Commoners to be present at the Execution; they went in the Morning to the *Tower*, where they found the Lord Lieutenant with the Archbishop of *Armagh*, Primate of *Ireland*, with a wonderful Tranquillity of Mind preparing himself for Death. The Sight of them did not in the least trouble him, but he received them with an admirable Constancy, and having entertained them for some Time with an extraordinary Presence of Mind, the Governor of the *Tower* delivered him over to the Magistrates of the City, who led him surrounded with Guards to the Scaffold, which had been erected on *Tower-Hill*. The Lord Lieutenant walked there on Foot, without shewing the least Concern, saluting the People on both Sides of him with as serene a Countenance, as if he had been going to take his Seat in Parliament. At last when he had mounted the Scaffold, he desired the People to be silent, and approaching towards them, began to speak very near in these Words: " My Lord Primate, it gives me extream Comfort to have
 " you for a Witness of my last Words. I am here in order to pay the
 " Debt of sinful Nature; all our Forefathers have done it, and our Posterity will do it in Time. Death is the Way of all Flesh; 'tis the common Law of all the Earth; 'tis the sovereign Remedy of all the
 " Evils of this transitory Life, and for all true Penitents, 'tis the Passage to that blessed Life, which shall never end. No Body has Reason
 " to complain of what is common to all. 'Tis true that my Death is
 " not natural, and that I die by Sentence of Parliament, but I willingly
 " submit to it: I decline not its Jurisdiction: And sincerely forgive all
 " those who voted for my Condemnation. Yes, I forgive them with all
 " my Heart, and wish that all those I may have offended, may forgive
 " me as freely, as I do those that have offended me in any Thing whatsoever. I am not afraid to say, and my Conscience bears me Witness,
 " that since I had the Honour to serve his Majesty, I never designed any
 " Thing but the King's Happiness, with that of his Subjects, which I
 " look upon to be inseparable. I know very well that some have believed,
 " that I was against the meeting of Parliaments; but I have been so far
 " from that, that I have always held, and do still hold, that the Constitution of the Parliament of *England* is the most excellent Form of Government under Heaven, and a powerful Means for drawing down all
 Sorts

The Earl of
Strafford's dying
Speech.

“ Sorts of Blessings both upon a Prince and a People. If, by my Misfortune, my Actions have been otherwise interpreted, 'tis the Fate of all those who serve the Publick. The right Judgment of Things is reserved for the Life to come; but in this, which is full of Errors and Darknes, we are subject to judge wrong of one another. I have always wished the Prosperity of this State, I have always done it with great Passion all my Life, and, now dying, I do it with the same Affection. I beg every Body seriously to consider if the Happiness and Peace of a Kingdom are to be established upon Blood; but God forbid that it should be required of any Man, or that the least Drop should rise in Judgment against any Person whatsoever. In God's Name let it be shed: I am satisfied seeing my dear Master was willing to spare it. I cannot grudge the Loss of a Life that he had a Mind to preserve; I find nothing of Bitterness in Death, since he thought me worthy to live. God repay him the Favour he hath shewn me, and may he find Mercy in Abundance at that great Day, when God shall judge the quick and the dead. Now, my Lord, I die a most respectful Son of the Church of *England*, and whatever may have been said to the contrary, I can truly say, that ever since I was twenty one Years of Age to this Hour, that I enter into my forty ninth Year, I have never doubted of the Truth of the Religion of *England*, and I don't remember that any Person hath been so bold as to endeavour to dissuade me from it. Lastly, I desire, that all may pray to God for me, that it may please him to strengthen my Faith, and give me Confidence in the Merits of his Son, who, as I hope, will shortly receive me into his Bosom, and that we shall meet in Heaven, where all Tears shall be wiped away from our Eyes, and all evil Thoughts blotted out of our Hearts. So I bid Adieu to you, and to all the Things of the World.” Having ended this Discourse, he called for his Chaplain, who having put the *English* Liturgy upon a Desk, he kneeled down, and said his Prayers, concluding them all with the Lord's Prayer: Then standing up, he imbraced all those that were about him, and taking his Brother, Sir *George Wentworth*, by the Hand, he said to him; “ We must now part, and recommended to him to testify to his Wife the last grateful Acknowledgment of her Love, and to carry his Blessing to his eldest Son, to his Daughters, and to a little Infant who could not distinguish between Good and Evil. That he should, as from him, injoin his eldest Son to live in the Fear of God, never to depart from the *English* Communion, to continue firm in his Allegiance to his Majesty, and never to harbour any Thoughts of Revenge against any Person upon his Account, not to incroach upon the Estate of the Church, and to be satisfied with living a good Servant of his native Country, and a good Example in his County, without seeking after publick Employments. He made an End of speaking to him with these Words; That one fatal Blow would make his Wife a Widow, his Children fatherless, and deprive his poor Servants of a Protector; but God would take Care of them all.” Then he threw off his Cloak, and putting off his Doublet, he seemed to do it with the same Tranquillity of Mind as he had been used to do at going to Bed: And with his own Hands having put his Hair under his Cap, he asked where was the Executioner, who coming to ask his Pardon, he gave it him, and, with a composed Countenance, bid him give the Blow when he should make a Sign with his Hand. At last he kneeled down, and having the Archbishop on his right Hand, and his Chaplain on his left, who prayed with him for some Time with a low Voice, he had a Mind to look Death close in the Face, and without shewing the least Terror, he fitted himself twice to the Block, asking of the Executioner

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oner if it was right, who answering him yes; as soon as this intrepid Lord had made the Signal with his Hand, he severed his Head from his Body at one Blow, and shewed it to the People, crying, *God save the King.*

BUT the Storm was not over with this Death; it produced no Manner of Calm; the Parliament's Prosecution of it with so much Heat, sowed the Seeds of a Quarrel between the King and them, and the rigorous Method which they observed in the preparing Things for the Trial, divide them amongst themselves. Fifty nine Members of the House of Commons were against entering an Action of High-Treason, which was the Reason that the Day after that Opposition, a Writing was insolently posted up upon the Gates of *Westminster-Hall*, wherein was set down the Names of the *Stratfordians*, who should perish with him and all the Enemies of the Commonwealth. These Gentlemen imagining that the other Members of the House had caused this Affront to be put upon them, were grievously offended at it, and afterwards for the most Part left the Parliament. The Lord *Digby*, who was one of that Number, had another Cause of Resentment: For having made an elegant Speech in Favour of the Lord Lieutenant, he caused it to be printed, notwithstanding it had been forbidden by the House of Commons; whereupon it was ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the Hangman.

THIS Lord, who has excellent Notions and great Parts, expressed in his Speech; " That without making Reflection upon any Thing that might wound Secretary *Vane's* Reputation, he might still say, that he, who had Time for calling something to Mind, had twice sworn, that he remembered nothing of the Matter, might well a third Time have but a slender Remembrance of it: That he could not, upon a Law made with a Retrospect, pronounce Sentence of Death upon a Man for a Crime which reflected upon all his Posterity, and made all his Offspring criminal: That at least a Mark must be put upon the Door of a House infected with the Plague, in order to make it known, that there was Sickness in it; that afterwards, if any Person should venture to enter it, it might not be thought unjust, that he was punished for his Rashness if he was infected with the Plague: That the Parliament, in proceeding against a Man, acted by a double Power, by the Authority which is inherent to them as Judges, and by that of the Laws. The Extent of the one, is what is just according to the Laws, and the Extent of the other, is what Prudence reckons to be advantageous to the Publick: But these two must not be confounded in judging, and the Defect of the Law be supplied, because 'tis thought to be expedient, nor even the Defect of political Consideration be supplied, out of a bare Pretence of the Justice of the Law. So that were he willing, in the Quality of Judge, to find the Lord Lieutenant guilty of High-Treason, his Conscience would not bear him out, that the Nature of his Offence justified that Sentence; and if he had a Mind to condemn him by the Authority of the Laws, political Reasons would oppose it, because he was persuaded that neither the King nor the Peers would ever consent to it, and consequently the Bill brought in by the House would infallibly create a dangerous Division in the State. That every Man ought seriously to consider, that, with one single Word, he should either do an Act of Justice, or commit a downright Murder; but aggravated with all the odious Circumstances that can happen in it. For the Casuists say; that he who lies with his Sister commits Incest, but he who marries her commits yet a much more heinous Sin, in applying the Precept of God's Ordinance to his Crime ;

" in

“ in the same Manner, he, who commits a Murder with the Sword of
 “ Justice, pusheth his grievous Crime to the highest Pitch of Enormity.
 “ That since there was so great Danger, and that the ablest Lawyers
 “ were employed against the Party accused, every body ought to lay aside
 “ all Passion and Animosity against his Person, as well as all Complaisance
 “ to the People: That no Man ought to shew himself more rigorous a-
 “ gainst him, because he was hated by the People, nor to forbear prefer-
 “ ring his Life, lest the People should be offended at it, nor yet to stand
 “ upon that frivolous Consideration; that the Honour of the Parliament
 “ is concerned, that a Man whom they accuse of High-Treason get not
 “ off, nor in fine to vote for Death, because he thought himself not safe,
 “ while the Lord Lieutenant should be alive. So he concluded with a
 “ solemn Protestation, that he would have no Hand in his Blood, and
 “ that he would never join with those, who by all Means, were for ta-
 “ king his Life. ”

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SOME Time after the Lord Lieutenant's Death, the Marquis of *Montrose* went from the Army to *Edinburgh*, where he found the Committee of Parliament upon the Point of ordering the Castle of that City to be demolished. *Montrose* opposed it, alledging that it was an Ornament to the Capital of the Kingdom; and besides, a royal Palace, which they could not pull down, without a manifest Contempt of his Majesty. The Marquis was taking Pains to preserve a Prison for himself; for the Covenanters very soon after having intercepted some Letters from the King, addressed to this Nobleman, he was sent Prisoner to the very same Castle, together with the Lord *Naiper*, eldest Son of the great *Naiper*, the *Ticho Bache* of *Scotland*, Sir *William Stirling* of *Keir*, and Sir — *Stuart* of *Black-hall*, his intimate Friends, and were not released till the End of the Session of Parliament, which the King came to hold in Person in the Month of *August*.

The Marquis of Montrose goes from the Army to Edinburgh, and is sent Prisoner to the Castle.

IN the mean Time the General Assembly, appointed to meet in *July*, was opened at *St. Andrews* the 20th of that Month, and from thence was adjourned to *Edinburgh*, where it began the 27th. The Earl of *Weems* was sent Commissioner to it by the King, and presented to the Assembly a Letter from his Majesty, in these Words; “ That it was one of his chief Cares,
 “ that the reformed Religion, in which he was resolved to live and die,
 “ should be well established in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that it should
 “ be professed by all his Subjects: That he intended to have been present
 “ in the Assembly in Person, but not thinking it fit to detain the Mini-
 “ sters from their Charges till his coming to the Parliament, he gave them
 “ to understand by these Presents, and by his Commissioner, that his In-
 “ tention was to ratify and confirm the Acts of the last Assembly of *Edin-*
 “ *burgh*, that all his Subjects may receive them with Respect and Obedi-
 “ ence: That he would take Care, that the Benefices, of which he has
 “ the Nomination, should be provided with able Ministers, and that he
 “ should not refuse his Letters of Presentation to such as had been recei-
 “ ved into the Ministry during the Troubles, provided they were appro-
 “ ved of by their Presbyteries. That he would likewise think of Means
 “ for maintainining decently the Professors of the Sciences, and especially
 “ of Divinity, in the Colleges and Universities, that having there a good
 “ Number of Men capable of carrying the Gospel to the utmost Ends of
 “ the Kingdom, all his Subjects may have Reason to bless God for having
 “ set him over them. That though he was not without Fear, that Learn-
 “ ing might decline in that Kingdom, it should not be his Fault if it did
 “ not always flourish there. That for all these Testimonies of his Good-
 “ nefs,

A General Assembly meets at St. Andrews. The King sends the Earl of Weems Commissioner to it, who delivers a very obliging Letter from his Majesty to the Assembly.

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“ nefs, he required no other Acknowledgment of them, but only that, by
 “ faithfully discharging their Duty, they should endeavour to restore Peace
 “ and Union amongst themselves and amongst their People, opposing all
 “ Schism and Faction; and that they should not only pray for him, but
 “ also teach their Flocks to obey him, as God’s Vicegerent among them:
 “ In fine, that they themselves should give a good Example.

Some English
 Divines ha-
 ving conceived
 a Notion of an
 independent
 Church Go-
 vernment,
 write a Letter
 to the Assem-
 bly, asking their
 Advice about it.

On the 9th of *August* a Letter dated the 12th of *July*, signed by several Ministers of *England*, was presented to the Assembly, the Purport of which was; “ That they congratulated the Ministers of *Scotland* upon the happy Success of their Labours in the Work of Reformation: That the Band of Friendship between the two Churches of *England* and *Scotland* was so great, that the Liberty of the one ought to be that of both, and that the one could not be in Bondage without the other’s being sensible of it: “ That hoping to be very soon freed from the Bishops Yoke, under which they had so long groaned, they were deliberating in their Assembly, “ which was sitting in *London*, upon the Form of Ecclesiastical Govern- “ ment that must succeed Episcopacy. That of all others they were best “ pleased with this, which directs, that all Ecclesiastical Authority, and all “ that thereupon depends, such as Election, Ordination, and the Deposition “ of Officers, (by which without Doubt they mean Ministers) with the Ad- “ mission, Excommunication, and Absolution of the Members of one Con- “ gregation, by divine Right ought to be decreed by the Plurality of Voices “ of each particular Congregation, there being but the bare Formalities of “ the Execution of these Things that belong to the Officers, as being Ser- “ vants of the Congregation, in Case it hath any; because if it hath none, “ the same Things ought to be done by those whom the Congregation shall “ name for that Effect. That every one of these particular Congregations, “ whether it hath Officers, or not; or that it consists of many, or of few “ Members, may lawfully determine and execute within its own Jurisdi- “ ction all Things that belonged to the Ecclesiastical Order and Jurisdiction, “ without any Dependance upon, or Interposition of other Persons or “ Churches met in Presbyteries or Synods, unless it were by Way of Ad- “ vice, because their imperative Authority was abusive, and a downright “ Usurpation; That they were the more desirous of the Assembly’s Judg- “ ment upon this Affair, that they were informed, that many of its Mini- “ sters were much inclined that Way, and tacitly approved of that Sort “ of Government.” It may easily be seen that the Authors of this Letter were big with *Independency*, and that the Promoters of all the Forms of Ecclesiastical Government, mentioned in the Letter, have given Birth to so many other Sects, which a Presbyterian, who hath very lately written the present State of Religion in *England*, makes amount to a Hundred and sixteen. Now all these Sects, like so many Insects, are sprung from the confused Mass and Chaos, to which the Protestant Communion of *England* was reduced by the abolishing of Episcopacy.

— *Mille animas una necata dedit.*

The Assembly’s
 Answer.

THE Assembly gave them a very bold Answer. “ It began with com-
 “ mending their Zeal, and the Desire they had to see the Uniformity of
 “ Ecclesiastical Communion in the two Kingdoms, it being always to be
 “ feared, that the Conformity of Doctrine and Worship, could not be of
 “ long Continuance with the Diversity of Discipline and Ecclesiastical Go-
 “ vernment. That upon the Question proposed to the Assembly, its Judg-
 “ ment was unanimous, that as well the solemn Execution of Ecclesiasti-
 “ cal

" cal Authority, as the Actions depending thereupon, belonged properly to
 " the Officers of the Church, though their Decrees upon Matters of Im-
 " portance could not be executed, without the tacit Consent of the Con-
 " gregation. That the Officers of a particular Congregation could not ex-
 " ercise that Power independently, and without Subordination to the Pres-
 " byteries, and Provincial and National Assemblies: That these last repre-
 " sented all the particular Churches united together into one Body; so that
 " their Decisions, when they proceed with Order, were not Consultations
 " and Advices, but Sentences which obliged all the Congregations to obey
 " them: That this Dependance and Subordination was founded as well
 " upon the Light of Nature, which guides the Church in those Things,
 " that are common with her to other Societies, as upon Prudence, which
 " prescribes that Order as a Means to preserve Unity and Peace; but chiefly
 " upon the Word of God, and the Practice of the primitive and Apostoli-
 " cal Church. That the Authority of Presbyteries and Assemblies ought
 " not to be looked upon as a Foreign Power established over particular
 " Congregations, as that of the Bishops was; as the Authority of the Par-
 " liament, where the Shires and Towns have their Commissioners, is not
 " a Foreign Power in any particular Shire or Town. Lastly, that there
 " was not one amongst them of another Opinion, but that they were all as
 " much persuaded, that the Ecclesiastical Government by Presbyteries and
 " Assemblies was ordained by God, as that Episcopacy came from the meer
 " Invention of Men." Then the Assembly ordered a Letter of Thanks to
 be written to the King, and having incorporated the *Scots* Congregation,
 settled at *Veere* in *Zealand*, into the Communion of *Scotland*, a Letter was
 written to the Kirk-Session of that Congregation, inviting them to send a
 Minister with an Elder to the next Assembly, which was to meet at *St.*
Andrews the 27th of *July* 1642, for the King keeps a *Conservator* (Consul)
 in the Town of *Veere* for regulating the Commerce of his *Scots* Subjects.

THE King having in the mean Time remonstrated to the Parliament
 of *England*, that he was obliged to make a Progress into *Scotland*, in order
 to finish the Pacification of that Kingdom, though the Parliament had
 begged of him to delay his Journey, he set out from *London* the 10th of
August, and went Post to the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, accompanied by
 the Duke of *Hamilton*, and some other Lords of that Kingdom. The Par-
 liament being met, it was ordered, that, before entering upon Business,
 all the Members should take this Oath. " Since as well the King's Ho-
 " nour and Grandeur, as the Happiness of his Subjects, depended upon the
 " Purity of Religion, as it is now established in the Kingdom, and upon
 " the Preservation of its Laws and Liberties, all faithful Subjects and good
 " Patriots ought to maintain them, in Opposition to all such as should at-
 " tempt to disturb or change them in any Manner; We Subscribers pro-
 " mise in the Presence of Almighty God, that in this present Session of
 " Parliament, we shall freely and faithfully give our Opinions upon all
 " that shall be proposed, according as we in Conscience shall judge to be
 " most expedient for the Glory of God, and the Peace of the Church and
 " Kingdom: That we shall with all our Might contribute to them both:
 " That we shall, with our Lives and Fortunes, defend his Majesty's Per-
 " son, Honour, and State, according to our Covenant; as also the Power
 " and Privileges of Parliament, the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects:
 " That we shall by all Means endeavour to discover and bring to Punish-
 " ment all such as by Intrigues or open Force have done or shall do any
 " Thing to the Prejudice of the Laws, Liberties, and Peace of the King-
 " dom: That we shall by all honourable Means endeavour to preserve

*The King goes
 to Scotland to
 hold a Parlia-
 ment.*

*The Oath taken
 by all the
 Members.*

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“ Union and Peace between the three Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*; and that neither Hopes nor Fear shall ever make us retract this Promise.” The Parliament of *England* in the Month of *May* had drawn up such another, which the two Houses having sworn, they sent it over all the Kingdom, with Orders to all the Inhabitants to do the same, under Pain of Disobedience.

*The Articles
of the Peace
confirmed.*

AFTER this Oath had been taken by both the Parliaments, the Articles of Peace between the King and his *Scots* Subjects, and between the two Nations, were ratified by the King and Parliament; and the King for himself and his Successors promised, upon the Faith of a Prince, to maintain them in Force, and to cause them to be inviolably observed by all his Subjects; as the Parliaments of both Kingdoms engaged the publick Faith for the Execution of all the Articles on both Sides: And that the Parliament of *England* might be assured of the Confirmation of the Treaty by that of *Scotland*, the King, by the Advice of this last, ordained, that the Clerk of the Parliament, after having entered the Treaty in the Registers, should give an Extract of it to the Director of the *Chancery*, who, in due Form, should present it to the Seal; and that this authentick Copy, sealed with the Great Seal, should in all Haste be sent to the Parliament of *England*.

NOW, there had been a Proposal made by the Covenanters during the Treaty, concerning the chusing of the Officers of the Crown, Counsellors of State, and the Court of Sessions, of which the Decision was referred to the King and Parliament. This Matter having been taken under Deliberation, and the King considering, that because of his ordinary Residence in *England*, he could not easily have Knowledge of the Qualifications of Persons fit for those Offices; for that Reason, and in order to give all Satisfaction to that his ancient Kingdom, he declared for himself and Successors, that hereafter, by the Advice of the Parliament, when it should be sitting, he would name worthy Persons to fill up those Employments; and in Case they should happen to be vacant, the Parliament not sitting, he should chuse the Counsellors of State by the Advice of the Council; and those of the Court of Sessions by the Advice of that Body; both which were to depend upon the Plurality of Voices. Besides, his Majesty consented, that these Elections should be approved or annulled at the first meeting of the following Parliament, and that the Patents of them should be given *ad vitam aut culpam*, all the Officers being answerable for their Administration to the King and Parliament.

ACCORDING to this Regulation, the Earl of *Lowdun* was chosen Chancellor, and received the Great Seal from the Duke of *Hamilton*, who had kept it ever since the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, some Time before his Death, had resigned it into the King's Hands. Sir *Alexander Gibson* and Sir *James Galloway* were in the same Manner chosen, the first Lord Register, and the last Master of Requests. The Keeper of the Privy-Seal, the Secretary of State, King's Advocate, and Treasurer Depute were confirmed in their Offices. As for that of Lord High Treasurer, it was not thought proper to name any Person for it at that Time; but the King, by the Advice of the Parliament, appointed five Lords to execute it by Commission. The Parliament of *England* had disposed of that Office in the same Manner, when Doctor *Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, who had been Lord High Treasurer for some Years, resigned that Office.

AFTERWARDS

AFTERWARDS the King and the Parliament elected fifteen Ordinary and four Extraordinary Lords of the Court of Sessions. No President was elected, but it has been the Custom since, that, at the first meeting of this Court, the Ordinary Lords chose one of their own Number to preside to the End of that Session. Lastly, some Lords and Gentlemen were named in the same Manner to be of the King's Privy Council, to whom was added the Provost (Mayor) of the City of *Edinburgh*, to be of it for ever. Then the Parliament proceeded to the Nomination of Commissioners, for seeing the Treaty of Peace put in Execution, and deliberating with those who should be chosen by the King and Parliament of *England*, upon the Propositions that had been left undecided at the Treaty. The Parliament passing on to other Affairs that more particularly concerned the Covenant, confirmed the Act of the Assembly of *Aberdeen* about the demolishing of Images, and going by several Acts of Parliament made in King *James's* Time, which declare such as are not of the reformed Religion of the Country, incapable of being Notaries, Solicitors, or Judges in any Court of Justice; it was ordained, that all those who had not signed, or refused to sign the Covenant, should forfeit their Right of Patronage, and that the Benefices, to which they had a Right of Presentation, should be with full Power filled up by the Presbyteries.

Now, because in the Parliament of the Year 1633 an End had not been made of the Provision of all the Benefices upon the Valuation of the Tithes of each Parish, Commissioners were named to do it, with full Power to unite and dismember the Parishes as they should judge expedient: And because there was a Regulation to be made about the Vassals, and Lands, which formerly held of the Bishops; it was ordained by the King and Parliament, that these Vassals should hereafter do their Homage to his Majesty, and that all these Lands should hold of the Crown, excepting the Baronies, with which the King had gratified some Lords and Corporations, which were to hold immediately of them. As for that Part of the Bishops Revenues, which they had by the confirming of Wills within their Dioceses, which was called *the Quote-part of the Testament*, and which their Officers sometimes collected with little Discretion, or rather with too much Rigour; instead of being assigned to any Person in particular, it was entirely abolished by the Parliament. It seems that this Right has had its Rise from the Care, which the Bishops in old Times took of Orphans under Age, whom they took under their Protection, as honorary Curators. But it has fared with this as with many other Things, that though the Office ceased, and was no more in Use, yet the Emoluments still continued, Men commonly having a greater Love for their Interest, than for their Duty.

It remained now that some Course should be taken with those, whom the Parliament called *Cabalers* and *Boutefeus*, who stirred up the King against his Subjects, and blew up the Coals of Dissension in the Kingdom, such they looked upon to be the Earl of *Traquair*, the Bishop of *Ross*, Sir *Robert Spotswood*, and Sir *John Hay*, the one formerly President of the Court of Sessions, and the other Lord Register, who had been both arrested, and the Dean of *Durham*, whom the Covenanters accused of having penned that Declaration, which, in the Year 1639 was published in the King's Name, and which had been condemned and anathematized both by the Parliament and General Assemblies. All these had been summoned to appear before the Parliament with *Montrose*, *Stirling of Keir*, and *Stuart of Blackball*, who were Prisoners in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. But though the

1641. the Parliament was much incensed against these Men; yet as they found themselves obliged to do something that might be agreeable to the King, in Acknowledgment of the Pains he had taken to make up all past Differences, and to settle sure Means of a firm Peace: They declared, that though they had just Reason to prosecute those guilty Persons with the utmost Rigour, yet knowing that such a Procedure would displease his Majesty, and being desirous that the King should return to *England*, pleased with a People, who were fully satisfied of his paternal Care, they should be contented, in order to fulfil the Oath they had taken at the opening of the Parliament, to ordain the Prisoners to be interrogated by the Committee, who, after having confronted them with the Witnesses, and finished their Process, should put them into his Majesty's Hands. Whereupon the King, taking this Acknowledgment of the Parliament in good Part, declared, that he should not imploy the Persons accused in his Service, nor suffer them to approach his Person, that he might not give the least Pretence for disturbing the Peace that had been so happily concluded and established in the Kingdom. After that the King got *Montrose* and his Fellow Prisoners set at Liberty, upon their giving Bail to appear before the Committee when called upon. They were not summoned till the 27th of *January*, when they all went, and within twenty four Hours gave in their Answers to a long Inditement which was drawn up against them, not being able to obtain a longer Time. But as the Month of *February* was spent in Answers and Replies, without confronting any Witnesses, the last Day of *February* they gave in a Protestation signed with their Hands, whereby they declared, that the Parliament having ordered the Committee to put an End to their Trial before the first of *March*, which was now at Hand, they had acquitted themselves of their Words like Men of Honour; and thereupon retired to their Houses.

Montrose and
his Friends set
at Liberty.

AT last having ordained, that according to the Act for a triennial Parliament, the next Meeting should be at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *June* 1644, this Parliament broke up the 17th of *November* with great Acclamations of Joy. And truly the King had therein given the Covenanters all Manner of Satisfaction, having conferred Honours upon many of them, and made a good Number of Knights. But above all his Majesty heaped his Favours upon General *Lesly*, whom he made Earl, putting the Coronet upon his Head in a full meeting of Parliament. And this new Earl, that he might not seem ungrateful for the so many Favours, which the King out of his Bounty had bestowed upon him, solemnly protested since, and once upon his Knees, in the Earl of *Kinow's* House in *Perth*, that he never should draw his Sword against his Majesty's Service.

A Rebellion in
Ireland.

BUT this Joy was soon disturbed by a Rebellion in *Ireland*, of which the King received the News before he left *Scotland*. It broke out in *October*, and had been concerted with so great Art and Secrecy, that there had not been the least Suspicion of it, so much did the ancient Animosities between the two Nations of *England* and *Ireland* seem to be extinguished and buried by a Peace of forty Years, and by so many Alliances, which had incorporated them both into one People; but the State of Religion, the strongest of all Ties, was such, that it still preserved some Seeds of Division amongst them.

THE Design was to surprize the Castle of *Dublin*, where the principal Magazine of Arms and Ammunition of the Kingdom of *Ireland* was, and, at the same Time, to sieze all the other Fortresses, and to offer Violence to
none,

none, but to those that should resist; which was to be put in Execution over all the Kingdom on the 23^d of *October*. For which End many of the *Irish* Nobility and Gentry had gone before to *Dublin*, among the rest *Mac Mabone*, by his Mother, Grandchild to the Earl of *Tyrone*, who was so remarkable in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. This Lord, who had the Charge of the Design upon the Castle of *Dublin*, took with him *Owen O-Conelly*, of *Irish* Extract, but a Protestant, to whom he discovered the whole Secret. Whereupon *O-Conelly*, having made his Escape out of the Inn, not without Danger of his Life, at nine of the Clock at Night went to inform Sir *William Parsons*, one of the Lords Justices, of the Storm that was just ready to fall upon the whole Kingdom. The Lord Justice, having at that Instant called a Council, told them the Affair, and the Council caused *Mac Mabone* and the Lord *Macguyre* to be seized. Which having alarmed the rest of the Conspirators, they made their Escape that same Night.

BUT though the Lords of the Council had found by *Mac Mabone's* Confession, that it was altogether impossible for them to prevent the Mischief any where but in *Dublin*, he having told them plainly, that the next Day the whole Kingdom would be up in Arms, they hoped, however, that the News of the Miscarriage of the Design upon the Castle of *Dublin*, would strike Terror into the Conspirators that were in the several Counties, and raise Courage in all his Majesty's other Subjects, to make a vigorous Resistance. Whereupon the Council having caused a Proclamation to be published the 23^d in the Morning, they dispatched Expresses in all Haste to the several Counties, to inform all the faithful Subjects and good Patriots of the Discovery of this Treason, and to encourage them all to behave themselves boldly in the Defence of the Laws and their own Liberties. At the same Time, Orders were given for the Security of the Castle of *Dublin*. But the Council being told that same Day, and the Week following by the *English* Protestants, who flocked in great Numbers to *Dublin*, that the Fire was kindled all over the Kingdom, and that the Rebels used them very barbarously, (as in the Beginning great Cruelties were committed on both Sides) trusty Persons were in all Haste sent to the King in *Scotland*, and to the Earl of *Leicester* at *London*, who upon his Return from his Embassy in *France* had been made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to give them an Account of the truly deplorable State of that Kingdom.

IN the mean Time the Lords of the Council thought upon Means for opposing the Rebels, and extinguishing this Combustion. They found in the Castle of *Dublin* Arms for ten Thousand Men, and Ammunition in Proportion, which the Earl of *Strafford* had caused to be laid up there. But the Militia was so dispersed in the other Fortresses of the Kingdom, that it was impossible to draw any considerable Body of them together, and what was yet more hard, there was no Money in the Treasury for raising Troops: So that the only Remedy that was left them, was the Hopes of a speedy and powerful Assistance from the Parliament of *England*.

THAT Parliament having received the News of this Rebellion by *O-Conelly*, whom the Council of *Ireland* had dispatched Express to *London*, ordered fifty Thousand Pounds to be borrowed from the City upon the publick Faith, to be immediately sent to *Ireland*: That *O-Conelly* should have a Reward of five Hundred Pounds ready Money, and a Pension of two Hundred Pounds a Year in Land: That the Roman Catholicks of Quality in all the Counties of *England* should be disarmed, and that excepting the

Y

Merchants

1641. Merchants no Person should have Liberty to go to *Ireland* without a Pass from the Committee that should be appointed for that Kingdom. But some Days after the Parliament was more fully informed of the deplorable State of *Ireland*; and was told that the Council of that Kingdom having given Commissions and Arms to the Catholicks of the *English Pale*, they had turned their Arms against those who had put them into their Hands, having joined with the Rebels; (by the *English Pale* is to be understood an Extent of Land containing many Counties, which the *English* having taken Possession of at the first Conquest of *Ireland*, have always possessed them since.) Whereupon the two Houses taking this Affair to Heart, and afraid that the Fire that was consuming *Ireland* might be soon kindled in *England*, ordered two Hundred Thousand Pounds to be raised for the publick Necessities. They were forced to have Recourse again to the City of *London*, for so great a Sum could not be levied without great Delay in the Counties, and to incourage that opulent City to bear that Burden, it was ordered that the publick Faith should be pledged for the principal Sum, and twelve *per Cent.* of Interest.

The Marquis
of Ormond
made Lieute-
nant General
of the Troops
in Ireland.

IN the Month of *November* the Marquis of *Ormond* arrived at *Dublin* with a good Body of Light-Horse, where a few Days after he received the Earl of *Leicester's* Commission, approved by the King, to command all the Troops that should be raised in *Ireland*, in the Quality of Lieutenant General of the *Irish* Armies, and the Council very opportunely having received the two Hundred Thousand Pounds, with Letters from the Parliament, to whom the King had referred the Affairs of *Ireland*, and from the Lord Lieutenant, full of a deep Sense of the Misery of that Country, they caused several Regiments to be raised, for the most Part composed of *English*, who being driven from their Houses by the Rebels, had fled to *Dublin*, as a Place of Safety.

The End of the Second B O O K.

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
T R O U B L E S
O F
G R E A T - B R I T A I N.

B O O K III.

ABOUT the End of *November* the King returned to *London*, where the Magistrates received his Majesty with great Pomp and Magnificence, and the King, in order to shew them how much he was pleased with it, some Days after, he invited the chief Men of them to *Hampton-Court*, where having given them a sumptuous Entertainment, he knighted several of the Aldermen of the City. During the King's Residence at that Palace, the House of Commons, without the Concurrence of the Peers, presented a Remonstrance to him, wherein all the Grievances and Complaints of the Members of that House, as well against the Ecclesiastical as Political Government, since the beginning of his Majesty's Reign, were represented at large, but wherein, without laying the Blame upon the King, they charged his Ministers and the Bishops with the Cause of all the Mischiefs. This Remonstrance was drawn up in the House of Commons a little before the King's Return, where it was debated with so much Heat, that sometimes the House sat till two a Clock in the Morning, and was carried at last but by nine Votes. Then the Majority ordered it to be printed, which the other Members unanimously opposed: And because *Jeffery Palmer*, an able Lawyer, with much Eloquence had shewn, that the Remonstrance ought not to be sent to the King without the Con-

1641.
*The King re-
turns to Lon-
don.*

1641. currence of the Peers, and it being only to be presented to the King, it ought not to be printed, nor put into the Hands of the People, in order to stir them up against the Government, he was sent Prisoner to the *Tower*.

PEOPLE of good Account in *London* were divided in their Opinions about this Remonstrance, some believed that the King might reap Advantage by it, and not being hitherto fully informed of the bad Use which his Ministers made of his Authority and Confidence, he would take some Course about it for the Time to come, and prevent that popular Opinion, which makes the Faults of Ministers reflect upon the Princes themselves. On the contrary others said, that it could produce nothing but a Hatred in the King's Mind against those that were the Authors of it, who intended nothing else, but to lessen his Reputation amongst his People, and seeing at all Times soft Words must be made Use of to Kings, much rather, a more gentle Method ought to have been taken in the present Juncture, when there were Jealousies between the King and the Parliament; and that in order to gain his Majesty's Favour, the Commons ought to have carried themselves rather with Moderation than Boldness, in the Design they had of finding Fault with his Ministers.

The City's Apology to the two Houses.

AT the same Time, it was reported every where, that the City was grown weary of the tedious Length of their Procedure in Affairs, and that it was ready to join with the King against them: Which obliged the Magistrates of the City, to present an Apology to the two Houses, in which they declared; "That whereas, there were some Persons that had misinterpreted the Expressions of their Affection towards the King, taking them as a Sign that they had a Mind to attach themselves to his Majesty, and abandon the Parliament, they desired that it might be known to all the World, that on the contrary, they were resolved to live and die with it for the Good of the Publick." The Remonstrance of the House of Commons, as also the Declaration of the City, displeased the King extreamly, and had it not been for that Tenderness towards his People, which was natural to him, and which he could not overcome, he would have withdrawn his Affection from them both. From that Time forward the bad Understanding between the King and the Parliament increased every Day; there was nothing but Manifestos and Declarations on both Sides, which, indeed, were full of most gracious and sincere Offers from the King, and Protestations of Fidelity, in all Appearance, very affectionate from the Parliament, but which last, at the Bottom, contained nothing but Matter of Spleen and Reproach, and this Paper War was only a Fore-runner of that other which followed very soon after.

1642.
The King's Answer to the Petition of the Commons.

THE King delaying to explain himself upon the Remonstrance made contrary to the usual Forms, and to do therein what his Prudence and Honour required, he made Answer to the Petition thereunto joined; "That in order to frustrate all the Designs which the Papists might have of disturbing the Peace of the Kingdom, he should be always ready to join with the Parliament, provided they should proceed therein according to Law: That as for depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, they should consider, that their Right was grounded upon the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and Constitution of Parliament; but because he wanted to have a Conference with the Parliament upon that Matter, he should explain himself no farther. That in Regard to the exorbitant Power of the Clergy, he thought, that the Suppression of the Court of High Commission had sufficiently abated it; nevertheless, if

“ the Clergy exercised their Jurisdiction with Excess, or incroached upon
 “ the Rights of others, as he had never protected them in that, he should
 “ not protect them still. That as to what they called Corruptions in Re-
 “ ligion, and the Ceremonies which gave Offence to tender Consciences,
 “ he freely consented that all Novelty in Religion should be suppressed, if,
 “ peradventure, any had crept into it against the Laws, and if the Parlia-
 “ ment had a Mind to have a National Synod called, to take Cognizance
 “ of the Ceremonies that may give just Ground of Offence to any, he
 “ would endeavour to give them due Satisfaction therein. But as for the
 “ rest, it was very disagreeable to him to hear Corruptions in Religion
 “ spoken of in so general Terms, since he was persuaded in his Conscience,
 “ that there was not a Church upon Earth that professed the true Reli-
 “ gion with more Purity in the Doctrine, than the Church of *England*,
 “ nor where the Government and Discipline are more upright and distant
 “ from Superstition; for which Cause he would maintain that Religion in
 “ its Purity and Beauty, as well against the secret Practices of the Papists,
 “ as against the Irreverence of Schismatics, wherewith the Kingdom a-
 “ bounds, to the great Dishonour and Danger both of Church and State.
 “ That as concerning the removing of some of his Counsellors, he knew
 “ none of them that deserved to be called malicious in the Style of the
 “ House, and that by those Counsellors whom he had exposed to Trial, he
 “ had given sufficient Testimony that there was not one of his Officers,
 “ whom he would not leave to the Rigour of the Laws, if he should be
 “ convicted of any Crime; but whilst they did not name any Person in
 “ particular, he wished them to forbear such general Aspersions, as might
 “ reflect upon all his Council. That for the Choice of his Counsellors,
 “ and Ministers of State, it was the natural Liberty of all Freemen, and
 “ the undoubted Right of the Crown, to call such to his secret Council,
 “ and Ministry, as he should think fit; yet as he always had been, he
 “ would continue to be careful, to make Choice of such, as should have
 “ given good Proofs of their Abilities and Integrity, and against whom
 “ there could be no just Cause of Exception. Lastly, with Respect to *Ire-*
 “ *land*, he took their Zeal for the State of that Kingdom in good Part, in
 “ which, besides the Interests of Religion, which he had much at Heart,
 “ he found that those of all the Kingdom of *England*, and his Honour
 “ were deeply engaged.”

His Majesty sent to the Magistrates of the City of *London*, to complain
 of the Meetings of the People every Day at the Palace of *Westminster*, of-
 fering themselves to the Parliament. Now, as a Storm-threatening Cloud
 had overcast the Sky on all Sides, and that the Thunder began already to
 roar, the House of Commons complained to the King, that a malicious
 Party, whom they called Malignants, was daily growing stronger, and
 that their Insolence had gone to that Height as to affront, and even to
 threaten the Parliament, and begged his Majesty to allow them Guards com-
 posed of the Inhabitants of the City, and commanded by the Earl of *Essex*.
 His Majesty rejected their Demand, but assured them in the Word of a
 King, that he had the Safety of their whole Body in General, and of every
 one of them in particular as much at Heart, as that of his own Children.
 That if that Security was not sufficient to cure them of their Apprehensi-
 ons, he should take such a Course about their Safety, as he could answer
 for before God, with a safe Conscience.

THIS Answer neither lessened their Fears nor their Jealousies, for that
 very Day the King made Sir *Edward Herbert*, his Attorney General, de-
 mand,

1642. mand, that five Members of the House of Commons might be delivered up to him, to wit, *Denzil Hollis*, *Sir Arthur Hazlerig*, *Mr. Pym*, *Mr. Hambden*, and *Mr. Strode*, whom the King had a Mind to accuse of High-Treason upon seven Articles. The 1. "That they have traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental Laws and Government of this Kingdom, and deprive the King of his regal Power, and to place on his Subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical Power. 2. That they have endeavoured, by many false Aspersions upon his Majesty and his Government to alienate the Affections of his People, and to make his Majesty odious to them. 3. That they have endeavoured to draw his Majesty's late Army to Disobedience to his Majesty's Command, and to side with them in their traiterous Design. 4. That they have traiterously invaded, and encouraged a Foreign Power to invade his Majesty's Kingdom of *England*. 5. That they have traiterously endeavoured to subvert the very Rights and Beings of Parliament. 6. That, for the compleating of their traiterous Designs, they have endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by Force, and Terror, to compel the Parliament to join with them in their traiterous Designs, and to that End, have actually raised, and countenanced Tumults against the King and Parliament. 7. That they have traiterously conspired to levy, and actually have levied War against the King."

The Articles of High-Treason against the five Members.

THE House pretending that this Action was a Breach of their Privileges, made an Order for stopping its Course. The King, notwithstanding their Order, caused the Trunks and Studies of these Gentlemen to be sealed up, and ordered their Persons to be seized; and the next Day the 4th of *January*, the King went in Person to the House of Commons, accompanied by the *Elector Palatine*, his Nephew, and his usual Guard of Gentlemen Pensioners, and some others that joined them in the Way, who having ranged themselves at the Door of the House of Commons, the King went in, and *William Lenthall*, the Speaker, leaving the Chair, his Majesty placed himself in it, and asked him if the five Members, whom he had demanded, were there, to which the Speaker replied; *That his Eyes could not see, nor his Tongue answer any Thing, but what the House should command him.* The King seeing that they were not there, for the House having Advice of his Majesty's Design, had made them keep out of the Way, he said to the other Members; "That he was very sorry for this Occasion of coming to them: That this troublesome Accident should not hinder him from being as careful in preserving the Privileges of Parliament, as any of his Predecessors: That these five Members were dangerous Men, to whom, however, he had no Intention to offer any Violence; but to proceed against them in a fair and legal Way: That not being able at this Time to do what he had designed, he took his Leave of them, but expected they should be sent to him, and if they were not, he should give Orders for finding them out in what Place soever they might be."

The King's Speech from the Speaker of the House of Commons Chair.

EIGHT Days after, a Proclamation was published by the King, ordering the five Members of the House of Commons to be apprehended. The Proclamation, among other Things, contained, "That these Members being sensible of their Guilt, had absented themselves from their House." Whereupon that House published a Protestation against the Proclamation, as injurious, and done contrary to Law. Besides, they declared, that the publishing of Articles containing an Accusation of High-Treason against these Members, which some Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court* had drawn up, was a manifest Breach of the Privileges of Parliament. This Quarrel between

between the King and Parliament very much grieved all those who were affected with the Affairs of *Ireland*, where the Catholicks obtained great Advantages over the Protestants. But though the King was as much moved with them as was possible, that he even offered to go thither in Person against the Rebels, yet the Misunderstanding betwixt him and the Parliament occasioned, that the Loans and Levies, which had been proposed, went but slowly on, and that a speedy and sufficient Succour, suitable to the Greatness of the Misfortunes of *Ireland*, could not be sent thither for subduing the Rebels.

THE City of *London* having a Mind, in this troublesome Juncture, to shew its Affection for the State, whereof it makes so considerable a Part, presented a Petition to the King, containing many Heads of Complaint. Representing, "The bad Consequences of his Majesty's changing the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and of fortifying *White-Hall* in an unusual Manner, and of his Guards having attacked and wounded some Citizens passing by." The Occasion of which was this, the Day after the King had been in the House of Commons, his Majesty having gone to the City in Coach, whither he understood that the five Members of that House were retired, he was solicited by a great Number of Citizens, that he would be pleased to agree with the Parliament, and not to infringe their Privileges. The King seeing by that, to what Side the Affection of the People inclined, at his Return to *White-Hall*, ordered a small Guard-Room to be made, where some Gentlemen had given Occasion for this Complaint from the City. "They likewise complained of the Designs of the Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court*, who had offered to guard the King's Person, and that of the Queen; and of his Majesty's having sent in several Engineers and other Military Men to the *Tower*. That Store of Ball and Fireworks, with many other Instruments of War, had been discovered in the Hands of Papists. That he had gone into the House of Commons, attended by armed Men, to the endangering his own Person, and the Privileges of that Assembly. That all these Things tended not only to the Overthrow of the Trade of the City, but threatened the utter Ruin of the Protestant Religion over all the Kingdom, and the Destruction of all his Majesty's faithful Subjects. Therefore they intreated him, That by the Advice of his Great Council, which is the Parliament, the Protestants of *Ireland* might be speedily relieved: That the *Tower* might be put into the Hands of Persons faithful to the State: That his Majesty might not make Use of any for the Guard of his Person and the Parliament, but of known and approved Persons, and that the Lord *Kimbolton* and the five Members of the House of Commons might not be restrained of Liberty, or otherwise proceeded against, than according to the Privilege of Parliament."

THE King found this Petition very strange and very bold; and, indeed, 'tis a Thing of dangerous Consequence, when the People take the Liberty to inquire whether the State be well or ill governed. 'Tis a Symptom of some Distemper in the Body of the State, and very often a Fore-runner of some Disturbance: But 'tis not always convenient to suppress it with too much Rigour; for licentious Words commonly vanish when they are slighted; whereas they gather more Life when too much Pains are taken to stifle them. The most gentle Remedy for that Distemper, and which ought to be made Use of when the Minds of the People are exasperated, is the Satisfaction, to which God himself, it seems, sometimes descends; O my People, what have I done unto thee, and wherein have I wearied thee?

testify

1642. *testify against me.* The King, in order to satisfy the City, with a wonderful Goodness gave Answer to all their Complaints. “ That for the sad
 “ Business of *Ireland*, he could not possibly express a greater Sense than he
 “ had done, there being nothing left on his Part unoffered, or undone.
 “ For the *Tower*, he wondered that having removed a Servant of Trust
 “ from that Charge, only to satisfy the City, and put in another of un-
 “ questionable Reputation and known Ability, the Petitioners should
 “ still entertain those Fears; and whatsoever Preparation of Strength was
 “ there made, was with as great an Eye of Safety and Advantage to the
 “ City, as to his own Person, and should be equally employed to both.
 “ For the fortifying *White-Hall* with Men and Ammunition in an usual
 “ Way, he doubted not, but they had observed the strange Provocation he
 “ had received to entertain that Guard; that, by the disorderly and tu-
 “ multuous Conflux of People at *Westminster* and *White-Hall*, his great
 “ Council was not only disquieted, but his own royal Person in Danger;
 “ most seditious Language being uttered even under his own Windows.
 “ And if any Citizens had been wounded, or ill treated, he was confidently
 “ assured, that it had happened by their own evil and corrupt Demeanours.
 “ For the Fireworks in the Hands of a Papist, he knew nothing, nor un-
 “ derstood whom, or what they meant. That for the Gentlemen of the
 “ Inns of Court, he had only taken in good Part the Offers of their loyal
 “ Affection, and desired them to shew it when Occasion should offer. For
 “ his going to the House of Commons, when his Attendants were no o-
 “ therwise armed than as Gentlemen with Swords, he was persuaded, that
 “ if they knew the clear Grounds upon which those Persons stood accused
 “ of High-Treason, and what would be proved against them, with which
 “ they should in due Time be acquainted; and considered the gentle Way
 “ he took for their Apprehension, (which he preferred before any Course
 “ of Violence, though that Way had been very justifiable; since it was no-
 “ toriously known, that no Privilege of Parliament can extend to Treason,
 “ Felony, or Breach of Peace) they would believe his going thither was
 “ an Act of Grace and Favour to that House, and the most peaceable Way
 “ of having that necessary Service performed; there being such Orders made
 “ for the Resistance of what Authority soever for their Apprehension: And
 “ for the Proceedings against those Persons, he ever intended the same
 “ should be with all Justice and Favour, according to the Laws and Sta-
 “ tutes of the Realm; to which all innocent Men would chearfully sub-
 “ mit. And this extraordinary Way of satisfying a Petition of so unusual
 “ a Nature, he said, he was confident would be thought the greatest In-
 “ stance could be given of his clear Intention to his Subjects; and of the
 “ singular Esteem he had of the good Affections of that City, which he
 “ hoped in Gratitude would never be wanting to his just Commands and
 “ Service.”

AT the same Time, the King acquainted the Parliament, that he de-
 ferred the Prosecution of those guilty Persons, and gave a very agreeable
 Answer to the Petitioners of the County of *Buckingham*, about two Thou-
 sand Men of which County had come to offer their Service to *John Hamb-*
den, their Representative, who was one of the five accused Members. Those
 Petitioners, in the Petition they presented to the King, humbly desired his
 Majesty, that Mr. *Hambden*, and the rest, who lay under the Burthen of
 that Accusation, might enjoy the just Privileges of Parliament.

IT had grown into a Custom at this Time, that all those, who had Pe-
 titions to present to the Parliament, should come accompanied by a great
 Number

Number of People armed with Clubs tipped with Iron, and Swords, of which those that were well affected to the Parliament were no Ways afraid, on the contrary, they became thereby the more bold; but those who knew themselves to be hated by the People, were frightened at it, and from thence took Occasion to complain, that that Concourse of People bred Confusion and Disorder in the Parliament, which perplexed them, and deprived them of the Liberty of acting, and that amongst that Crowd, there were some so insolent, as to give abusive Language to such as they imagined were not for the good of the Publick, whatever Quality they were of. These Disorders justified the King's Guard at *White-Hall*, and were the Cause of his absenting himself from the Parliament some Time after. From thence likewise twelve Bishops, who were in the upper House, took Occasion to draw up a Protestation, which they presented to the King and the Lords of their House, wherein they declared; "That they do abominate all Opinions tending to
 " Popery, and all Factions against the State. That they are most ready
 " and willing to perform their Duties in Parliament, for the Advancement
 " of Religion, and the Publick Good, and that it was not their Fault
 " that all Things did not go on peaceably and with Order; but because
 " in coming to perform their Services in the House, they have been vio-
 " lently threatened, affronted, and assaulted by Multitudes of People, and
 " can find no Redress, or Protection upon their Complaints made to both
 " Houses in these Particulars; therefore they are forc'd to absent them-
 " selves from their Duties. Lastly they most humbly beseech his Maje-
 " sty to command the Clerk of the House of Peers to enter this their
 " Protestation and Petition amongst the Records."

1642.

*The Prot. Stati-
on and Petiti-
on of the Bi-
shops to the
King and
House of Lords.*

THE House of Lords having immediately communicated this Affair to the House of Commons, it was there resolv'd to accuse these twelve Bishops of High-Treason, for having design'd to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and the essential Form of Parliament. Mr. *Glin* went up to the House of Lords to accuse them of that Crime in Name of all the Commons. He desired that the Lords might be pleased to forbid the Bishops their House, and to appoint a Day for their Trial, and in the mean Time to secure their Persons. Whereupon the Lords ordered Mr. *Maxwel*, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, to take the Bishops into Custody. He executed his Orders with so much Diligence, that about eight a Clock at Night he brought them all to the House, and presented them at the Bar, where, according to the Custom of Prisoners, they fell upon their Knees, to wit, the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *Durham*, *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, *Norwich*, *St. Asaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Hereford*, *Oxford*, *Ely*, *Glocester*, *Peterborough*, and *Landaff*. Ten of them were sent to the Tower, and the other two, to wit, the Bishops of *Durham*, and *Lichfield* and *Coventry* were only put in Custody of the Black Rod, on Account of their Age.

THIS Affair was likewise a Hindrance to the Relief of *Ireland*, and as Matters began to be carried on with too much Heat, the Affairs of that Kingdom gave Daily new Cause of many Differences between the King and Parliament, wherein they were still clashing one against another. A Petition had been presented to the House of Peers, that Soldiers might be levied, and pressed, in Order to be sent to *Ireland*: But the King declared, that he could not approve of their meddling with Affairs of that Nature; because it was incroaching upon his Authority: And his Majesty was much displeased with the Person, who had dar'd to present the Petition, though he consented to its being answered for that Time. On the

*The Affairs of
Ireland occasi-
on Differences
between the
King and Par-
liament.*

1642. other Hand, the Parliament complained, that the King in that put a Constraint upon the Freedom of Opinions, and pryed too far into their Deliberations, which ought to be concluded before the King should declare his Sentiments of them, and as from that Time forward all the King's Actions passed with them as Breaches of their Privileges, they pretended that he had broke in upon them by the Exception his Majesty had made against the Petition presented to the House of Peers, for pressing Soldiers. The King had the Goodness, some Time after, to give up that Power, which had the same Foundation with that of the Ship-Money, which was begun to be levied after the same Manner in the Time of the Wars between *England* and *France*; for then it was thought convenient to give the King's Power to fit out Ships of War, and to press Soldiers to put on Board of them, when there was any Fear of an Invasion from that Quarter, because the Parliament could not meet soon enough for providing against sudden Attempts. But that Power came to be abused, and what was designed for the Publick Good and Security, became sometimes the Instrument of the Revenge and Passions of private Men.

Soon after, the *Scottish* Commissioners offered two thousand five hundred Men to the Parliament of *England*, which they had ready in the North of *Ireland*, and for the Security of those Troops, to which the Parliament was to give the same Pay with the *English*; they demanded that the Town and Castle of *Carrick-Fergus* should be put into their Hands, and that all the Troops of that County, that had a Mind to joyn that small Army, should obey the Commander in Chief of the *Scots* Forces. The two Houses agreed to this Demand, but the King opposing it, made it appear to them, that such a Concession might be prejudicial to *England*, and promised to speak of it to the *Scots* Commissioners, and to get them to desist from that Proposal. Which the King having done, the Commissioners answered him, "That since the only Difficulty, which he found in that Affair, was, that such a Concession shewed that the Parliament had too great Confidence in the auxiliary Troops, they hoped that their native Prince would not let it be seen, that he had less Confidence in them, who were his Subjects, than the *English*, who were only their Neighbours and Allies, who, nevertheless, had granted that Demand with much Frankness." 'Tis very true, that the *Scots* Commissioners had Orders at first to treat with the Parliament only for a Succour for *Ireland* of ten thousand Men, to which the House of Peers did not consent but upon Condition, that the Commons should oblige themselves to send thither as many *English* at the same Time, which they judged impossible, considering the Posture of Affairs in *England*. The Lords alledged for a Reason of their Opposition, that the Honour of *England* was concerned in it, to suffer that *Ireland* should be brought under the Obedience of the Laws by the *Scots* Troops. But those, who were zealous for the Protestant Cause, did not relish that Point of Honour, and took it for a Pretence started by those who favoured the Catholick Party.

It began then to be a Matter of Surprise, why the King was so long in declaring the *Irish*, Rebels, and it was not only the common Talk of the People, but the Parliament likewise complain'd of it in the Declaration which they published after the King had retired to *York*, taking that Delay for a Token that the *Irish* had good Protectors at Court. Their Conjecture was grounded upon the putting off the publishing the Proclamation, whereby they were declared Traitors, till the Month of *January*, though their Rebellion had broke out in *October* before. That according

to the King's express Order there had only forty Copies of the Proclamation been printed, and that he had even forbidden to publish them without new Orders from him. That Manner of proceeding, said they, was the more remarkable, that a quite different Method had been made use of against the *Scots*, who having been declared Rebels with great Precipitation and Bitterness, the Copies of the Declaration were quickly spread over the whole Kingdom, and at the same Time Orders were given to the Ministers to read them publickly in the Churches. The King, in Order to confute that Calumny, which might make the People believe, that he had conniv'd at the *Irish* Rebellion, caused a Declaration to be published against that of the Parliament, wherein he declared; " That having received the News of the *Irish* Rebellion while he was in *Scotland*, he " had recommended the Care of it to the Parliament of *England*: That " before he left *Scotland*, he had given the necessary Orders for a Relief, " which was speedily to be drawn out of that Kingdom: That since his " Return to *London*, he had always shewn himself ready to authorize whatever the two Houses should propose for the Relief of *Ireland*; and as " to the Declaration against the *Irish*, it had been made as soon as it was " asked by the Council of *Ireland*, who had desired but twenty Copies of " it signed with his Hand, whereas, for the Good of their Affairs, he had " caused forty to be printed. And as this consisted with their Knowledge " they were the more to blame, that by suppressing the Truth of the " Fact, they had instill'd a bad Impression of him in the Minds of his " People."

BUT though that had not been so, the King had made it sufficiently appear, that he did not in the least countenance the Rebellion of the Catholics in *Ireland*; he having intended to diminish their Strength by Diversion; as he let the Parliament of *England* know by the Letter he wrote them a few Days after his Arrival in *Scotland*, wherein having represented to them his Ingagement to the Ambassador of *Spain*, for allowing him to lift four thousand Men of the *Irish* Army, which had been disbanded after the Earl of *Strafford's* Death; he desired to make good his Promise by the Consent of the two Houses. But the Commons, with whom the Lords had desired a Conference upon it, opposed it. They gave their Reasons ten Days after, when the King, by a second Letter, told them, that the Ambassador was very pressing with him about his Promise, which he could not elude with Honour, and that since he had found him so reasonable, as to be content with the Half of what had been promised him, he hoped that the Parliament would not refuse him that. The Commons, however, after deliberating some Time upon that Demand, declared to the Lords by the Mouth of the Lord *Falkland*, that it was not fit to grant it; because the King of *Spain* was in the *Emperor's* Interest, against the *Electo Palatine*, his Majesty's Nephew, whom they both had stript of his Dominions; so that if at the Time that the King was causing a Manifesto to be published in Favour of his Nephew, and was sending an Ambassador to the Diet of *Ratisbone*, he should give Assistance to the *Electo's* Enemies, there would be an evident Contradiction between his Words and Actions, and he would draw the Sword against himself. Besides, that Assistance would turn to the Prejudice of the Protestant Cause, which the Parliament intended to forward to the utmost of their Power. They argued thus, not knowing what had been concluded between the King and his Catholic Majesty's Ambassador: and some Time after, considering Nothing but their own Interest, they forgot both that of the *Electo* and of Religion, and they themselves sent Troops to the King of *Spain*.

IN

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The Parlia-
ment demands
the Disposal of
the Militia.

IN the Month of *February* a Proposal was made to the two Houses for the Relief of *Ireland*, whence they expected great Things; this Proposal was, that since there were in the four Provinces of that Kingdom, to wit *Ulster*, *Connaught*, *Munster*, and *Lemster*, which are subdivided into many Counties, two Millions and five Hundred Acres of Land, which belonged to the Rebels, they ought to be confiscated, and divided amongst those who should advance the necessary Money for that Conquest. The King quitting his Interest in that Confiscation for forwarding the Affairs of that Kingdom, approved of the Proposal, and consented to an Ordinance, empowering the Parliament to prosecute that War until *Ireland* should be subdued, and that there should be no Treaty with the Rebels either of Peace or Truce, without the Consent of the two Houses. But as they were about putting this Ordinance in Execution, the Parliament presented an Address to the King, concerning the Militia of the Kingdom of *England* and the Principality of *Wales*. That was followed by several others upon the same Subject, to which the King made as many Replies, and as their Privileges were not now the Matter in Question, which his Majesty declared he would always inviolably preserve to the two Houses, but the Royal Authority; that Incroachment led the Way to an open Rupture. The Parliament then demanded of the King, "That in Order to incourage them
" to suppress the Rebellion of *Ireland*, and to establish the Security of the
" Kingdom upon solid Foundations, he would be pleased to put the Tow-
" er of *London*, with all the other Fortresses, and all the Militia of the
" Kingdom, into the Hands of Persons approved of by the two Houses,
" in whom they might trust," The King answered, "That he would take
" Care that none should be imployed in those Offices but Men of Honour,
" and of undoubted Zeal and Fidelity for the Publick Good; but that the
" Right of naming such Persons was particularly reserved to him by the
" fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and that he derived it from his An-
" cestors, as the brightest Gem in his Crown."

DURING this Debate, the Decision of which was made by Arms, the King continued eight Days at *White-Hall*, and after having been in the House of Commons, he retired to *Hampton-Court*, and the Day after his Departure, the five Members of that House, whom he had accused, were brought to *Westminster* in armed Boats, where a great Multitude of People attended at their landing to accompany them to their House. Now the King, before he left *Hampton-Court*, having sent for several of his Servants who were Members of Parliament, to come and attend his Person, the Earl of *Essex*, Chamberlain of his Household, and the Earl of *Holland* refused to go, excusing themselves with saying, that they could serve his Majesty to better Purpose in Parliament, than any where else. Whereupon the King immediately sent a Gentleman to them, to demand the Staff from the one, and from the other the Gold Key, which he wore, as first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber; then his Majesty, with the Queen, and Princess *Mary*, who about ten Months before had been married to *William* Prince of *Orange*, left *Hampton-Court*, and went to *Canterbury*. This Journey proved fatal to the Bishops; for in that Metropolitan City of all *England*, the King consented to their being deprived of their Right to sit and vote in the House of Peers, the brightest of all the Privileges that were annexed to the Episcopal Dignity; for they had it not by Virtue of their Character, but because they held their Lands in Baronies. For the same Reason, many Abbots of old, with the Prior of *Coventry*, sat in that House. The Grand Prior of *England*, who pretended to have the Rank of first Baron

Baron of the Kingdom, had likewise a Seat there. The King having passed some Days at *Canterbury*, went on to *Dover*, one of the Cinque Ports of the Kingdom. From thence the Queen went over to *Holland* with the Princess Royal; and as soon as the King had seen the Ship under Sail, he returned to *Greenwich*, from whence he sent for the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, in Order to accompany him to the City of *York*, where he intended to make his Residence.

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As soon as these Princes had joyned the King, he left *Greenwich*, and went to lye at *Theobalds*, another Royal House situate in a very fine Park, where, on the first Day of *March*, he received another Address from the Parliament. The drift of this Address was once more to pray his Majesty to grant their Demand concerning the Militia, representing to him, that if he did it not, they would be forc'd, in the present Juncture, to dispose of it immediately for the Security of the Kingdom. They likewise requested him, that he would be pleased to take up his Residence near *London*, and not to remove the Prince of *Wales* from it; that he might be informed by them, his Great Council, that by the Laws of *England*, the Power of raising and disposing of the Militia could not be given to any Person without the Consent of Parliament. The King gave them no other Answer concerning the Militia, but what he had said before. As for the rest, he declared to them, that he did not think himself safe in any Place near *London*; and as for the Prince of *Wales* his Son, the Care he should take of him would justify him before God and Man, as well in the Quality of a Father, as of a King.

The Parliament addresseth the King at Theobalds about the Militia.

THE Parliament taking this short Answer to be an absolute Denial of their Demand, ordered that the Earl of *Northumberland*, Admiral of *England*, should immediately give Orders for fitting out all the Ships of the Royal Navy for the Service of the State; and as the King had got to *New-Market*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Holland*, accompanied by some Members of the House of Commons, on the 9th of *March*, presented to his Majesty a Declaration, drawn up by the two Houses.

THIS Declaration contained some very Satyrical Clauses; to wit;
 " That those who were in greatest Authority about his Majesty, had for
 " a long Time been carrying on the Design of altering Religion. That
 " the War with *Scotland* was made for that Purpose. That the Rebelli-
 " on in *Ireland* was contrived in *England*. That his Majesty had intended
 " to order his Army to march against the Parliament. That, contrary
 " to his Promise, he had given a Warrant under his own Hand for trans-
 " porting Mr. *Jermyn*, and the Lord *Digby*, with other Criminals beyond
 " Seas; and that he had come into the House of Commons, in Order,
 " without any Ground, to surprize the five Members, who, his Majesty
 " said, had incurred his Displeasure." They had mustered up all these
 Things to shew, that their Fears and Jealousies were well grounded, and
 that the Reasons alledged by the King for not residing at *London*, were
 suggested by his evil Counsellors, for no other End but to imbroid the
 State. They concluded, " That his Majesty would give Occasion to all
 " the World, to believe that he fled from the Parliament, with no other
 " Design but to discourage such as undertook the Expedition of *Ireland*,
 " and that as well the Rebels, as other Persons disaffected to Religion and
 " the State, would have Reason to be encouraged, by seeing the Publick
 " Affairs take the Course which they had so eagerly longed for."

The Declaration of the two Houses.

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The King's Declaration in Answer to that of the two Houses.

THE King falling into a Passion, and with very great Reason, because of this Remonstrance, said to the Commissioners; That it was rather a Libel against him, than a Persuasion to return to the Parliament, and that he would give an Answer to it by a Declaration, which he caused to be published some Time after, wherein his Majesty justified the Sincerity of his Intentions for Religion, and the Justice of his Conduct with great Resolution. He therein represented, “ That his Actions ought not to have
 “ been so much disparaged, nor his Reputation so harshly blemished under Colour of evil Counsellors. That he could add nothing to the Testimonies he had given of his Zeal for the Protestant Religion, in the
 “ Declaration he had caused to be published in the Month of *January*, and
 “ that all the Course of his Life having given so evident Proofs of that
 “ Truth, he expected some Acknowledgment of his Piety, rather than a
 “ Reproach that he had a Design to change his Religion, from which he
 “ was so far, that he wished the Judgments of God might discover those
 “ who had any such Thought. That it was an odious Thing to revive
 “ the Memory of the Troubles of *Scotland*, which having been quieted
 “ by the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms, ought to be buried in eternal
 “ Oblivion. That if the Rebellion of *Ireland* had been hatched in *England*, he conjured the two Houses to do their utmost in discovering the
 “ Authors of it, that he might joyn with them in bringing them to exemplary Punishment. That he took God to be witness of his never having
 “ had the least Thought of marching his Army to offer Violence to the
 “ Parliament, and of his never having had Knowledge of such a Design,
 “ and that the publishing so base a Calumny was injuring him to the highest Degree. That if their Privileges had been broke in upon by the Accusation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the House of
 “ Commons, he had given them Reparation beyond what he ought to
 “ have done, in retracting it, without insisting upon the Incroachments
 “ that had been made upon many of his Prerogatives, under Pretence of
 “ maintaining the Privileges of Parliament. That he knew not what the
 “ Advices were, which they pretended to have from *Rome*, *Venice*, and
 “ *Paris*; but one must be light of Belief that would regard them, and
 “ that he did not believe an honest Man could imagine, that he had fallen
 “ into such Despair, as to have Designs that might bring Confusion and
 “ Ruin upon his Kingdom, and make his Name and Posterity to be buried
 “ in eternal Infamy. That as for the Lord *Digby*, and Mr. *Jermyn*, he
 “ assured the Parliament in the Word of a Prince, that the first had had
 “ his Pass, and left the Court, before he knew that the House had brought
 “ an Accusation against him: And that the other was gone from *White-*
 “ *Hall*, before he had received the Address of the two Houses for stopping his Servants. That he should very readily return to *London*, if he
 “ saw that any Provision had been made for the Security of his Person:
 “ But that the Tumults still continuing at *Westminster*, without so much
 “ as one exemplary Punishment having been made, or the seditious, who
 “ fomented the Disorders, being called to an Account, he could not go
 “ to the Place, where he most desired to be. That if many seditious
 “ Words had not come to their Knowledge, and if they had a Mind to
 “ be informed of them, he should send them for that End some of his
 “ Counsellors learned in the Law. That he had given sufficient Proofs
 “ of the strong Inclination he had to be in a good Understanding with
 “ the two Houses, and to join with them in every Thing that might contribute to the good of Religion and the State; seeing he had for that
 “ End, deprived the Bishops of the Quality of Peers of the upper House,
 “ and

“ and suppressed their Court of High Commission. That he had given
“ his Consent to Triennial Parliaments, and parted with the Power of
“ raising extraordinary Taxes, as also of laying Duties upon Commodities.
“ That in Order to ease his Subjects, he had consented to the Request a-
“ bout the Forests, and, to remove from them all Occasion of Complaint
“ he had limited the Power of the Privy Council, abolished the Star
“ Chamber, the Stannary-Court, and the Clerk of the Market. Lastly
“ that he could not give a greater Demonstration of the Confidence he
“ had in the Parliament, than by granting their Request for continuing
“ their meeting, as long as the two Houses should think fit. However,
“ he hoped, let it be never so long, that Concession could never alter the
“ Nature of Parliaments, nor the Laws of the Kingdom, and much less
“ make his Subjects believe, that this present Meeting of Parliament can
“ meddle with Things, that it could not decently have attempted, if he
“ had reserved to himself the Power of dissolving it when he should think
“ fit.”

THE Kings of *England*, ever since their Wars in *France*, had enjoyed, some for a long, others for a short Time, a Duty which the Parliaments granted them upon all Merchandize imported and exported, as well upon each Tun, as upon the Pound Weight, which was called Tunnage and Poundage. Now the King, in the Beginning of his Reign, having been advised by his great Favourite, the Duke of *Buckingham*, to levy this Duty as a Right belonging to the Crown, the Merchants grudged to pay it, and the Cause having been pleaded in the Court of Exchequer, they were cast there. But having presented a Petition to this Parliament, the King was obliged to renounce that Right, which, he said, he had of laying a Duty upon Merchandize. The Forests, of which there are many in *England*, belong to the King's Demesnes, who entertains a great many Officers, as well for preserving them, as for the Rangers Courts; for it was not allowed to hunt there, to cut Wood, or to feed Cattle without paying for it, or to labour the Land without Leave. *William the Conqueror* had so immoderate a Passion for Hunting, that he turned a great Part of the Kingdom into Forests, and caused Houses, and even Churches to be pulled down wherever he thought fit to make Forests: Bounds were afterwards set to them, and the Nobility and Gentry having recovered a Part of their Lands, *Henry III* confirmed the great Charter of the Forests. In the late Times, amongst the bad Expedients that were invented for raising Money, as well by Loans made under the Privy Seal, as by the Rigor practised against such as had neglected to get themselves Knighted at the King's Coronation, this of extending the Bounds of the Forests was added, and making new and larger Inclosures about them; so that there was a Necessity of Paying great Fines, and compounding with the King in Order to be freed from that Vexation. This gave Occasion to the Parliament to petition his Majesty, praying him that the Bounds of the Forests might continue as they had been regulated by the Laws, and that the Lands, which by a long Prescription had been without, might not be comprehended within them; to which the King, for the Ease of his Subjects, consented. The Power of the Council was limited by being barred from bringing before it Causes from the Courts of Justice: So likewise were the Privy Councils of both Kingdoms, which naturally ought to take Cognizance of Nothing but of Public Disorders, called Riots, and of Matters wherein the State was in some Manner interested. The Star-Chamber was one of the finest and most noble Courts of the Kingdom. It was in a Manner an Abridgment of all the rest, to wit, of that of the High Commission; of the Council; of the King's

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King's Bench; of the Common Pleas, where, since the Conquest to the Reign of *Edward III* Causes were pleaded in *French*, and at present almost all the Law Terms are in the old *Norman* Language. The Counsellors that plead there are called *Sergeants at Law*, and answer to the Doctor of the Civil Law: Of that of the Exchequer, and of the Chancery, which is a Court of Conscience, for mitigating the Rigor of the Laws in certain Cases.

THE Star Chamber was composed of Prelates, Peers, Counsellors of State, and of the two Chief Justices. The Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Seals, presided there, and he alone was covered when he spoke in the Chamber. It took Cognizance of Violences, Frauds, mixt Crimes that were not capital; and of some Actions which had a Tendency to great Crimes, which were not specified by the Laws. And as the Court of Chancery had a Pretorian Power, for moderating the Severity of the Laws, so this Chamber had that of a Censor, in Crimes that did not deserve Death, which it exercised sometimes with too much Rigor, and exceeded in its Punishments, which tended to the Ruin, rather than the Reformation of the guilty.

THE Stannary Court had been established in the County of *Cornwall*, which abounds with the best Tin in the World, and it was in Favour of those who wrought in the Mines, that they might not be obliged to go out of the County to sue, or be sued at Law. But many that were not employed in the Mines, found Means to interest themselves in them; and thereby obliged the Subjects of the most distant Parts of the Kingdom to come and plead before that Court. Lastly, the Clerk of the Market was an Officer of the King's Household, appointed to have the Inspection of the Weights and Measures, which are the same over all the Kingdom, that they might be conform to the Standard that was to be observed. But it fared with this as with other Things that are very well appointed for regulating the Polity, and for the Conveniency of the People, that they are corrupted by Interest, and become a Burden upon the Subjects through the Avarice of the Officers.

SOME Time after, the Parliament suppressed the Court of Wards, the Institution of which was very noble and plausible: But it had frequently happened, that it turned as much to the Ruin, as the Preservation of the Families of Pupils, who, before they could get Possession of their Estates, found them much diminished; there were even some of them, who delayed entering upon their Estates, having Law-Suits which they brought before this Court, wherein they found their Account. The Affairs of this Nature in *Scotland* went before the Court of Exchequer, where the Lord High Treasurer presided. The King made no Advantage in that Kingdom of the Ward Holdings, but bestowed it upon some of his Courtiers, who very often made a bad Use of it, when Gentlemen were forced to compound with them for Liberty to marry. I mean those, whose Lands held of the Crown, though it had been but in Part: For though a Gentleman had Lands which held of other Lords besides the King, though his Majesty's Part was the least, yet he alone had the Ward of the Pupil; because the King has neither Peer nor Partner in his Kingdom. Now in *Scotland* Lands were held in four Manners: First the Church held her Lands, *Nomine puræ eleemosynæ*. So her Goods are only the Vows of the Faithful, the Redemption of Sins, and the Patrimony of the Poor. She paid nothing but *Devota animarum Suffragia*. Then there were Lands which

were held in *Fee-farm Rent* of the King, the Church, and the Barons. In the third Place, there were *Free-hold* Lands, for which nothing was paid but a Rose, or a Pair of gilt Spurs, or something of that Kind, when the Lord demanded it under the Name *Blanch-farm*. Lastly, many Lands were held in *Ward*, that is to say, the Lords of the Fiefs had the Guardianship of the Person and Lands of the Heir till he came of Age, and if he was not married before his Father's Death, his Lord could dispose of him in Marriage though he was of Age, which was a very grievous Servitude. Therefore in the Year 1646, the King being at *Newcastle* disarmed, and in the Hands of the *Scots*, they obtained of him a Commission directed to the *Exchequer*, which the Parliament ratified that same Year, whereby the Nobility and Gentry were admitted to redeem that Thralldom, and to change that Homage into annual Rents payable to the King. He was not in a Condition at that Time to refuse them any Thing, and they could demand nothing that seemed more just and reasonable.

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As for his Majesty's learned Council, which he mentions in his last Declaration, it is composed of the King's Serjeants at Law, his Attorney-General, and Solicitor. The Kings have been in use to consult them upon many Occasions, particularly in Matters of Grants, that they might not make any to their Prejudice, or that might be repugnant to the Laws; and when the King granted any Thing under the Privy Seal only, that was binding only upon him; but if it was under the Great Seal, the three Estates of the Kingdom were engaged by it.

ON the 15th of *March*, the King sent from *Huntington* another Declaration to the Parliament, wherein having recommended to them in very obliging Terms to second his Cares for *Ireland*, which with Tears of Blood demanded Relief; he represented to them, "That having done his
 " utmost Endeavours to entertain a good Correspondence with them,
 " even to revoke all the Proclamations that could hurt their Privileges,
 " he expected that they would have the same tender Regard for his Pre-
 " rogatives, which are the Privileges of the Kingdom. Now, as he looked
 " upon this to be one of the most fundamental, to wit; That his Sub-
 " jects could not be bound to obey any Ordinance, to which he had not
 " consented, he thought it necessary to declare to them all, that they
 " must not presume, under Pretence of any Ordinance for the Militia, or
 " for any other Affair whatever, to do any Thing but according to the
 " established Laws; because he was resolved to observe them himself,
 " and to cause them to be observed by his Subjects. Then he recom-
 " mended to them carefully to draw up such Ordinances as they judged
 " necessary for the Liberty of their Persons, and the Security of their E-
 " states, for the settling of their Privileges, the Advancement of the Pro-
 " testant Religion of *England*, the Defence of his Authority, and Main-
 " tenance of his Revenue, for as much as he had no stronger Passion,
 " than for establishing a compleat Understanding between him and the
 " Parliament; for he reckoned, that his Authority, and Revenue, sub-
 " sisted, and were kept up by that Union." From *Huntington* the King continued his Progress to *York*, where he arrived about the End of *March*.

*The King's De-
 claration from
 Huntington to
 the Parlia-
 ment.*

THE King's retiring in this peaceable Manner seemed very strange, and even mysterious to many, who not being prepossessed with any Passion for the Affairs of *England*, looked upon them with much Indifference:

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1642. For as they considered, that the Parliament could very easily have hindered the Queen from going out of the Kingdom, the Design of which they suspected, and put a Stop to the King's Progress, who went accompanied but with very few of his Domesticks: And perceiving, that according as the King explained himself upon some Things, which gave them Jealousy, and that at the same Time he granted them many other very important Matters, in order to please them, even to the Prejudice of his own Prerogatives, the Parliament presently made other Demands, which likewise created new Difficulties. It seemed to them, that That Party of the Parliament, who had made themselves Masters of all the Deliberations, wanted nothing but War, and in order to kindle it, had a Mind to put the King to a Non-plus, though in the Declarations, which came out in the Name of the two Houses, they had protested the quite contrary, and expressed in very strong Terms, that all their Deliberations tended to nothing but to procure a good Understanding between the King and them, and carefully to maintain the Peace of the Kingdom.

The King writes to the Parliament from York, telling them that he had a mind to go to Ireland in Person.

ON the 8th of *April* the King wrote from *York* to the Parliament, that he had a Mind to go to *Ireland* in Person, in order to bring the Rebels to Reason by Arms; and for that end thought fit to acquaint them, that he intended to give Commissions for Levying in the Counties near *West-Chester*, a Guard for his own Person, consisting of two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, which should be armed from his Magazine at *Hull*. But about the same time, the Parliament had sent to ask Leave of his Majesty to transport that Magazine to the *Tower of London*, alledging for a Reason, that the warlike Stores of the *Tower* were much diminished, because of the Supply they had sent to *Ireland*, the Necessities of which increased daily. That there was no more Occasion to have that Magazine at *Hull*, Peace being made with the *Scots*; and that it would not only be better guarded in the *Tower*, but more conveniently transported from thence to *Ireland*. This Proposal displeased the King, but what most of all vexed him was, that the Parliament, in order to prevent the Design, which, in their Opinion, he had of making himself Master of *Hull*, had, without acquainting him, put the Place into the Hands of Sir *John Hotbham*, and sent Orders not to admit the Marquis of *Newcastle* into the Town, whose Merit the King extolled very much in the Answer he made them.

IN the mean time, the Parliament began to dispose of the Militia in several Counties, and to give the Command of it to such Persons as they could confide in. They likewise fitted out the King's Ships, and by that means secured themselves against all Invasion from abroad. But because the Earl of *Northumberland*, by Reason of his Indisposition, could not command the Fleet in Person, the Parliament recommended the Earl of *Warwick* to him as a fit Person to supply his Place, and sent to the King, praying him to allow that that Lord, whom the two Houses had named to that Office, might take Possession of it. But the King absolutely refused to approve of him, and signified in his Letter to the Lord Keeper, that he took it very ill, that the Parliament should take upon them to name the Commanders of the Navy. He had made the Duke of *York* Lord High-Admiral, and given the Command of the Fleet under him to Sir *John Pennington*, an old Sea Captain of great Experience. For all that, the Earl in a short time took Possession of the whole Fleet,
and

and brought under his Obedience some Captains, who intended to have carried off their Ships for the Service of the King, whose Commission they bore. 1642.

ON the 23^d of *April* the King, accompanied by some Noblemen and Gentlemen, appeared before the Walls of *Hull*, where he found the Gates shut, and the Bridges drawn by Order of the Governour, who appearing upon the Wall, begged of his Majesty not to command him to do what he would be forced, with great Reluctancy, to refuse him. That he could not open the Gates to him without betraying the Trust which the Parliament had put in him; but if his Majesty pleased he would send immediately to let them know the Command he had received, not doubting but in all Haste they would let him know their Pleasure thereupon. The King falling into a Passion, spoke a long Time with great Bitterness, telling him, that he believed he had no Orders from the Parliament to shut the Gates against him, and asked him if he could let him see his Orders, but the Governor well knowing the Intention of the Parliament, though his Commission did not mention the King, yet he would not shew it, only he again begged of his Majesty not to command Things which he could not do. Whereupon the King having caused him immediately to be proclaimed a Traitor, and got the Duke of *York*, and the Prince *Elect* out of the Town, where they had lain the Night before, and whom the Governour did not suffer to depart till after a very long Deliberation, his Majesty returned towards *York*.

Sir John Hotham refuses to admit the King into Hull.

THE next Day, he sent an Express to the two Houses with a Message, complaining of the Affront which the Governor of *Hull* had put upon him, and accusing him of having maliciously pretended to have had their Orders as an Excuse for his Disloyalty, and two Days after having sent another Express, he complained with more Passion of the Indignity he had suffered, which, if it was not repaired, would make the World believe, that he was in a worse Condition than the meanest of his Subjects, who enjoyed their Privileges, and that it was only lawful to rob him of his.

The King's Message to the two Houses concerning Hull.

AT the same time, his Majesty sent a Letter to the Mayor of *Hull*, whereby he forbid him to suffer any part of the Ammunition to be taken out of the Town, without an Order under his Hand, and having caused all the Passages between *Hull* and *London* to be shut up, a Letter from the Governor was intercepted, which one of his Servants was carrying to the Parliament, to give them an Account of all that had lately passed in his Government.

THE Parliament having had Advice by another Way of what had passed, "declared that the King's Orders for shutting up the Passages upon their Officers, and intercepting their Letters, was a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament, and ordered all the Sheriffs of Counties to give their Assistance to all Expresses that should pass for the Service of the Parliament, and to suppress all Forces, that should be raised in their Counties, that might disturb the Peace of the Kingdom. Besides, the Parliament declared, That *Sir John Hotham* had done nothing but in Obedience to the Command of both Houses of Parliament, and that the declaring him a Traitor, being a Member of the House of Commons, and that without any Form of Trial, was a manifest Breach of their Privileges, and against the Laws, and the Liberties

The Declaration of the two Houses concerning Sir John Hotham's refusing to admit the King into Hull.

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“ ties of the Subjects. At the same time, they appointed a Committee
 “ for the Northern Counties of the Kingdom, and ordered all the Offi-
 “ cers within the Jurisdiction of that Committee, to assist them on all
 “ Occasions, and to obey their Orders.

*The King's
 Answer to the
 Declaration
 and Votes con-
 cerning Hull.*

ON the 4th of May, the King wrote to the two Houses against that Declaration, and represented to them at large, how insupportable the Affront he had received was to him, and how sensibly he was touched with the Injury they themselves had done him, in not endeavouring to give him the least Satisfaction. Then he demonstrated to them by the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, some of which he quoted in his Letter, that Sir *John Hotham's* refusing to open the Gates of *Hull* to him, was an Act of Treason. There passed afterwards several Writings on both Sides, wherein the King, without taking Notice of the pretended Fears and Jealousies of the two Houses, endeavoured to defend his Prerogatives. They, on the contrary, without minding the Affront that had been offered unto the King, were wholly intent upon the Preservation of *Hull*, the Militia, and the Fleet, that That Place, the Militia, and the Men of War might not fall into the Hands of those, whom they called wicked Counsellors, and who, they were afraid, had too great Interest with the King, to the evident Danger of his own Person, and of the whole State. At the same time, the two Houses represented to the King, that as they were endeavouring to defend his Royal Person, and his Subjects, the Authority of which being given them by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, whereof they were the representative Body, they desired to inform him freely, & *liberius quàm ut imperantium meminissent*: That his Interest in the Towns, in the Arms, and in the Kingdom itself, was not of the same Nature with that of private Persons in their Estates, to dispose of, and alienate them as he thought fit, but that he had only the Use of Things; so that they were not put into his Hands but for the general Good of all his Subjects. Besides, they added, that seeing all Dispute was to no Purpose when the Parties did not agree in Principles, the two Houses looking upon it for certain, that they compose his Great Council, who ought to be the only Judges of what was for the Advantage and Grandeur of the State, or of what was not, even of what ought to be done for the Good of the Publick, to whose Judgment the King was not to prefer the Advice of any private Counsel whatsoever, they did not believe, that so many needless Disputes, or so many Declarations that were made on both Sides, could bring about a good Understanding between the King and his People, until his Majesty should agree with them in that Principle.

THE King did not enter into Dispute about what they called Principles, but denied the Conclusion that they had a Mind to draw from them: For though, by the Laws of the Kingdom, the House of Commons had a Power of preparing, the House of Lords a Power of deciding, and that the King with the two Houses had a Legislative Power, and though these three Powers ought to concur for the Publick Good, nevertheless they were still absolute, that is to say, could not be controlled by any other Power; just so as a private Person has still an absolute Power over his Estate, though he be obliged to make Use of it for the Glory of God.

NEITHER was it doubted, but that the Parliament was the Representative Body of the Kingdom, but by that was to be understood the
 King

King and the two Houses, otherwise the Head would be no more a Part of the Body, or would be so no longer than the Body had a mind. Now, as it belonged to the King, as being the Head, more than to any other, to judge what was expedient for the Good of the whole Body, he thought that in this Juncture of Affairs, it was more necessary than ever for the Protection of his People, to preserve the Power, which the Laws gave him over the Militia, the Fortresses, and the Ships of the Kingdom.

IN the mean time, the King having sent for the Nobility and Gentry of the County of *York*, on the 12th of *May* they repaired to him in great Numbers, where, after he had caused to be read before the whole Company with a loud Voice what had passed betwixt him and the two Houses concerning *Hull*, he then told them, that there might be some Design upon his Person, and for that Reason he wanted to raise a Regiment of Guards for his Defence. Many of the Nobility and Gentry were sensibly touched with the King's Words, and answered his Majesty, that they were ready to serve him, and expose their Lives for the Preservation of his. They had presented a Petition to him, begging of him not to transport his Magazine from *Hull*, and afterwards did him so great and signal Services, that his Majesty shewed plainly, that he was very well pleased with the Nobility and Gentry of that County, and that he was very desirous, by some Marks of his Favour, to make them sensible, how much the Testimonies of their Affection had moved him. The King having afterwards caused a Proclamation to be published, commanding them to keep themselves ready armed about his Person; three Days after, the Parliament declared, that all such, as should take up Arms by Virtue of that Command, should be looked upon as Disturbers of the publick Peace, and ordered the Lieutenants of the Counties to raise the Militia in order to fall upon them.

*The King sends
for the Nobility
and Gentry of
the County of
York.*

THE King, notwithstanding that Prohibition, made some Levies for the Guard and Security of his Person, with which the People were no wise alarmed, not fore-seeing that these Things were the Fore-runners of a Civil War, till they saw the greatest Part of the Lords of the upper House, and a considerable Number of the Commons all of a sudden leave the Parliament: For, before the End of *May*, the Dukes of *Lenox* and *Richmond*, the Marquesses of *Hertford* and *Newcastle*, the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntington*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorset*, *Salisbury*; but this last returned very soon after: *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, *Bristol*, *Westmoreland*, *Berkshire*, *Monmouth*, *Rivers*, *Dover*, *Carnarvon*, and *Newport*: The Lords *Matravers*, *Willoughby of Eresby*, *Rich*, *Howard of Charleton*, *Newark*, *Paget*, *Chandois*, *Falconbridge*, *Pawlet*, *Lovelace*, *Savil*, *Coven-try*, *Mobun*, *Dunsmore*, *Seymour*, *Gray of Ruthin*, and *Capel*, left their House, and went to the King at *York*, so that the House of Peers seemed to be deserted; but though the Number of those who left the House of Commons, was not equal to those that continued in it, yet they were Men of the best Sense and greatest Parts. Then it was that every Body took this Desertion of the Parliament for a Presage of some Calamity that threatened the Kingdom, and every one agreed that it must produce fatal Effects: Though as to the Action itself Opinions were different. Some, considering the Number and Abilities of those who had retired, said, that the Parliament was not free enough, and that the sound Part was kept under by a prevailing Faction; besides, that they were frightened by the Tumults of the City of *London*. This Procedure put them in mind of the injurious Manner, after which the fifty nine Members of the House

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of Commons were treated for having opposed the Condemnation of the Earl of *Strafford*, and of the reproachful Words, which the meaner Sort of People had said against many Lords, who they fancied were disaffected to the publick Good. Others said, that the Parliament being the Protector of all the Liberties of the Subjects, there was no Likelihood that they would affront any of its own Members. That no body had Reason to be afraid of the Meetings of the People in *London*, which were made for the Security of the Parliament, against the Conspiracies, which many disaffected Persons were concerting and fomenting against it. That it was a mean Thought for so many Lords thus to conceive Grounds of Fear, and that if the Parliament had done any Thing that displeased them, their Number was great enough to set Matters to Rights, without having Recourse to extraordinary Remedies. As for those who had quitted their Seats in the House of Commons, though they were Men of the best Parts, it did not follow, that they were the most honest, Probity not being necessarily the Concomitant of Ability. That Men of great Parts are full of themselves, are refractory, and fret when their Opinions are not followed, and that they will by all means be the first in all Assemblies, or not be of them.

SUCH were the Conversations upon this Breach made in the Parliament, every body speaking of it according to their Inclinations and Interest, which always prevail over the Judgment of the most part of Men. But the Things that have happened since, have clearly shewn, that those, both of the one and the other House, who have been constantly attached to the King's Service, to the Prejudice of their Fortunes and Interests, have had no other Motive that induced them to go and attend his Person, but that of Honour and Conscience, and that they were persuaded, that it fares with Revolts in the State, as with Schisms in the Church, where that Party only, though the least, which adheres to the Head, composeth the Church and the State.

THE King having got this considerable Reinforcement, continued his Levies in the North with more Vigour, and from that time began to treat the remaining Part of the Parliament at *London*, not as a lawful Parliament, but as a Faction, and pretended Parliament. The People were of the same Mind, and began to think, that the Body of the Parliament was no longer intire. But that Body, though weakened, standing out, petitioned the King to disband the Men he had levied, and relying upon the Laws, and the Affection of his People, to be satisfied with his ordinary Guards. They likewise remonstrated to his Majesty, that since he was preparing to make War upon the Parliament, that Resolution ruined the Confidence which his People had in him, defeated the Oath he had taken at his Coronation, and tended to nothing but the Overthrow of the State. At last they did not stick to declare, that all those who should serve the King in that War, should be prosecuted as Traitors.

THE King denied, that the Preparations he was making were for making War upon the Parliament, but only for putting himself in a Posture of Defence against a malicious Faction that had robbed him of his Towns, his Fortresses, and Ships, and who having prohibited all his Subjects to come near his Person, and carried away by Force all the Provisions for the Subsistence of his Family, designed to oblige him, by all Manner of Straits, to cast himself and Children into their Arms. Nevertheless he declared, that as for the Assurance which he ought to have in the Affection

fection of his People, and the Force of the Laws, he should constantly govern them according to what the Laws prescribed, and that he had no other Remedy left him but the Affection of his Subjects, since all the Hopes he had of recovering what he had been unjustly robbed of, were founded upon the Assistance of God, the Justice of his Cause, and the Love of his People.

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THE Parliament, after a Declaration against those who adhered to the King's Interest, on the 30th of *May*, caused nine of the Peers, who had left their House to be summoned, to wit, the Earls of *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, and *Monmouth*; the Lords *Howard*, *Charleton*, *Rich*, *Gray of Ruthen*, *Coventry* and *Capel*. These having refused to appear, the House of Commons sent Mr. *Denzil Hollis* to the House of Peers in order to accuse them. *Hollis* having made a Speech before that House, and demanded Justice of the Peers against their Brethren, they ordained, That these nine Lords should be for ever deprived of having Seat in their House. That they should no longer enjoy the Privileges of Members of Parliament, and that they should be kept in Prison as long as the House should think fit. But in that they exceeded their Power, their Authority not extending to the making of Decrees of that Consequence: For, by the Laws of the Kingdom, neither of the Houses can expel any of their Members, if it be not for a Crime where Life lies at Stake.

ABOUT the same time, there happened another Accident, which very much perplexed the Parliament: And it was thus. After that Sir *John Finch* had been made Lord *Fordwich*, and was gone over to *Holland*, the King gave the Seals to the Lord *Littleton*, a Gentleman of great Merit. This Lord having continued to go to the House of Peers, some time after that so many Lords had left it; about the End of *May* the King wrote to him by Mr. *Elliot*, a Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, requiring him with all Speed to send him the Great Seal. The Lord Keeper having shut himself up in his Chamber with *Elliot*, told him, that he did not doubt but he knew the Contents of the Letter, and that he would obey the King: And because he could not carry the Seal himself, without running the Risk of being arrested, and losing it, he gave it to *Elliot* in order to be carried privately to the King. Now, it was the Custom in both Kingdoms, that when the Chancellor or the Keeper of the Seals went to the Council or supreme Courts, the Great Seal was carried before him in a Velvet Purse, adorned with the King's Arms imbroidered with Gold and Pearls, and at Solemnities he himself carried it before the King. Therefore the same Day that the Seal was delivered to *Elliot*, the Lord Keeper, in order to conceal the Affair, had the empty Purse carried before him to his House near *London*, and gave out, that if there was any Thing to be sealed, the *Monday* following would be a Seal Day at his House. But the next Day he set out early in the Morning for *York*, leaving Orders with one of his Servants, not to acquaint the Parliament with it till the *Tuesday* after. But that Servant went and told them of it on the *Monday* Morning, and the Parliament having sent after him in all Haste, he narrowly escaped being apprehended. The King received him but coldly at first, believing that he had consented to the Establishment of the Militia, but after his Majesty had been informed of the Truth, he returned him the Seal, and loved him dearly to his Death, which happened at *Oxford* in the Year 1645.

*The Lord
Keeper Little-
ton sends the
Great Seal to
the King.*

THE

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The nineteen
Propositions
sent to the King
by both Houses,
June 2, 1642.

THE Parliament, far from being daunted by this severe Blow, began to act with more Vigour and Resolution, and to speak bigger than ever; for intending, it seems, an intire Change of Government, as well Ecclesiastical as Political, they sent nineteen Propositions to the King, which consisted of these Demands: “ 1. That the Officers of the Crown, the
“ Ministers of State, and the Governors of Ports and Forts of the King-
“ dom shall be chosen and approved of by the two Houses, or by the
“ Council in the Intervals of Parliament. 2. That no Places shall be
“ given for Life, but that those on whom they shall be bestowed may
“ hold them no longer than they discharge their Duty well. 3. That
“ the two Houses, or the Council shall name the Persons unto whom the
“ Government and Education of his Majesty’s Children shall be commit-
“ ted. 4. That no Marriage shall be concluded, or treated, for any of
“ the King’s Children, without the Consent of Parliament. 5. That the
“ Laws against Jesuits, and other secular Priests, and generally against all
“ Papists, be strictly put in Execution without any Toleration or Dis-
“ pensation whatsoever. 6. That the Popish Lords be turned out of the
“ House of Peers, and their Children taken from them, in order to be
“ brought up in the Protestant Religion. 7. That your Majesty will be
“ pleased to consent to such a Reformation of the Liturgy and Church
“ Government, as both Houses of Parliament, with the Advice of Di-
“ vines, shall advise. 8. That your Majesty will be pleased to rest sa-
“ tisfied with that Course, which the two Houses have taken, for settling
“ of the Militia. 9. That your Majesty will be pleased to enter into a
“ strict Alliance with the States of the *United Provinces*, and other Neigh-
“ bour Princes and States of the Protestant Religion against the *Pope*,
“ and his Adherents. 10. That your Majesty will be pleased by Act of
“ Parliament to clear the five Members of the House of Commons, and
“ restore them to their Rights, that future Parliaments may be secured
“ from the Consequence of that bad Example. 11. That your Majesty
“ will be graciously pleased to restrain Peers made hereafter, from Sitting
“ or Voting in Parliament, without the Consent of both Houses of Par-
“ liament. 12. That the extraordinary Guards, and military Forces now
“ attending your Majesty may be discharged. 13. That the Lords and
“ others of your Majesty’s Privy Council, and the Great Officers and
“ Ministers of State, either at home or beyond Seas, may be put from
“ your Majesty’s Privy Council, and from those Offices and Employments,
“ excepting such as shall be approved by both Houses of Parliament,
“ and that the Persons, put into the Places and Employments of those
“ that are removed, may be approved of by both Houses of Parliament:
“ And that the Privy Counsellors shall take an Oath, for the due Execu-
“ tion of their Places, in such Form as shall be agreed upon by both
“ Houses of Parliament. 14. That the great Affairs of the Kingdom
“ may not be concluded or transacted by the Advice of private Men,
“ or by any unknown, or unsworn Counsellors; but that such Matters as
“ concern the Publick, and are proper for the High Court of Parliament,
“ which is your Majesty’s great and supreme Council, may be debated,
“ resolved, and transacted only in Parliament, and not elsewhere: And
“ such as shall presume to do any Thing to the contrary, shall be reserved
“ to the Censure and Judgment of Parliament: And such other Matters
“ of State, as are proper for your Majesty’s Privy Council, shall be de-
“ bated and concluded by such of the Nobility, and others, as shall,
“ from time to time, be chosen for that Place, by Approbation of both
“ Houses of Parliament: And that no publick Act concerning the Affairs
“ of

“ of the Kingdom, which are proper for your Privy Council, may be
 “ esteemed of any Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, un-
 “ less it be done with the Advice and Consent of the major Part of the
 “ Council, attested under their Hands: And that your Council may be
 “ limited to a certain Number, not exceeding twenty five, nor under
 “ fifteen; and if any Counsellor's Place happen to be void in the Inter-
 “ vals of Parliament, it shall not be supplied without the Assent of the
 “ major Part of the Council; which Choice shall be confirmed at the
 “ next Sitting of Parliament, or else to be void. 15. That the Lord
 “ High Steward of *England*, Lord High Constable, Lord Chancellor, or
 “ Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Earl
 “ Marshal, Lord Admiral, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Chief Gover-
 “ nour of *Ireland*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Master of the Wards,
 “ Secretaries of State, two Chief Justices and Chief Baron, may always
 “ be chosen with the Approbation of both Houses of Parliament; and
 “ in the Intervals of Parliaments, by the Assent of the major Part of the
 “ Council, in such manner, as is before expressed in the Choice of Coun-
 “ sellors. 16. That such Members of either House of Parliament, as
 “ have, during this present Parliament, been put out of any Place and
 “ Office, may either be restored to that Place and Office, or otherwise
 “ have Satisfaction for the same, upon the Petition of that House, where-
 “ of He, or They are Members. 17. That all Privy Counsellors and
 “ Judges may take an Oath, the Form whereof to be agreed on and set-
 “ tled by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of the Petition of Right,
 “ and of certain Statutes made by this Parliament, which shall be men-
 “ tioned by both Houses of Parliament: And that an Enquiry of all
 “ Breaches, and Violations of those Laws, may be given in Charge by
 “ the Justices of the King's Bench every Term, and by the Judges of
 “ Assize in their Circuits, and Justices of the Peace at the Sessions, to
 “ be presented and punished according to Law. 18. That the Justice of
 “ Parliament may pass upon all Delinquents, whether they be within
 “ the Kingdom, or fled out of it: And that all Persons cited by either
 “ House of Parliament may appear, and abide the Censure of Parlia-
 “ ment. 19. That the General Pardon, offered by your Majesty, may
 “ be granted with such Exceptions, as shall be advised by both Houses
 “ of Parliament.”

THE King, by the Answer which he gave to these Propositions, shew-
 ed how much he was offended at them, for before answering them in
 particular, he complained in general, That these Cabalers, (such did he
 call the Authors of them) had pressed the People to receive their Ordi-
 nances, as well to the Prejudice of his Royal Authority, as of the Laws.
 That, not content with having justified *Hotham's* Treason, they had ta-
 ken in hand to make themselves Masters of the Militia, which depended
 solely upon his Crown. That they had spread Libels amongst the People,
 for making the Government odious to them, and blasting his Reputation:
 And that maliciously suppressing his Declarations, which would have un-
 deceived the People, they had infused Fears and Jealousies into their
 Minds, as if there had been the least Appearance that he had a Mind to
 foment a Rebellion in the Heart of the Kingdom.

AFTERWARDS the King gave an Answer to each Demand in parti-
 cular, and took Notice, that the Parliament had therein very artfully
 mixt some Things, very just, and others also very plausible, the better to
 cover their Incroachment upon the Crown, and impose upon the People,

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whom

1642. whom they made believe, that the King was obliged to pass all the Acts that were presented to him by the two Houses. But that this Point of new Politicks as much destroyed the Royal Prerogatives, as it suited with their Affairs, and sufficiently discovered their Intentions. For if they had designed nothing else but to maintain his Honour with the Security of his Subjects, they never would have made such Demands, which, however, he did not lay to the Charge of the two Houses in a Body, but of a prevailing Faction in them both, those Demands being so unreasonable, that he should be altogether unworthy of succeeding so many illustrious Ancestors, if, by yielding to such Demands, he stript himself of the Authority which they had left him, or if he associated others in the supreme Power, which is inseparable from the Crown, whereof he should always shew himself so jealous, that though he should happen to be overcome by the Fortune of War; nay, that should his Misfortune reduce him to that last Extremity of being a Prisoner of War, or of falling into a yet worse Condition than any of the most unfortunate of his Predecessors, he should never consent to them, or be brought to change the Majesty and Authority of a King of *England*, such as he is, into the simple Power of a *Doge of Venice*.

The Parliament prepares for War.

IN the mean time, the Parliament thought of providing for themselves. They made Provision of Arms and Horses, and caused Forces to be levied in the Counties for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, the King's Person, and for the Preservation of the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament. Now, the more to oblige the People to bring in to *Guild-Hall*, Money for defraying the Charges of this War, they ordained, that the publick Faith should be engaged for the Sums borrowed, and that the Money should be repaid with Interest at twelve *per Cent*. They appointed four Treasurers for receiving the Money, with four Commissioners to receive, and prize such Horses and Arms as should be brought in for their Service. The King hearing of this, wrote to the *Mayor and Aldermen of London*, expressly forbidding them to contribute any Thing for the levying of Men, or to lend Money, but according as it had been agreed betwixt his Majesty and them, for the Relief of *Ireland*. Then began a continual Clashing of Commands between the King and Parliament; so that as soon as any Ordinance was published by the one, the other forbade the putting of it in Execution: And as the Kingdom was divided into two Parties, one obeyed the King, the other the Parliament.

AT the same time, his Majesty sent some Commissions for raising the Militia, making Use of the same Pretence, and the same Terms, which the two Houses had made Use of in their Declaration of the 15th of *March*, to wit; That the Kingdom having for some time been in evident Danger, having Enemies without, and a Faction within, he judged it necessary, as well for the Preservation of his own Person, as for the Security of his Subjects, to put it in a Posture of Defence. The Mayor of *London*, for having caused one of his Majesty's Commissions to be published in the City, was sent Prisoner to the *Tower*, turned out of his Mayoralty, declared incapable of all the Honours that the King should confer upon him, and condemned to Prison as long as the two Houses should think fit.

AFTER that, the King opened his Mind to the Lords attending him at *York*, and declared to them; "That he did not require any Obedience

“ence from them, but what was warranted by the Laws of the King-
 “dom. That he expected of them that they should not receive any un-
 “lawful Commands imposed by any other, promising Protection to all
 “such as should refuse them. That he should defend the Protestant Re-
 “ligion established by Law. That he should preserve the Liberties of
 “the Subjects, and the Privileges of Parliament. That if he was not as
 “good as his Word, he freed them from the Obedience they owed him.
 “That he should not engage them in a War against the Parliament, nor
 “make Use of them in his just Defence, but only against such as inso-
 “lently attacked his Person, and his faithful Subjects.”

1642.

*His Majesty's
 Declaration to
 the Lords at-
 tending him at
 York, June
 the 13.*

THEN all the Lords ingaged their Faith and Honour to him; “That
 “they should receive no Orders that were not founded upon the Laws
 “of the Kingdom. That they should defend his Majesty's Person,
 “Crown, and Prerogatives, against all Persons whatsoever. That they
 “should also maintain the Religion established by Law, and all the Pri-
 “vileges of Parliament, with the Liberties of the Subject, and that they
 “should not obey any Order about the Militia, but what had his Ma-
 “jesty's Assent.” They all subscribed this Protestation with another Pa-
 per, testifying particularly, that the King had not the least Intention of
 making War upon the Parliament; but that all his Designs tended to
 no other End, but to maintain the Religion, Liberty, and the Peace of
 the Kingdom.

*The Promise
 of the Lords
 thereupon.*

ON the other hand, the Parliament protested the same Thing, so that
 when they came to Blows, the Parliament declared, that they did not
 make War upon the King, but only upon a seditious Party, whom they
 called Malignants, who incensed his Majesty against them: As the King
 for his Part never declared but against a rebellious Faction that domi-
 neered over the Parliament.

IT was very surprizing to see what Pains the King took for the Space
 of three Weeks, in sending Letters, Declarations, and making Speeches to
 the Nobility and Gentry of the Counties of *Nottingham* and *Lincoln*,
 which had so good Effect, that having received Arms and Ammunition
 from *Holland*; in one of his own Men of War, called the *Providence*,
 which arrived in the Bay of *Keningham* near *Hull*, he marched from *York*
 with three thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, and incamped at *Beverly*,
 four Miles from *Hull*. But before any Attempt was made upon *Hull*,
 on the 11th of *July* the King wrote to the two Houses, “That as they
 “knew the Reason of his advancing towards *Hull*, so he desired they
 “would give Orders for surrendering it to him before any Act of Hosti-
 “lity should be committed for reducing it by Force. That if they gave
 “him that Satisfaction without Reply or Delay, he promised in the Word
 “of a Prince, that nothing should be wanting on his Part for restoring
 “Peace in the Kingdom, and preventing the Calamities wherewith it
 “was threatned.” The two Houses having received this Letter, gave
 Orders immediately to the contrary for the Security of the Place, and
 ingaged the publick Faith for indemnifying all such as should suffer any
 Damage by the overflowing of the Meadows and other Lands about the
 Town, which is situate upon the *Humber*, in a flat and very fertile Coun-
 try. At the same time the Governour having acquainted the two Houses
 with the State of the Place, and demanded five hundred Men, with some
 Money and Provisions for its Defence; that Relief was made ready in all
 haste, and sent by Sea by the Earl of *Warwick's* Order, under the Con-
 duct

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duct of Sir *John Meldrum*, who acted as Lieutenant Governor in the Town. The Governor had caused some Out-Works to be made, because he had foreseen, that the King would resent the bad Reception he gave him, when he demanded Entrance with only twenty Horse, and as soon as he had discovered his Majesty's Design, he caused the Banks to be broke, and many fine Meadows, and a great Deal of Arable Lands to be put under Water.

WHEREUPON the King was by all Means resolved to reduce that Fortrefs, which was in the Neighbourhood of his Residence. He caused a Proclamation to be published, containing the Reasons that obliged him to undertake the Siege of it in Person. These Reasons were, "That his Magazine of Arms having been removed out of that Place, which is one of the principal Ports of the North of the Kingdom, a strong Garrison had been put into it for holding it out against him, as against an Enemy. That Sir *John Hotbham* had afterwards not only fortified the Place, put all the Country about under Water, and fitted out a Pinnace for taking one of his, which he made Use of for entertaining a Correspondence between him and the Queen, his Consort: But had likewise allowed his Soldiers to ravage the neighbouring Villages, and having tyrannically driven out of the Town many Inhabitants, whom he could not trust, he had disarmed the rest in order to bring it intirely under a military Power. For which Cause, both for the Sake of his own Honour, and of the Protection he owed, as well to his Subjects in general, as to those in particular, who had complained of the Rapines committed by the Garrison of *Hull*, he found himself obliged to free them from such Injuries, and to make Sir *John Hotbham* feel the Rigour of his Arms, after so manifest a Contempt of his Goodness and Clemency."

The Siege of
Hull.

THE King sent from *Beverly* two hundred Horse into the County of *Lincoln* to the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, in order to prevent the coming of Relief to the Town by the *Humber*, and not doubting but Sir *John Penington* would shut up the Passage by Sea, he ordered a great many Pioneers to cut Trenches for diverting the fresh Water. But the Troops not being inured to the Hardships of War, they made their Approaches with great Difficulty, and commonly lost in the Day-time, what Ground they had gained in the Night: For *Meldrum* made frequent Sallies, and every Time cleared the Trenches, and ruined their Works. He advanced once to the very Place where the Ammunition of the King's Army was, and having frightened the Troops that were there upon Guard, being but new levied Militia, he carried off a Part of it, and set Fire to the rest. What likewise rendered the Undertaking of this Siege difficult was, that the Town had the Sea always open, the Earl of *Warwick* having made himself Master of all the Men of War. Whereupon the King fore-seeing, that it would be a long Siege, and considering, that he might imploy his Men in Things of greater Importance for his Service, and at the same time ease the County of *York*, where having been so well received, he was unwilling to make it the Seat of the War, about the end of *July* he decamped from before *Hull*, hoping to reduce it by some other more easy and mild Means.

The Siege raised.

HIS Majesty kept the Field for some Days after, causing the Number of his Troops to be augmented, and doing all that in him lay to prevent the Counties from declaring for the Parliament. On the other hand, the

two

two Houses had given the Command of the Fleet to the Earl of *Warwick*, and, on the 12th of *July* with unanimous Voice, chosen the Earl of *Essex* General of their Army. Two Days after the Earl of *Bedford* was made General of the Horse, and the other Lords, who had declared for them, had Commissions to raise Men and command in the Counties. It was easy for the Parliament to raise an Army in a short time: For besides the great Fund of Money that had been brought into *Guild-Hall*, they did not stand to convert to that Use, a hundred thousand Pounds that had been provided for the Relief of *Ireland*; 'tis true they engaged the publick Faith for the Reimbursement of that Sum as soon as it should be in their Power to do it. In the mean time, the Counties began to declare, some for the King, others for the Parliament. Some were divided, and there were Divisions even in Families, as it usually happens amongst the Misfortunes that always attend a Civil War.

IN the mean time, the *Scots*, who as yet had not concerned themselves in this Quarrel, opened their General Assembly in *St. Andrews* the 27th of *July*. The King having appointed the Earl of *Dumfermling* his Commissioner, he presented to them his Majesty's Letter written from *Leicester* the 23^d of the same Month; whereby the King gave them to understand, "That notwithstanding the great Affairs he had in hand, he
 " could not forget what he owed his native Country. That God having
 " appointed him over several Kingdoms, his Intention was to govern each
 " of them according to their Laws; and that their Churches should
 " likewise be guided according to the Tenour of their Canons and Con-
 " stitutions. That he had a Mind to reform all Abuses in them, but
 " that he would do it by peaceable, just, and reasonable Means; and
 " that he would maintain the Reformation by the Authority which God
 " had put into his Hands. That he wished for nothing more earnestly,
 " than to see the Gospel preached with Sincerity over all the Kingdom,
 " which was the only Means, whereby to teach the People to fear God,
 " and honour the Prince; and that to attain thereto, the most learned
 " Men should be chosen for that Office. That while he was amongst
 " them, they had been Witnesses of his Zeal and Liberality for the Main-
 " tenance of Colleges, which not only exceeded all the Magnificence of
 " his Predecessors, but even went beyond their Expectations. That they
 " might depend upon it, that he would always shew himself a Nurfing
 " Father of that Church in which he had been born and baptized; Last-
 " ly, that it should be their own Faults if they wanted any Thing to
 " make them perfectly happy. That he expected from them as an Ac-
 " knowledgment of so many Favours, that they would forbear doing any
 " Thing that might occasion new Troubles. That he believed they were
 " wise enough not to be Enemies of their own Quiet. That they would
 " do nothing that might be a Stumbling-block to their Neighbours, and
 " the Cause of their own Ruin. He also exhorted them to pray to God
 " for the Prosperity and Peace of all his Kingdoms, and to strive to keep
 " the People in due Obedience, which, in his Absence, depended chiefly
 " upon their Preachings and Example. In fine he begged of them se-
 " riously to consider all his Actions, which he should endeavour so to
 " regulate, that they should always be aimed at the Good of Religion,
 " and the Grandeur of the State; especially that they would not mind
 " the so many false Reports that are usually spread amongst the meaner
 " Sort of People."

*The King's
 Letter to the
 General As-
 sembly, dated
 July 2.*

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The Parliament of England's Declaration to the General Assembly of Scotland.

THE Parliament of *England* sent likewise a Declaration to this Assembly, in order to acquaint them, " That they had sent their humble
 " Supplications to the King, for preventing the bloody War, wherewith
 " the Kingdom of *England* was threatened. That they should proceed
 " in every Thing as the *Scots* had done in the Beginning of their Troubles.
 " That the Care of the two Houses, for preventing the Effusion of Blood
 " was answerable to the Zeal which the *Scottish* Nation shewed for re-
 " forming the Church and State. That having undertaken that Refor-
 " mation, it had been thwarted by the secret Practices of a malicious Po-
 " pish Faction, and other disaffected Persons, but especially by the cor-
 " rupt Clergy, and the Bishops, whose Avarice and Ambition was come
 " to such a Pitch, that they could not bear the Reformation, which the
 " two Houses had begun. That that Faction had been the Cause of all
 " the Divisions in the State, and kindled the Fire, which devoured the
 " whole Kingdom. That if, by their most humble Requests to his Ma-
 " jesty, they could extinguish it, and find any Means for laying down
 " their Arms, and proceeding peaceably in the Work begun, according
 " to the Forms at all Times observed in Parliament, they did not doubt,
 " if it pleased God to bless their Labours, but they should be able to
 " restore Peace both in the Church and State, and therein to make so
 " holy a Reformation, that it should tend to his Glory, the Honour of
 " his Majesty, and the strengthening of the Union betwixt the two
 " Kingdoms."

The Assembly's Answer.

THE Assembly gave them a full Answer, wherein, after having thank-
 ed God for their Zeal for the Reformation of the Church, they expressed
 a great Deal of Grief that the Accomplishment of that Work had been
 so long retarded, and that it had met with so many Obstacles; and added:
 " That they were not ignorant that the Prelates, who were Formalists,
 " profane, and worldly minded, with all such as inclined to Popery, had
 " left no Stone unturned in order to oppose it, the Prince of this World,
 " and all the Powers of Darkness combining with them, not without
 " Hopes of Success. That these Enemies of God had always so prevailed,
 " as in the Time of the best Kings of *Judah*; in like manner during
 " the Time of the first Reformers of their Church, a thorough Reforma-
 " tion of Religion had, indeed, been wished for, but never accomplished.
 " That, however, they believed, that the Servants of God trusting in
 " him, who is greater than the World, ought to have that holy Work
 " at Heart above all Things, and being called from above to put their
 " Hands to it, they ought with all their Might to forward it: For if they
 " went on but faintly in it, no other Undertaking would ever prosper in
 " their Hands. That it was just so, that this Nation having had a Call
 " from God, he hath heaped his Blessings upon their Labours. That it
 " was to be presumed, that God was angry with *England*, and that he
 " never would be appeased till the Worship of his Name, and the Go-
 " vernment of his House were established, according as he hath ordained
 " them in his Word. That for that Reason the Commissioners of *Scot-*
 " *land* for the last Treaty of Peace, considering, that Religion is not
 " only the Way of Salvation, but likewise the Prop of States, and the
 " strongest Band that unites the People to Princes, and among them-
 " selves, they proposed, that for the Good of Peace, there might be but
 " one Confession of Faith, one Form of publick Prayers, one Catechism,
 " and Form of Church-Government in all his Majesty's Dominions. For
 " by that means all his Subjects might worship God together, as if they
 " all

“ all made but one and the same Family ; and the Names of Sectaries, 1642:
“ Puritans, Conformists, Separatists, and Anabaptists, which break the
“ Bonds of Charity among them, and make the Papists hope to make
“ Advantage by their Divisions, should no more be heard of. That in
“ this Proposition they followed the Example of their Predecessors, who,
“ in the Assembly held at *Edinburgh* in the Year 1566, sent a Request in-
“ to *England* against the Surplices, the Copes, the square Caps, and some
“ other Things of that Nature, which then disturbed the Peace of that
“ Church. That their Predecessors likewise, met in the same Place in the
“ Year 1583, begged of his Majesty to write to his Ambassador, who
“ was in *England*, in order to persuade Queen *Elizabeth* to enter into a
“ League with his Majesty, and the other Protestant Princes for the De-
“ fence of the Reformed Religion, against the Papists united in the
“ bloody Confederacy of *Trent*: And that he would desire that great
“ Princess to be pleased to free their Brethren in her Kingdom from the
“ Yoke of Ceremonies imposed upon them against the Freedom of the
“ Word of God. That since the Reformed Churches maintained, that
“ their Government by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, and General Assem-
“ blies was of divine Right, and that at the same time the most part of
“ the Bishops acknowledged Episcopacy to be but of human Institution,
“ to which some Churches, under the Pretence of its pretended Conve-
“ niency, had submitted, they did not see why it might not be abolished
“ by the same Authority that had established it, without the Conscience
“ of any Person being thereby affected ; on the contrary, they did not
“ see why all the Faithful of both Kingdoms, ought not to wish, that
“ the Episcopal Government were abolished. Because from thence would
“ follow their Uniformity with all the Reformed Churches, and a solid
“ Peace between the two Kingdoms, which, since the Reformation, have
“ always had some Disputes upon that account.”

THE Assembly, in their Letter of Thanks to the King, put him in mind of the Proposition, which the Commissioners of *Scotland* had made of that Uniformity at the last Treaty with his Majesty, and represented to him ; “ That God had made Choice of him to be the chief In-
“ strument of that Reformation, which would render his Memory glo-
“ rious to future Ages, and his Name a Perfume diffused among all
“ Nations.” This Assembly broke up the 6th of *August*, and appointed the next Assembly to meet at *Edinburgh* the 2^d Day of *August* 1643.

ON the 9th of the same Month, the King declared the Earl of *Essex* Rebel, and with him, such as had raised Troops by virtue of Commis- sions from the two Houses. On the other hand, the Parliament usurping the same Authority, declared all those Traitors, who should assist the King, either with Men, Money, or Arms. His Majesty, notwithstanding, having caused his Standard to be set up at *Nottingham*, a great Number of the Nobility and Gentry flocked thither to offer him their Service, and to make Head against the Parliament's great Army, whose Rendez- vous was at *Northampton*. And though the King stood in need then of the Assistance of all his faithful Servants, yet that he might not give Um- brage, or the least Ground of Discontent to his Protestant Subjects, he caused a Proclamation to be published at *Stoneley*, whereby he declared, that no Papist was to be allowed to serve him in his Army.

HOWEVER,

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HOWEVER, his Majesty, who breathed nothing but Peace, and who with Grief beheld the Miseries his People suffered by the Divisions, which a seditious Faction fomented betwixt him and his Parliament, tried yet by new means to make up the Differences between him and them. For which end, on the 25th of *August*, he wrote them a very kind Letter from *Nottingham*, and sent it by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, Sir *John Colepepper*, Chancellor of his Exchequer, and Sir *William Udall*.

*The King sends
to the two
Houses a Mes-
sage for Peace
by the Earl of
Southampton,
&c.*

“WE have, with unspeakable Grief of Heart, long beheld the Distractions of this our Kingdom. Our very Soul is full of Anguish, until we may find some Remedy to prevent the Miseries, which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a Civil War. And though all our Endeavours, tending to the composing of those unhappy Differences betwixt us and our two Houses of Parliament (though pursued by us with all Zeal and Sincerity) have been hitherto without that Success we hoped for; yet such is our constant and earnest Care to preserve the publick Peace, that we shall not be discouraged from using any Expedient, which, by the Blessing of the God of Mercy, may lay a firm Foundation of Peace and Happiness to all our good Subjects. To this end, observing that many Mistakes have arisen by the Messages, Petitions, and Answers, betwixt us and our two Houses of Parliament, which happily may be prevented by some other way of Treaty, wherein the Matters in Difference may be more clearly understood, and more freely transacted; we have thought fit to propound to you, that some fit Persons may be by you enabled to treat with the like Number to be authorized by us, in such a manner, and with such Freedom of Debate, as may best tend to that happy Conclusion which all good Men desire, the Peace of the Kingdom. Wherein, as we promise, in the Word of a King, all Safety and Incouragement to such as shall be sent unto us, if you shall chuse the Place where we are, for the Treaty, which we wholly leave to you, presuming the like Care of the Safety of those we shall imploy, if you shall name another Place; so we assure you, and all our good Subjects, that, to the best of our Understanding, nothing shall be therein wanting on our Part, which may advance the true Protestant Religion, oppose Popery and Superstition, secure the Laws of the Land (upon which is built as well our just Prerogative, as the Property and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all just Power and Privileges of Parliament, and render us and our People truly happy by a good Understanding betwixt us and our two Houses of Parliament. Bring with you as firm Resolutions to do your Duty; and let all our good People join with us in our Prayers to Almighty God, for his Blessing upon this Work. If this Proposition shall be rejected by you, we have done our Duty so amply, that God will absolve us from the Guilt of any of that Blood which must be spilt; and what Opinion soever other Men may have of our Power, we assure you nothing but our christian and pious Care to prevent the Effusion of Blood, hath begot this Motion; our Provision of Men, Arms, and Money, being such as may secure us from farther Violence, till it pleases God to open the Eyes of our People.”

THE Parliament would not so much as allow the King's Messengers to take their Places in the two Houses, nor even to present them his Majesty's Letter, but ordered them to deliver it to the Usher of the Black Rod, and

and then to depart the Town, and wait their Answer, which soon after was sent them, and was as follows.

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“THE Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having received
 “your Majesty’s Message of the 25th of *August*, do with much Grief re-
 “sent the dangerous and distracted State of this Kingdom; which we
 “have by all means endeavoured to prevent, both by our several Ad-
 “vices and Petitions to your Majesty; which hath been not only without
 “Success, but there hath followed that which no ill Counsel in former
 “Times hath produced, or any Age hath seen, namely, those several
 “Declarations and Proclamations against both the Houses of Parliament,
 “whereby their Actions are declared treasonable, and their Persons Trai-
 “tors. And thereupon your Majesty hath set up your Standard against
 “them, whereby you have put the two Houses of Parliament, and, in
 “them, the whole Kingdom, out of your Protection; so that until your
 “Majesty shall recall those Proclamations and Declarations, whereby the
 “Earl of *Essex*, and both Houses of Parliament and their Adherents and
 “Assistants, and such as have obeyed and executed their Commands and
 “Directions, according to their Duties, are declared Traitors or otherwise
 “Delinquents: And until the Standard, set up in Pursuance of the said
 “Proclamation, be taken down, your Majesty hath put us into such a
 “Condition, that whilst we so remain, we cannot, by the fundamental
 “Privileges of Parliament, the publick Trust reposed in us, or with the
 “general Good and Safety of this Kingdom, give your Majesty any other
 “Answer to this Message.”

This Answer of the Lords and Commons not having discouraged the King, he wrote them a second Letter, wherein he told them, “That ^{The King’s} he was willing to forget all former Bitterness, assuring them that he ^{second Message.}
 “never intended to declare the two Houses of Parliament Traitors, much
 “less to put them and this Kingdom out of his Protection; and farther
 “to remove all Obstacles, which might hinder the Treaty, he promised
 “to recal all the Proclamations and Declarations of which they com-
 “plained, provided that a Day be appointed by them for revoking of
 “their Declarations against such as followed his Majesty.” The two
 Houses, however, stood it out, and persisted in their first Answer, and
 after the King for a third Time had protested, that there was nothing
 that stood in the Way of the Treaty, that he should not strive to sur-
 mount, they declared, “That if his Majesty did not take a Resolution to
 “abandon those, who, having taken up Arms for his Service, so much
 “oppressed the People, and if he did not return to the Parliament, they
 “could not consent to what he seemed to desire, nor suffer themselves to
 “be put into the Balance with those whose wicked Counsels had ren-
 “dered all their Endeavours fruitless, as well for the Relief of *Ireland*
 “(from whence some Rebels had been entertained by his Majesty) as for
 “preventing the Mischiefs with which *England* was threatened.”

At the same time, the King caused a Declaration to be published, in
 order to inform all his faithful Subjects, that the two Houses of Parlia-
 ment had refused to hearken to the Proposals of Peace, wherein his Ma-
 jesty represented; “That though, by his former Declarations, he had
 “made it plain, that he had not taken up Arms, till after the Gates of
 “*Hull* had been shut upon him: That a Fleet had been fitted out to
 “prevent his receiving any Relief from beyond Seas: And after an Army
 “had been raised, and begun to march against him; yet he would make

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“ it appear. by the Parliament’s refusing his Proposition of Peace of the
 “ 25th of *August*, that he had left nothing undone that a good King
 “ could do for preventing the Effusion of the Blood of his Subjects, but
 “ that a malicious Faction, with great Art and Industry, had created a Mis-
 “ understanding betwixt him and them, and had resolved intirely to sa-
 “ tisfy their Ambition, and satiate their Malice in the Ruin of the State,
 “ and in their own Blood, as well as in that of his faithful Subjects.
 “ That his former Declarations against that Faction had been extorted
 “ from him, which, indeed, may be said to be without Example, since
 “ the Motive that had occasioned them was unheard of; seeing there had
 “ never been a Declaration published before in Name of the two Houses
 “ of Parliament for rendering the King odious to the People: Neither
 “ had they ever pretended to a Power of raising Troops. He likewise
 “ desired to know, if it was possible, that the Actions, which, by the
 “ Laws, were branded with High Treason, were no more so, for having
 “ been done by the Members of the two Houses of Parliament, or by
 “ their Orders, and if he was not allowed to declare those, who marched
 “ against him with Arms in their Hands, Traitors, because the Earl of
 “ *Essex* was their General. That he had taken up Arms no less for the
 “ Defence of the just Privileges of Parliament, than for that of his own
 “ Honour and Prerogatives, and the Security of his Person, the Prefer-
 “ vation of which depended upon that of the Parliament, and of their
 “ just Liberties: And he wished that God may deal with him and his
 “ Posterity in the same manner as he desired the Preservation of the just
 “ Privileges of Parliament, which were so violated by that mischievous
 “ Faction, that their Rage had been no less against him and the Govern-
 “ ment, than against the Liberty and the very Being of Parliaments. For
 “ as much as those desperate Men had put in and turned out of the two
 “ Houses such Persons as they had a mind. That they had stirred up
 “ Tumults on purpose to terrify the Parliament; that they had denied
 “ him the Right of his negative Voice; that they held secret Councils, to
 “ which the Members of Parliament were not admitted; and that they
 “ had reduced the two Houses to a Committee of Seventeen, who, in the
 “ Absence of four Parts of Five, managed the War against him, their
 “ Sovereign Prince. For it was evident, that of five hundred Members
 “ that ought to be in the House of Commons, there had only a hundred
 “ stayed, and that of a hundred Peers, there were only fifteen or sixteen
 “ that had a Share in those Deliberations which disturbed the publick Peace;
 “ besides, that the most part of these were low in the World, and had
 “ nothing to support them but the Commissions they took for Levying
 “ Troops to make War upon him. That though their Malice was great,
 “ and that there was a considerable Disproportion between his Forces and
 “ theirs, yet he was no ways discouraged; for after having used all
 “ the Endeavours, which in Conscience he ought, and with Honour
 “ could, for preventing the Calamities which were ready to overwhelm
 “ the Kingdom, he was resolved to hazard his own Life in order to
 “ suppress that Rebellion, hoping that all his faithful Subjects would
 “ be induced, as well by the Fidelity they owed him, as by the
 “ Love of themselves, to assist him with Zeal and with all their
 “ Might, in the Defence of Religion and the State, in the Ruin of which
 “ they would inevitably be involved. Lastly, that, perhaps, his Troops
 “ may have committed some Disorders, as it usually happens among Sol-
 “ diers; but that he was very sorry for it, and that he had caused them
 “ to be severely punished, which ought to stop the Mouths of his Ene-
 “ mies. That as for his entertaining *Irish* Rebels, it was a downright
 “ Calumny,

“ Calūmny, like that which Mr. *Pym* invented; and though he had not
 “ been able to get any Reparation for it, he thought, however, that That
 “ ought to have been a Warning to them, not to publish any more For-
 “ geries, but the Misfortune was, that they could not publish the Truth
 “ without making their wicked Designs appear.”

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THE Proposition of a Treaty proving abortive, the King sent several Commissions into the Counties, viz. to the Marquis of *Hertford*, whom he had appointed his Lieutenant General in the *Western* Counties, to the Lord *Strange*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Derby*, his Majesty's Lieutenant in the Counties of *Lancaster* and *Chester*, and to the Earl of *Cumberland*, his Lieutenant in that of *York*. The Marquis of *Newcastle* held the considerable Town of that Name for the King, the Commerce of which was so necessary to the City of *London*, which was supplied with Coal from thence, that when none could be got, the Parliament was forced to order the Citizens to make Provision of Turf for the Use of the City, instead of Coal which was so necessary for their Brew-houses.

IN the Beginning of *September*, the Noise of War called the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, his Majesty's Nephews, into *England*; the Prince *Electo*r, their eldest Brother, having retired out of it two Months before, and gone to *Holland*. These Princes espoused the King's Quarrel with great Zeal, and soon after their Arrival, Prince *Rupert*, extreamly active and vigilant, having gone out to view the Country with twelve Troops of Horse, routed some Regiments that were laying Waste the Country near *Worcester*, where Colonel *Sandys*, who commanded them, was killed. This was the first Fruits of the great Services which that Prince did the King, and for which the Parliament declared him attainted and guilty of Treason; but in the Beginning of the Year 1644, his Majesty honoured him with the Title of Earl of *Holderness* and Duke of *Cumberland*, and made him Master of the Horse, which Office the Duke of *Hamilton* had had in both Kingdoms.

AFTERWARDS, the King marched towards *Shrewsbury*, a convenient Place for receiving what Assistance should come to him from the Principality of *Wales*, and on the 19th of *September* caused to be read at the Head of his Army, between *Stafford* and *Wellington*, the Orders he would have them to observe; then his Majesty spoke thus,

“ GENTLEMEN, you have heard these Orders read: It is your Part,
 “ in your several Stations, to observe them exactly; the Time cannot be
 “ long before we come to Action, therefore you have the more Reason to
 “ be careful; and I must tell you, I shall be very severe in punishing of
 “ those, of what Condition soever, who transgress these Instructions. I
 “ cannot suspect your Courage and Resolution; your Conscience and your
 “ Loyalty have brought you hither, to fight for your Religion, your King,
 “ and the Laws of the Land. You shall meet with no Enemies but Trai-
 “ tors, most of them *Brownists*, (so called from one *Brown*) *Anabap-*
 “ *tists*, and *Atheists*; such who desire to destroy both Church and State,
 “ and who have already condemned you to Ruin for being loyal to us.
 “ That you may see what Use I mean to make of your Valour if it please
 “ God to bless it with Success, I have thought fit to publish my Reso-
 “ lution to you in a Protestation; which when you have heard me make,
 “ you will believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrel, in which I pro-
 “ mise to live and die with you.”

*The King's
 Speech and Pro-
 testation at the
 Head of his
 Forces, after
 the reading of
 his Orders.*

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THE Protestation his Majesty was then pleased to make was in these Words. “ I do promise in the Presence of Almighty God, and as I hope
 “ for his Blessing and Protection, that I will, to the utmost of my Power,
 “ defend and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion, establish-
 “ ed in the Church of *England*; and, by the Grace of God, in the same
 “ will live and die.

“ I DESIRE to govern by all the known Laws of the Land, and that
 “ the Liberty and Property of the Subject, may be by them preserved
 “ with the same Care, as my own just Rights. And if it please God, by
 “ his Blessing upon this Army, raised for my necessary Defence, to pre-
 “ serve me from this Rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in
 “ the Sight of God, to maintain the just Privileges and Freedom of Par-
 “ liament, and to govern by the known Laws of the Land to my utmost
 “ Power; and particularly, to observe the Laws consented to by me this
 “ Parliament. In the mean while, if this Time of War, and the great
 “ Necessity, and Straits I am now driven to, beget any Violation of those,
 “ I hope it shall be imputed by God and Men to the Authors of this War,
 “ and not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the Preservation of
 “ the Peace of this Kingdom.

“ WHEN I willingly fail in these Particulars, I will expect no Aid or
 “ Relief from any Man, or Protection from Heaven. But in this Reso-
 “ lution, I hope for the cheerful Assistance of all good Men, and am con-
 “ fident of God’s Blessing.”

*The Substance
 of the King’s
 Speech to the
 Gentry and
 Free-holders of
 the County of
 Shrewsbury.*

AFTER the King had made his Protestation, he continued his March
 towards *Shrewsbury*, and having assembled the Gentry and Freeholders of
 the County, he spoke to them thus: “ That it was a Benefit to him from
 “ the Insolencies and Misfortunes, which had driven him about, that
 “ they had brought him to so good a Part of his Kingdom, and to so
 “ faithful a Part of his People. He hoped, neither they, nor he should
 “ repent their Coming together. He would do his Part, that they might
 “ not; and of them he was confident before he came. He told them,
 “ the Residence of an Army was not usually pleasant to any Place; and
 “ his might carry more Fear with it, since it might be thought (being
 “ robbed and spoiled of all his own, and such Terror used to fright and
 “ keep all Men from supplying him) he must only live upon the Aid
 “ and Relief of his People.” But he bid them “ not be afraid;” and
 said, “ he wished to God, his poor Subjects suffered no more by the Inso-
 “ lence, and Violence of that Army raised against him, though they had
 “ made themselves wanton with Plenty, than they should do by his; and
 “ yet he feared he should not be able to prevent all Disorders; he would
 “ do his best; and promised them, no Man should be a Loser by him if he
 “ could help it.” He said, “ he had sent for a Mint, and would melt
 “ down all his own Plate, and expose all his Land to Sale, or Mortgage,
 “ that he might bring the least Pressure upon them.” However, he in-
 vited them “ to do that for him, and themselves, for the Maintenance of
 “ their Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which they enjoyed all
 “ that they had) which other Men did against them; he desired them
 “ not to suffer so good a Cause to be lost, for want of supplying him
 “ with that, which would be taken from them, by those who pursued his
 “ Majesty with that Violence. And whilst those ill Men sacrificed their
 “ Money, Plate, and utmost Industry, to destroy the Common-Wealth,
 “ they

“ they would be no less liberal to preserve it. He bid them assure themselves, if it pleased God to bless him with Success, he would remember the Assistance every particular Man gave him to his Advantage. However it would hereafter (how furiously soever the Minds of some Men were now possessed) be Honour, and Comfort to them, that with some Charge and Trouble to themselves, they had done their Part to support their King and preserve the Kingdom.”

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THE King spoke to them with so good a Grace, that as Eloquence is a Charm, and the Quarrel, into which he had a mind to embark them, was the most glorious in the World, they testified so much Zeal for his Service, that before the Middle of *October* his Army consisted of six thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, and about two thousand Dragoons, and as he was making ready to march, the Inhabitants of the Town of *Shrewsbury*, and the Country People in the Neighbourhood likewise furnished him with Horses and Carriages for his Baggage.

THE King marched in Sight of *Coventry*, with a Resolution not to stop there, if the Governor did not surrender it willingly, which he refused. Whereupon the King marched on, and incamped at *Southam*, the Earl of *Essex* being but at a little Distance from it. His Majesty's Army was become so strong, that though it was a great Way from *London*, yet that City was frightened. Whereupon Orders were immediately given for fortifying the Passages to it, for some Companies of the Train-bands to be under Arms, and for sending some Troops to garrison *Windsor-Castle*. However, the Parliament did not believe that the King would draw near it, before he had fought *Essex*, whom he could not fail to meet in his Way: So that General marched at the Head of a great Army, resolved to decide by the Sword, what could not be done by the Pen.

HE had taken Leave of the Parliament the 9th of *September*, and received Orders to do his utmost, either by a Battle, or otherwise, to get the King, the Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *York* out of the Hands of those desperate Men that were about them. (Such they called the Troops that attended the King.) He likewise had Orders to disband his Army, except some Regiments for the Security of the King's Person, in case he should be pleased to consent to the Petition of the two Houses, which they sent to their General at *Northampton* by Sir *Philip Stapleton*. The Petition ran thus: “ That the two Houses of Parliament having caused
“ an Army to be raised, as well for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, his Majesty's Person and Crown, as for maintaining the Liberties of
“ the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, and chosen the Earl
“ of *Essex* for leading that Army against the Rebels and Traitors whom his
“ Majesty authorized; they most humbly beseeched him to abandon those
“ wicked Men to the Justice and Rigour of their Arms, and to return to
“ the Parliament, in order, with their faithful Advices, to redress the
“ Disorders and Confusions that abounded in the Kingdom.” In short their General had Power to publish a Pardon to all such as in the Space of ten Days should lay down their Arms, and return to their Duty, excepting to such as the Parliament judged to be the chief of those who had been the most active in the Rebellion, and whom they had declared Traitors, such as *Endymion Porter*, *Edward Hyde*, and Secretary *Nicholas*: The Viscounts of *Newark* and *Falkland*, the Earls of *Bristol*, *Cumberland*, *Rivers*, and *Carnarvon*, the Marquis of *Newcastle*, and the Duke of *Richmond*.

*The Petition of
the Parliament
to the
King just before
the Battle
of Edge-hill.*

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The Battle of
Keinton or
Edge-hill.

THE two Armies being in Sight of each other near *Keinton* in *Warwickshire*, on the 23^d of *October* the King gave Orders to charge the Enemy in a Valley under *Edge-hill*, called the Valley of the *Red-horse*, a Name not unsuitable to it that Day. For though the Number of the dead on each Side be not agreed upon, yet 'tis certainly believed, that near six Thousand were left upon the Place. The King, by his Example, increased the Courage of his own Men; for he rushed in among the Thick of the Enemy, and it may be said, that no Prince ever hazarded his Person more, than his Majesty did on this Occasion. On his Side the Earl of *Lindsey*, General of the Foot, was mortally wounded, and the Lord *Aubigny*, Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, and Brother to the then Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, was killed upon the Spot. On the other Side, the Lord *St. John*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Bullenbrook*, with many other Persons of Note, was slain; besides many Officers of both Sides.

WHAT surprised every Body most was, that of the Parliament's Side some Priests were found among the Dead: For though in their Declarations they called the King's Army, the Popish Army, in order to render it odious to the People; yet they had two Companies of Walloons, and other Roman Catholicks in their own Army; besides, they had done all that in them lay to ingage in their Service Sir *Arthur Aston*, a Roman Catholick Colonel of great Reputation. 'Tis true that the King had likewise entertained some other Roman Catholick Officers in his Army, Men of great Abilities, and very well affected to the Good of the State, so his Majesty called them in the Declaration which he caused to be published after the Battle, to which the Parliament did not fail to answer by as many Contradictions. He made it appear, that though the Parliament, without Comparison, had a much greater Number of Roman Catholicks in their Army than he had in his, and that they had, by all means possible, endeavoured to draw in all those of the Kingdom, having promised under hand, that provided they would espouse their Quarrel, all the Laws made to their Prejudice should be repealed, yet he could never be brought to call the Roman Catholicks to his Assistance, nor to revoke his Proclamation, whereby he had forbid them to come. Besides, he assured all his good Subjects, that though he had a Regard for the Persons of the Roman Catholicks who had assisted him in his Necessity, and that he did not forget their past Services, yet he never would do any Thing in favour of their Religion; on the contrary, that he would by all means endeavour to suppress it, as well by putting the Laws strictly in Execution against such as should profess it, as in prosecuting the Overtures made by the two Houses of Parliament for the Advancement of the Protestant Religion, in which he would cheerfully join with them. In short, he complained in that Declaration of those, who having a Mind to pass for Lovers of Peace, had created an irreconcilable Hatred between the Nobility and Gentry, and the Commonalty, and of their having rendered all Men of Honour and Worth suspected, and odious to the People under the Name of *Cavaliers*, insomuch that the Highways were no longer safe for Gentlemen, who had been attacked in several Places. Whereupon he desired, that all his faithful Subjects might believe, that he thought himself no less obliged to protect the meanest than the greatest of them, and as they were all born equally free, and that the Laws were also equally made for every Man, he was resolved to do all of them that Justice, and give them that Protection which was due, without Distinction of Persons or Qualities: As for the rest, he exhorted them to love one another

another like Brethren, and to be reconciled with him, who was the common Father of them all.

1642.

IN this Battle the King's Party took from the Enemy seventy Colours and Standards, with seven Pieces of Cannon, and lost only six Colours. Nevertheless both Parties pretended to have had the Victory, as they did afterwards in several of their Engagements. 'Tis certain, however, that the King having more Nobility and Gentry in his Army than the Parliament had in theirs, for a long Time he was still victorious. And if, by what followed, it may be decided which of the two carried the Day, the Victory was certainly on the King's Side: For the Day after the Battle the Earl of *Essex* having retired to the Castle of *Warwick*, and Prince *Rupert* having pursued his Rear-Guard, took twenty five of his Waggon's loaded with Baggage, and on the 27th the Town and Castle of *Banbury* surrendered to the King at Discretion, and the Garrison, consisting of eight Companies of Foot and one Troop of Light-Horse, of the Regiments of the Earl of *Peterborough* and Viscount of *Say*, having marched out, laid down their Arms, and asked the King's Pardon. His Majesty took all the Ammunition of the Place, and having ordered only one Regiment to take Possession of it, he saved the Town from being plundered, though upon being summoned to surrender it pretended to hold out against him.

THE King having advanced to *Colebrook*, Sir *Peter Killigrew* went to beg of his Majesty to grant a safe Conduct for the Messengers of the two Houses of Parliament, who desired to treat with him; which he having obtained, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, and *Montgomery*, the Lord *Weenman*, Sir *John Hippesty*, and Mr. *Pierrepoint* went to the King the 11th of *November*. They presented a Petition from the two Houses, wherein they expressed "how much they were affected with a deep Sense of the miserable State of the Kingdom, and of the great Effusion of Blood at the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which not having put an End to the Differences betwixt his Majesty and them, they represented to him, that That Wound would still bleed, and would so weaken all his Kingdoms, that, perhaps, they may become the Prey of some foreign Power. As they were convinced that his Majesty was at least as much affected therewith as they, and that he would be fully disposed to make Use of the Remedies which should be proposed to him for healing up the Wound of the State, they humbly beseeched him to appoint some Place, not far from the City of *London*, where his Majesty would be pleased to reside, until the Committees of both Houses of Parliament might attend his Majesty, in order to make some Propositions for the Establishment of Peace."

The King advances to Colebrook.

The Parliament petitions the King.

THE King was very well satisfied with this Petition, the Style of which he found to be more soft, and the Terms more submissive than any of the former had been; which made him dispatch his Answer the next Morning, in which he expressed "how deeply he was affected with the Ruin and Miseries of his Subjects, who could receive no Affliction, wherein he did not share with them; insomuch that their Destruction would always make his greatest Victories bitter to him. Therefore he was willing to hearken to such Propositions, whereby the Distractions of the Kingdom may be settled, and an End put to their Sufferings. And to that end, he told them, that he would reside at his Castle of *Windsor* (provided the Forces there were removed) and there expect

The King's Answer.

"the

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“ the Committees of the two Houses, which he desired might be sent to him as soon as possible, in order to prevent the Inconveniencies that may intervene, if they should too long delay coming to him in that Place; or if the Parliament had no Mind to evacuate it, at the Place where he may happen to be.”

BUT that very Night, after the Messengers of the two Houses were gone for *London*, the King received Advice, that That same Day the Earl of *Essex* had drawn out of *London* a great many Forces, with a large Train of Artillery, in order to march them against him. Whereupon having ordered a Council of War to be called, he represented to them, that he found himself, in a manner, surrounded by *Essex's* Army, one Part of it being at *Windsor*, another at *Kingston*, and the rest at *Acton*: So that if he waited till that Earl should make himself Master of *Brentford* with the Troops he was marching from *London*, it would not be possible for his Army to retreat, nor subsist in the Place where it was. All the chief Officers of the Army voted for preventing *Essex*, and taking Possession of *Brentford*: But the King, who knew that his Enemies were carefully watching his Actions in order to take Advantage of them, did not yield to their Opinions till he had well-informed himself about all that might be objected against that Design. For some might think, that thereby the King shewed he was not pleased with the Proposition of a Treaty, and had even broke his Word. The Answer to that was, that the being willing to treat did not infer a Suspension of Arms, of which no mention was made, either in the Proposition of a Treaty made by the Parliament, or in the King's Answer, wherein his Majesty having expressed his Desire, that the Articles might quickly be sent him, in order to prevent the fatal Consequence of so many Calamities, he rather plainly gave them to understand, that there was no Suspension of Arms. That as to the accepting of the Treaty, he thought he had Reason to judge by their having refused the so many reasonable Offers he had made them, when it was thought he was in no Condition to defend himself, that if he did not prevent himself from being hemmed in on all Sides, their Proposition would soon come to nothing. So it was resolved to march to *Brentford*, but first of all the King sent *John White*, one of his Servants, to the Parliament, to acquaint them with the Reasons of that Motion, and with his firm Resolution of entering upon a Treaty with them, which he desired might be begun at *Brentford* as soon as possible. For all that, this Messenger was so ill-treated, that both he and the King's Trumpet were made Prisoners, whence his Majesty judged, that there were dangerous Men amongst them, who had as little Regard to the Law of Nations, as to the Laws of the Kingdom.

IN the mean time the King, having only the third Part of his Foot with him, ordered *Brentford* to be attack'd, which two of *Essex's* Regiments had barricadoed. Colonel *Quarles*, who commanded them, was killed in the Attack, many of his Men were drowned, five Hundred made Prisoners, and eight Colours, with eighteen Pieces of Cannon were taken. How soon the King heard that *Essex's* Troops had marched out of *Kingston*, and had left that Passage free, he quitted *Brentford*, and marching farther from *London*, he made it appear that he had never had a Design to surprize it, and much less to give it up to be plundered, though this Expedition had occasioned such a Report in the City; and that the two Houses had made Use of it as a Pretence for breaking off the Treaty.

DURING

DURING these Transactions the Marquis of *Newcastle* took the Town of *Tadcaster* by Storm, and Lieutenant-General *Wilmot* that of *Marlborough*; Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who performed a great many gallant Actions during this War, for his Share defeated twenty Companies of Foot, and between four and five hundred Horse near *Bodmin* in the County of *Cornwal*. They were drawn up in Order of Battle upon a little Hill surrounded with a Morass, which was not passable but at two Places, where ten Men could scarcely march a-breast. That did not in the least discourage *Hopton's* Men, who marching boldly up to the Enemy, whose Foot gave one Fire, and then made as if they fled, fancying that the King's Troops, drawn in by that Flight, would pursue them in Disorder, and that their own Cavalry, standing their Ground, might easily defeat them. But by the good Conduct of the Officers, the Soldiers advanced in so good Order, and kept their Ranks so close, that the Enemy was forced to give Ground in good Earnest. After this Defeat *Hopton* took *Holborough* and *Salt-Ash*, and the King having gained these Advantages upon the Parliament, and offered a general Pardon to all such as should lay down their Arms, and return to their Allegiance, he took up his Winter Quarters at *Oxford*. 1642.

IN the Beginning of the following Year, there was some Hopes of Peace, in order to attain which, the King spared no Pains. The Parliament seeming to have the same Design, on the 11th of *January*, sent these Propositions to his Majesty. "I. That he would be pleased to disband his Armies, as they should likewise be ready to disband all those Forces which they had raised; and that he would be pleased to return to his Parliament. II. That he would leave Delinquents to a legal Trial, and Judgment of Parliament. III. That the Papists may not only be disbanded, but disarmed according to Law. IV. That his Majesty would be pleased to give his Royal Assent unto the Bill for taking away the superstitious Innovations; to the Bill for the utter abolishing, and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deans, Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chanters, Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succentors, and Sacrists, and all Vicars choral, Choristers, old Vicars, and new Vicars of any Cathedral, or Collegiate Church, and all other their Under Officers, out of the Church of *England*: To the Bill against scandalous Ministers; to the Bill against Pluralities; to the Bill for Consultation to be had with godly, religious, and learned Divines. That his Majesty would be pleased to promise to pass such other good Bills for settling of Church-Government, as upon Consultation with the Assembly of the said Divines, shall be resolved on by both Houses of Parliament, and by them presented to his Majesty. V. That his Majesty having expressed, in his Answer to the nineteen Propositions of both Houses of Parliament, a hearty Affection and Intention for rooting out of Popery out of this Kingdom; and that, if both the Houses of Parliament can yet find a more effectual Course to disable Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants from disturbing the State, or eluding the Laws, that he would willingly give his Consent unto it; that he would be graciously pleased, for the better Discovery, and speedier Conviction of Recusants, that an Oath may be established by Act of Parliament, to be administered in such Manner as by both Houses shall be agreed on; wherein they shall abjure and renounce the Pope's Supremacy, the Doctrine of Transub-

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*The humble
Desires, and
Propositions of
the Lords and
Commons in
Parliament,
tendered to his
Majesty.*

I i

stantiation,

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 "and Images: And the refusing the said Oath, being tendered in such
 "Manner as shall be appointed by Act of Parliament, shall be a sufficient
 "Conviction in Law of Recusancy. And that his Majesty would be gra-
 "ciously pleased to give his Royal Assent unto a Bill, for the Education
 "of the Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion.
 "That for the more effectual Execution of the Laws against Popish Re-
 "cusants, his Majesty would be pleased to consent to a Bill, for the true
 "Levying of the Penalties against them; and that the same Penalties
 "may be levied, and disposed of in such Manner as both Houses of Par-
 "liament shall agree on, so as his Majesty be at no Loss; and likewise to
 "a Bill, whereby the Practice of Papists against the State may be pre-
 "vented, and the Law against them duly executed. VI. That the Earl
 "of *Bristol* may be removed from his Majesty's Council; and that both
 "he, and the Lord *Herbert*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, may
 "likewise be restrained from coming within the Verge of the Court; and
 "that they may not bear any Office, or have any Employments concern-
 "ing the State or Common-wealth. VII. That his Majesty would be
 "graciously pleased, by Act of Parliament, to settle the Militia both by
 "Sea and Land, and for the Forts and Ports of the Kingdom, in such a
 "Manner as shall be agreed on by both Houses. VIII. That his Majesty
 "would be pleased, by his Letters Patents, to make Sir *John Bramston*, Chief
 "Justice of the Court of King's Bench; *William Lenthall* Esquire, the
 "now Speaker of the House of Commons, Master of the Rolls; and to
 "continue the Lord Chief Justice *Banks*, Chief Justice of the Court of
 "Common-Pleas; and likewise to make Mr. Serjeant *Wild*, Chief Ba-
 "ron of the Court of Exchequer; and that Mr. Justice *Bacon* may be
 "continued; and Mr. Serjeant *Rolls*, and Mr. Serjeant *Atkins*, made Ju-
 "stices of the King's Bench: That Mr. Justice *Reeves*, and Mr. Justice
 "Forster, may be continued: And Mr. Serjeant *Pheasant*, made one of
 "the Justices of the Court of Common-Pleas: That Mr. Serjeant *Cres-*
 "well, Mr. *Samuel Brown*, and Mr. *John Puleston*, may be Barons of the
 "Exchequer; and that all these, and all the Judges of the same Courts,
 "for the Time to come, may hold their Places by Letters Patents under
 "the Great Seal, *Quamdiu se bene gesserint*: And that the several Persons
 "not before named, that do hold any of these Places before mentioned,
 "may be removed. IX. That all such Persons, as have been put out of
 "the Commissions of Peace, or Oyer and Terminer, or from being *Cu-*
 "stodes Rotulorum, since the first Day of *April* 1642, (other than such
 "as were put out by Desire of both or either of the Houses of Parlia-
 "ment) may again be put into those Commissions, and Offices; and that
 "such Persons may be put out of those Commissions, and Offices, as
 "shall be excepted against by both Houses of Parliament. X. That his
 "Majesty would be pleased to pass the Bill now presented to his Ma-
 "jesty, to vindicate and secure the Privileges of Parliament, from the ill
 "Consequence of the late Precedent in the Charge and Proceeding a-
 "gainst the Lord *Kimbolton*, now Earl of *Manchester*, and the five Mem-
 "bers of the House of Commons. XI. That the Royal Assent may be
 "given unto such Acts as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament,
 "for the satisfying and paying the Debts and Damages, whereinto the two
 "Houses of Parliament have engaged the Publick Faith of the Kingdom.
 "XII. That his Majesty would be pleased, according to a gracious An-
 "swer heretofore received from him, to enter into a more strict Alliance
 "with the States of the United Provinces, and other Neighbour Princes,
 "and States of the Protestant Religion, for the Defence and Maintenance
 "thereof

“ thereof against all Designs and Attempts of this Popish, and Jesuitical
“ Faction, to subvert and suppress it; whereby his Majesty’s Subjects may
“ hope to be free from the Mischiefs which the Kingdom hath endured,
“ through the Power which some of that Party have had in his Counsels;
“ and will be much encouraged, in a Parliamentary Way, for his Aid and
“ Assistance in restoring his Royal Sister, and the Prince Elector, to those
“ Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them; and relieving the
“ other Protestant Princes who have suffered in the same Cause. XIII.
“ That in the general Pardon which his Majesty hath been pleased to of-
“ fer to his Subjects, all Offences and Misdemeanors committed before
“ the 10th of *January* 1641, which have been or shall be questioned, or
“ proceeded against in Parliament, upon Complaint in the House of Com-
“ mons, before the 10th of *January* 1643, shall be excepted; which
“ Offences and Misdemeanors shall nevertheless be taken, and adjudged
“ to be fully discharged against all other inferior Courts. That likewise
“ there shall be an Exception of all Offences committed by any Person or
“ Persons, which hath, or have had, any Hand or Practice in the Rebel-
“ lion of *Ireland*; which hath, or have given, any Counsel, Assistance,
“ or Encouragement to the Rebels there, for the Maintenance of that Re-
“ bellion; as likewise an Exception of *William* Earl of *Newcastle*, and
“ *George* Lord *Digby*. XIV. That his Majesty would be pleased to re-
“ store such Members of either House of Parliament to their several Places
“ of Services, and Employment, out of which they have been put since
“ the Beginning of this Parliament; that they may receive Satisfaction,
“ and Reparation for those Places, and for the Profits which they have
“ lost by such Removals, upon the Petition of both Houses of Parlia-
“ ment. And that all others may be restored to their Offices, and Em-
“ ployments, who have been put out of the same upon any Displeasure
“ conceived against them, for any Assistance given to both Houses of
“ Parliament, or obeying their Commands, or forbearing to leave their
“ Attendance upon the Parliament without Licence; or for any other
“ Occasion, arising from these unhappy Differences betwixt his Majesty
“ and both Houses of Parliament, upon the like Petition of both
“ Houses.”

THE King having a strong Desire to see an End put to the so many Miseries with which his poor People were overwhelmed, took no Notice of many disrespectful and offensive Expressions which he found in the Preamble of these Propositions, and for the Sake of Peace his Majesty likewise passed over in Silence the Reproaches therein cast upon him of having raised an Army against the Parliament, and of constraining them to take Arms for the Defence of their Religion, the Laws, and the Privileges of Parliament, concealing, that at the Time they took them, the King, far from undertaking any Thing against the Rights of others, was not so much as in a Condition to defend his own. That as for Religion, the Laws, and their Liberties, they were very well established, or if any Thing was wanting, the King offered to supply it with so much Readiness before ever a Sword was drawn against him, that if they had had nothing else in their Thoughts but the Peace and Protection which his Subjects and their Forefathers had enjoyed under his Majesty and his Predecessors, the Misunderstanding betwixt him and his People would not have been the Conversation of all Christendom; nor the little World, over which God had put him, been the sad Spectacle of Neighbours and Allies, who not long before looked upon it as *Gideon’s* Fleece, dry, — when almost all the Continent was bathed with Blood.

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HE had likewise the Goodness not to mind, that many of the Propositions tended to the Diminution of his Authority, without the least Advantage to his Subjects: Besides, that there were but very few of them that had any Foundation in Law: And that it was very unbecoming in Senators, to demand new Laws with Sword in Hand. Nevertheless, the King was so sensibly affected with the Sufferings of his People, that he was willing to refer the whole, till a Treaty about the Matters in Dispute should be entered upon, which might then be explained in the Conference, and he desired that the Time and Place might be speedily appointed, that such Persons as his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament should name, might confer upon those Propositions, and upon these which he anew proposed to them. "I. That his Majesty's own Revenue, Magazine, Towns, Forts, and Ships, be forthwith restored unto him. II. That whatsoever hath been done, or published, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, or derogatory to his Majesty's legal, and known Power and Rights, be renounced and recalled, that no Seed may remain for the like to spring out of for the future. III. That whatsoever illegal Power hath been claimed, and exercised by, or over his Subjects, as imprisoning their Persons without Law, stopping their *Habeas Corpus*, and imposing upon their Estates without Act of Parliament, &c. either by both or either House, or any Committee of both, or either, or by any Persons appointed by any of them, be disclaimed; and all such Persons so committed, forthwith discharged. IV. That as his Majesty will readily consent (having done so heretofore) to the Execution of all Laws already made, and to any good Acts to be made for the suppressing of Popery, and for the firm Settling of the Protestant Religion now established by Law; so he desires, that a good Bill may be framed, for the better preserving the Book of Common-Prayer from the Scorn and Violence of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other Sectaries, with such Clauses for the Ease of tender Consciences, as his Majesty hath formerly offered. V. That all such Persons, as, upon the Treaty, shall be excepted out of the general Pardon, shall be tried *per pares*, according to the usual Course, and known Law of the Land; and that it be left to that, either to acquit, or condemn them. VI. And to the Intent this Treaty may not suffer Interruption, by any intervening Accidents, that a Cessation of Arms, and free Trade for all his Majesty's Subjects, may be first agreed upon."

BUT after a long Debate upon the first and last of these Propositions, without being able to determine any Thing, the Treaty of Peace came to nothing. The Parliament drew up a large Declaration, in Vindication of their Proceedings, and the King published another, in order to justify his: Wherein he made it clearly appear, that he demanded nothing in the Treaty, save only, that the Troops might be disbanded on both Sides, and that all Things in Dispute might be debated in a full Meeting of Parliament.

THAT for that end, they should return to their former State, and that all Things should be put again in the same Condition they were in, when the two Houses of Parliament were full, and at their Liberty; because they could not deny, that the King had demanded nothing in the Treaty but what was due to him by the Laws, and that he had refused them nothing that they could prove to be their Right by the same Laws: Nor even the least Thing that was worth shedding one Drop of Blood for obtaining it.

So
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So that it seemed that the King had good Reason to end his Declaration concerning the Treaty, with these Words; " That those who fomented
" the War had no other Design but to alter the Laws and the State, to
" introduce a democratical Government, the Independancy and Equality
" of Conditions, and, if they could, to leave neither King, nor Religion,
" nor Nobility."

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THE Parliament, in their Declaration, complained, that during the Treaty the King kept up a secret Correspondence for War, and they insisted particularly upon the Design he had upon *Bristol*, which they called bloody and barbarous; and upon the surrendering of the Castle of *Scarborough* by Sir *Hugh Cholmondley*. They likewise exclaimed against a Proclamation which his Majesty caused to be published on the 8th of *February*, forbidding the Payment of the Taxes imposed upon the Counties by Order of the two Houses; because, in that Proclamation, the King called such as obeyed the Parliament, *Rebels*, *Brownists*, and *Anabaptists*, and charged them with having a Design upon his Life, and to destroy his Posterity, Religion, and the Laws. But his Majesty, in the Answer he made them, made it appear, that it was a Thing as uncommon as unjust, that they should pretend; that the Treaty was to keep him under Restraint, while they were at full Liberty. That during the Treaty they might lay Taxes upon his Subjects contrary to Law, and that he could not lawfully forbid the Payment of them. That the Earl of *Essex's* Soldiers might be allowed to rail at Episcopacy, to enter the Churches, there to break the Organs, and tear the Surplices and Books of Common-Prayer, and that the King notwithstanding all that must not call them *Brownists*. That during the Treaty their Army committed Acts of Rebellion openly, and yet the King was in the wrong to call them *Rebels*. That he might be mistaken, in believing that their Soldiers had a Design upon his Life, they who had fired upon him as often as he had advanced to any Place within the Reach of their Cannon. That the Treaty could not hinder them from taking his Towns and Castles, and yet he must not recover any, nor even possess any of his Houses or Castles. That Sir *William Waller* might freely take the Towns of *Malmesbury* and *Tewkesbury*, but his Majesty must not so much as think upon *Scarborough* and *Bristol*. For the King openly avowed his having had a Design upon this last Place; but it was false that that Design was either bloody or barbarous, or that he had given Orders to put all such to the Sword as should not have the Word, or the Ribbon that had been agreed upon. That it might very well be, that some Word, or Sign had been given, not with Intention to put all to the Sword that should not have it; but only that such as should have it might be the better found out, and that particular Care might be taken to prevent their running into any Danger, or receiving any Disaster. After the Design had been discovered, *Robert Yeomans*, *William*, his Brother, *George Boucher*, and *Edward Dacres*, Citizens, were hanged, though the Earl of *Forth* sent Word to Colonel *Nathanael Fiennes*, Son to the Viscount of *Say*, who commanded in the Town for the Parliament, that those of his Party, whom the King had taken at *Chichester*, should be treated after the same manner.

So the Treaty produced nothing but new Matter of Quarrel, both Sides were more exasperated, and the War was carried on with more Heat than ever. The Parliament was not satisfied with voluntary Contributions for subsisting their Army; but as they found, that besides those who had contributed largely, there were many who either had given nothing,

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or at least not proportionably to their Estates; for which Cause they appointed Commissioners with Power to tax them at Discretion, with this Proviso only, that the Tax should not exceed the fifth Part of the yearly Rent of their Lands, nor the Twentieth of the Value of their moveable Goods, and that no Person should be taxed that had not ten Pounds of Land Rent, or a hundred Pounds in Moveables. Besides, they ordained that if any Person refused to pay his Tax, the Collectors might levy it by Force, and require the Assistance of the Troops nearest the Place. They likewise forbade all Persons to pay Rents to such as they looked upon to be Delinquents, upon Pain of paying twice. They called Delinquents, all those who carried Arms against them, or who had willingly contributed towards the Levies made against their Party; and those likewise who opposed the Levies that were making by Order of the two Houses of Parliament, and who injured such as contributed thereto in any Manner whatsoever. Under that Name were likewise comprehended those who lock'd up their Effects, who concealed those of the Delinquents, or who left their Habitations in order to shun the Taxes; and, in short, all others that laid Taxes upon the Subjects for subsisting the Troops raised against the Parliament. In order to oppress all these, they appointed Commissioners in the several Counties, to whom they gave Power to sequester the Estates of the Delinquents for the Parliament's Service, and ten Days after the Sequestration they might cause them to be prized and sold, excepting the fifth Part, which they set apart for subsisting their Wives and Children; in case, however, it was demanded by them.

It was in a special Manner ordained, that the two Thirds of the Estates of Roman Catholicks should likewise be sold, for they were included amongst the Delinquents; and particularly those who had harboured any Priest since the 21st of *November* 1642, or who should harbour any afterwards, those who had been at Mass any Time during that Year, or who should be present at it for the Time to come; those who should bring up their Children, or those committed to their Charge, in the Romish Religion; in short those, who being twenty one Years of Age, should refuse to take the Oath which the Parliament had set down in the fifth Proposition which they presented to the King in the Month of *February*. The Parliament did not stop there, for they ordained their Majesties Demains, and that of the Prince of *Wales* to be sequestered: And because all that did not answer their Ends, they likewise established the Excise, that is to say, a Tax upon all Commodities as is practised in *Holland*.

THE King, on his Part, in order to free his Subjects from these horrible Oppressions, caused several Proclamations to be published, and gave Orders for their Protection. He declared all Ordinances made for Taxes, and the Sequestration of Estates, void; expressly forbidding all his Subjects to pay the said Taxes, injoyning the Farmers and Debtors of particular Persons, to pay their Lords and Creditors what they owed them; and also generally forbade all Sorts of Persons to buy any Goods or Estates that had been seized and sold by Order of Parliament. He likewise ordered the Farmers and Debtors of such as assisted at the Execution of those Ordinances, or who should favour them, to keep the Rents and Revenues of their Lords and Creditors, that his Majesty's good Subjects, who had suffered Losses by the Rebels Army, might be indemnified. For the Execution of which Things, he injoynd all Governors and Lieutenants of Counties, as well as all Mayors of Towns, to assist those who demanded their Help. He likewise forbade all the Farmers and Debtors of such as

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were in the Rebellion to pay them any Thing; but, on the contrary, to keep the Rents and Debts for indemnifying such as continued in their Allegiance. Then he prohibited all Commerce with the City of *London*, which had become the Seat of the Rebellion: And as he took very much to Heart the Oppression of the Clergy in many Places, where the Rectors and Parsons had been turned out; because, as the King signified in his Proclamation, they would not preach up Sedition, nor publish the Ordinances sent them by the two Houses of Parliament, (believing that they could make none that were valid during the King's Absence) nor pray against his Majesty, or those that followed him. He also forbad all his Subjects to molest or disturb such Persons in their Ministry, or to put others in their Places, and ordained all their Parishioners to pay them the Tithes, and the Church-Wardens to oppose the Violence of such as offered to disturb the said Parsons in their Functions, injoining all his Lieutenants and Officers in the Counties to imploy their Authority for the Execution of his Ordinances, and supporting those who should have Livings conferred upon them by the Ordinaries.

LASTLY, the King caused a long Proclamation to be published, making Mention of all the Outrages and Violences of the Parliament, in order to warn his Subjects not to suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the pretended Ordinances of the two Houses of Parliament, because the Members of both were deprived of the Freedom of Parliament; which was evident, as well because the Peers of the Upper-House had been threatened, and such Boldness had been practised there, as to demand the Names of such as refused to give their Consent to some Propositions debated in their House, as because the Members of both Houses had been imprisoned, for having given their Votes against the prevailing Faction. Besides, that not only his Negative Voice had been called in Question, but also that he and the greatest Part of the Members of the two Houses had been driven away by a rebellious Army which domineered over such as had continued there. In a word, that the Resolutions about the Liberty of the Persons, and the Property of the Estates of his Subjects, were taken in a secret Council of about fifteen or sixteen, the chief of which were the Earl of *Manchester*, the Viscount of *Say*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Strode*, and Mr. *Martin*, who made no Report of them to the two Houses.

THE King declared in his Proclamation, that he was ready to make good these Things, and offered Pardon, and even Protection, to all the Members of the two Houses, who should withdraw from them, and come to his Majesty, except to the Earls of *Essex*, *Warwick*, *Manchester*, and *Stamford*; the Viscount of *Say*, Sir *John Hottham*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Sir *Henry Ludlow*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *Francis Popham*, *Nathanael Fiennes*, *John Hambden*, *John Pym*, *William Strode*, *Henry Martin*, *Alexander Popham*, *Isaac Pennington* Alderman of *London*, and Captain *Vane*, who having been the principal Authors of the Calamities of the Kingdom, had sacrificed the Peace and Prosperity of their native Country to their Malice and Ambition.

IN the midst of the warlike Dispositions, the Parliament set about the regulating Ecclesiastical Affairs, and ordered, that as it was a Matter of great Concern, that the Livings depending upon the Archbishop of *Canterbury* should be bestowed upon good Men, till an End should be put to his Trial, he should give Induction to such Persons as the two Houses should

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should present to him. The Archbishop having refused, upon their Presentation, to receive a Curate in the County of *Kent*, they caused his Temporalities to be seized, and declared him suspended from all Episcopal Jurisdiction, ordering his Vicar to admit for the future such as should be named to the Livings depending upon that Archbishoprick. They likewise ordained, that the Book for tolerating Recreations on the Lord's Day should be burnt, and gave Orders for the calling of that Assembly of Divines which they had demanded of the King, to the end, said they, that the two Houses might confer with them upon means for establishing the Ecclesiastical Government according to the Word of God, and settling the Preaching of the Gospel in its true Purity. They had resolved to abolish Episcopacy, with all Ecclesiastical Dignities, though the Act for abolishing them was not made till the ninth of *October* 1646, and that for the Sale of their Estates the 16th of *November* the same Year.

SOME time after, the Parliament ordained, that all that passed among them for Monuments of Idolatry should be destroyed, to wit, the Crucifixes, and the other Images that were upon the Windows of the Churches, all which were immediately broken, giving Orders at the same Time not to meddle with the Coats of Arms, nor the Motto's that were upon the same Windows. They likewise ordered all the Stone-Tables to be taken out of the Churches, and the Altars, the Steps for going up to them, and the Rails to be pulled down, and those Places to be equally levelled with the rest of the Pavement. The stately Monument of gilded Brass, which stood in *Henry VII's* Chappel, was not spared, nor that magnificent Cross in *Cheap-side*, which King *Edward I.* had caused to be erected in Remembrance of his first Wife *Eleanor*, the Daughter of *Ferdinand III.* King of *Spain*, as he had caused several others to be set up in the Places where her Body had rested, from *Hareby* in *Lincolnshire*, to *Westminster*, where she was buried. That Cross in *Cheap-side* was of an admirable Structure, all the Statues were of Lead, and it was curiously painted, and richly gilded from the Base to the very Top of the Pyramid, where the Cross was fixt. They went to pull it down with Drums beating, and as a Statue fell, the Trumpets were sounded, and the Mobb huzzaed. Thus did they make a Triumph of the Downfall of the Cross, which had been exalted above the Crowns of Kings, and which the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* forbad to be painted or ingraven upon the Ground, out of the Respect they had for that Symbol of our Redemption.

THE Storm reached as far as the Universities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*. The first being exposed to the Inroads of the Troops, that were in the associated Counties towards the East of the Kingdom, under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*, at the Desire of the Earl of *Holland*, who was Chancellor thereof, had got one Safe-guard from the House of Peers, and another from the Earl of *Essex*: But at the same time that this Protection was obtained for it, the Lord *Grey* of *Wark* sent a Power to Colonel *Coke* in the County of *Cambridge*, to enter the Houses of the Roman Catholicks, the Malignants, and all Sorts of Persons that should refuse to pay the Contributions according to the Orders of the two Houses of Parliament, and to seize their Horses, Arms, and Ammunition. So that under Pretence of searching after Roman Catholicks and Malignants, there was scarce one Scholar in all the University but underwent the Search: And as if their Chappels, Libraries, and Closets had been Stables, or Armouries, the Soldiers entered every where, and pillaged and carried off every Thing they found there.

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THAT, however, was only the Fore-runner of the many Mischiefs which the University had to undergo: For the Earl of *Manchester* having received an Order of Parliament for regulating the Colleges, and deposing the Ministers, in the associated Counties, that were looked upon to be scandalous, a great Number of Doctors, Masters, and Batchelors of Arts, virtuous and learned Men, were taken, abused, and put into different Prisons; some were even carried aboard of Ships, and with great Inhumanity thrown into the Holds. The Colleges were turned into Guard-houses, the Ornaments of the Chapels were burnt and destroyed, and the Book of Common-Prayer torn in Pieces. The Occasion of this bad Usage was, that this University, for which the King as well as his Father had a particular Regard, had, the Year before, assisted his Majesty with Money in his Necessity, when it saw him stript of all his Demains, and as the King knew very well that that Act of Gratitude vexed his Enemies, who wanted an Opportunity to be revenged of it, he offered to the University to secure their Plate, which was of a great Value, provided they would put it into his Hands. For which end he wrote in most obliging Terms to that Body, that they would take an exact Memorandum, not only of the Weight of each Piece of Plate, but likewise of its Form, with the Names and Arms of such as had given it to the Colleges, that in Case it should happen, that he could not keep it intire, he might afterwards restore it of the same Weight, in the same Form, and with the same Arms: Which his Majesty promised on the Word of a King. Whereupon the University sent him a Part of their Plate in the Beginning of *August* 1642, long before there was open War. *Cromwell* having soon after had Orders from the Parliament to go down to *Cambridge*, and to prevent any Thing from being sent out of it to the King, but finding he had come too late, he fell into a Passion, like a Lion that had been robbed of his Prey; but very soon after he made that famous University feel his Anger. He had a Mind to shew the Parliament by his Zeal and Conduct in the first Imployment they had given him, what they were to expect from his Services, which have been so great, that he afterwards deserved to be Lieutenant-General of their Army, and became one of the most daring Warriors of his Age.

By the Desolation of this University, one may judge what Treatment that of *Oxford* received, where the King for a long Time found a safe Retreat, and of which the Archbishop of *Canterbury* having been Chancellor, he had enriched it with the Spoils of all the East. 'Tis certain there was nothing to be seen in the World so magnificent as the Schools and Seminaries of these two Universities were. In that of *Cambridge* there are sixteen Colleges, and in *Oxford* twenty four. Their Buildings are stately and magnificent, and before this War their Gardens and Walks were so fine and spacious, that there were few that came up to them. All the Colleges were very richly founded: The Foundations were called Fellowships, whereof there were a great Number, which could not be possessed by married Men. All the Members of both Universities went always in Gowns, as well in the City as in the Colleges. These Gowns were of different Fashions, according to the Quality of the Person; they went every Day into their Chapels with the Surplice and square Cap to the Morning and Evening Prayers, which were read in *Latin* in some of the Colleges: Which, however, was not a new Thing: For Queen *Elizabeth* had ordained the Service to be performed in *Latin* in the two Universities, not that she had any Design to comply with the Practice of the Church of

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Rome: But because she thought that the *Latin* Language ought to be the vulgar Tongue of Scholars. The two Universities sent Members to represent them in Parliament, and the Vice-Chancellor of each had Jurisdiction four Miles round the Cities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, taking it for granted that the Walk of the Scholars might reach so far. It was not allowed to take them Prisoners within that Precinct, without the Permission of the Vice-Chancellor, or to sue them at Law before any other Court but his own.

THESE two famous Universities have been the great Luminaries of that Nation, which hath given the *Hales's* and *Ockhams* to the Church, both of them of the Order of *S. Francis*, and the first of which was Master to *S. Thomas* and *S. Bonaventure*; the *Harveys* and the *Holcots*, of the Order of *S. Dominick*; the *Bacons* and the *Waldens*, of the Order of Carmelites, of which, particularly in *England*, there has been a great Number of good and learned Men. So whilst that Kingdom was subject to the Pastors who had their Mission from *S. Gregory*, and his Successors, it always had the Happiness to have a great Number of Doctors and Prelates, as well Natives as Foreigners, eminent in Knowledge and Sanctity, for whom the Holy See had a most particular Esteem.

POPE *Agathon*, in the Letter which he wrote to the sixth Synod at *Constantinople*, signifies, that he had delayed the Meeting of it, till *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with his Clergy should arrive. In like manner, Pope *Sergius*, by his Letters, begged of the Abbot *Golfridus* to send him the venerable *Bede*, a Monk of his Abbey, because of some important Questions which were debating at *Rome*; and Pope *Urban II.* at the Council of *Bari*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, received *S. Anselm* there with very great Honour, calling him the Apostolical Patriarch of another World, and after having heard him dispute with the *Greeks* about the Procession of the Holy Ghost, he gave a high Testimony of the Favours which Heaven had poured down upon that holy Prelate. It was his Predecessor, *Lanfrancus*, who made *Berengarius*, the *Ishmael* of his Age, submit, and obliged him, with his own Hands, to burn the Book he had written against the Truth of the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar.

AT last the two Houses of Parliament undertook one of the most bold Affairs of State that ever was, and which never had had any Precedent, that was, to make a new Great Seal. The House of Peers for a long Time opposed that Motion of the Commons, alledging, that since all the Affairs had been dispatched by the Ordinances of the two Houses, ever since the Great Seal was carried to the King, they must continue to act in the same Manner, and make no Innovations: But at last the Lords yielded to the Reasons offered by the Managers of that weighty Affair, who made it appear to the Lords, that the Great Seal ought to be with the two Houses, which compose the supream Court of Justice of the Kingdom, for dispatching the great Affairs of State, which, besides a general Suspension of all Justice, suffered considerable Prejudice, for want of the Seal, which the Lord *Littleton*, the Keeper, and Speaker of the House of Lords, had traiterously carried to the Army which the King had levied against the Parliament. Moreover, as the Great Seal ought always to be in the Keeping of one, or more Officers sworn for that end, it ought not to be made Use of but for the Good and Security of his Majesty's Subjects; nevertheless the King had put it into the Hands of Men well affected to Popery, who had not taken the Oath, and who had not made

made Use of it but for the Ruin of the Parliament, and of the whole Kingdom; for as much as they had dispatched many Commissions, as well for making Levies against the Parliament and their Adherents, as for informing against several of them, as against Traitors, and for executing the bloody Design of *Waller*, and his Accomplices, upon the two Houses and the City of *London*. And having caused many Libels to be published against the two Houses, under the Name of Proclamations, declaring many Members, and their Friends, Rebels, they had sealed a Commission for treating about a Cessation of Arms with the Rebels of *Ireland*, after the Effusion of so much innocent Blood: Whereupon that Cessation having been concluded, those Rebels had recovered Courage, and were in Hopes not only to extirpate the Protestants, but to conquer the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*. 1643.

As all those Letters and Commissions, with many others of the same Nature, had been dispatched under the Great Seal, without the Parliament's having any Hopes of being able to obtain any Redress of them from his Majesty, the House of Commons demanded, that it might be resolved by the two Houses, that all those Letters and Commissions; all the Confiscations of the Estates of such as have sided with the Parliament; all Compositions and Favours for Ward-tenures granted contrary to Law, which the King had promised to such as should die in his Service; all Grants of Titles of Honour, of Lands, of Houses, or of any other Thing made to Persons, who in any manner have contributed to the War against the Parliament; all Pardons granted to such Persons; and generally all Things passed under the Great Seal, derogatory to the Proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament, since the 22^d of *May* 1642, were declared void and of no Effect. In like manner, that all that should be dispatched under the Great Seal which is in the King's Possession, after the Publication of that Resolve, was likewise of itself null, and that all such as should make Use thereof, were deemed Enemies of the State. Lastly, that the Use of the Great Seal, which the two Houses should cause to be made, might be authorized, and committed to the Custody of the Earls of *Rutland* and *Bullingbrook*, Members of the House of Peers, *Oliver St. John*, *Samuel Brown*, *John Wild*, and *Edmund Prideaux*, Members of the House of Commons: And that all these, or any three of them, whereof at least there should be one of each House, might have the same Authority to make Use of that Seal upon all Occasions, as ever heretofore any Chancellor, or Keeper of the Seals had, by Virtue of his Office.

THESE Things being thus ordained by the two Houses, all the People were seized with Consternation, and had Reason to believe, that at last the Divisions betwixt the King and Parliament would become irreparable, and that there would be no Hopes left of their being reconciled with one another, the Breach made in his Majesty's Authority being so great, that it portended nothing less than the Ruin of the State, and the Dissolution of the Monarchy.

THIS Ordinance obliged the King to cause a Declaration to be published, wherein he seemed to doubt that that Instrument of Anarchy, for such he termed it, had had the Approbation of the Lords that remained in the House of Peers, since it had been rejected by that House, and that it was published by Order of the House of Commons only: But however it might be, he did not believe, that any Man would think it strange, if the

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the Earls of *Essex*, *Stamford*, *Denbigh*, whose Father had died in his Majesty's Service, and *Manchester*; the Lords *Say*, *Wharton*, *Rockford*, *Grey of Wark*, who made the greatest Part of the Peers that had continued at *Westminster*, and who had all carried Arms against him, had, for their own Defence, combined with fifty or sixty Persons, who made up the greatest Part of the other House, who were as guilty as themselves; in order to strip him of that Mark of Sovereignty, which still threatened them with the Execution of the Laws against their Rebellion. On the contrary he did not believe, that that small Number of desperate Conspirators, assuming the Title of Lords and Commons, would ever have Credit with Men of Honour, or be able to make such Things pass for just and lawful, and tending to the publick Good, as by all the Laws have always been declared to be Crimes of Treason, or that that new Ordinance, which put a sham Resemblance of Power in the Place of Royal Authority, in order to distract the Minds of his Majesty's Subjects, and alienate their Affections from him, could have any other Effect, save only to open their Eyes, and raise in them a just Indignation against the Hypocrisy and Rebellion of their Seducers. That they might likewise see, that the Reason why Mr. *Martin*, a Member of the House of Commons, had been put in Prison, was not for having voted criminally, but only because he had divulged in the Month of *August* the Treason, which they did not intend to put in Execution till that of *November*. For his Majesty looked upon the depriving him of the Means of protecting his Subjects by the way of Justice, and likewise of pardoning them by his Clemency, to be tacitly dethroning him.

HE afterwards made Answer to what the Parliament alledged in Justification of their Ordinance, and in the first Place, signified, that he took it kindly of them, that they had specified the Time when the Great Seal was brought to him at *York*, when he was so far from having an Army, that he had not so much as one Musket, nor one single Barrel of Powder in his Possession. From that he took Occasion to intreat his Subjects to consider, that since they were so grossly imposed upon in Matters of Fact, they ought to give no Faith to Matters of Right; but that they were bound more to regard the ancient Ordinance made the 28th Year of the Reign of King *Edward I.* whereby the Chancellor is enjoined to follow the King, than that pretended new One, which declares, that the Great Seal ought to be with the Parliament. That though that were true, they could reap no Advantage by it, since he himself was the most essential Part of the Parliament. What obliged the King to order the *Lord Keeper* to come and attend him was, that after his retiring from *London* about the end of *March*, being then satisfied with a very moderate Retinue; and far below that which the Majesty of a King necessarily requires; and having perceived that the Dangers he was in, and which had obliged him to leave that City, were daily increasing; he thought he was bound seriously to consider of his own Preservation by other means than by long Patience. Therefore having been fully informed, that not only his having caused many Ordinances to be published without being sealed, was laid to his Charge as a Crime; but also, that in order to impose upon his Subjects, the sealing of that for settling the Militia, which had passed in the two Houses with so much Violence, that the Lords had been threatened in theirs after having twice rejected it, was in Agitation, he thought himself bound, as well for the Security of his own Person, as for that of his Subjects, to have the Great Seal at his own Disposal. To that end, in the Month of *May*, he ordered the Keeper

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to come to him, which he obeyed as soon as he had received his Majesty's Letter. He knew very well that if he had not obeyed, he should have acted contrary to the Duty of his Office, and to the Fidelity he owed the King; because it was he alone who had committed the Seal to his Hands and Charge.

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As to what they charged the King with concerning the Custody and Use of the Seal, his Majesty answered, that it was no new Thing to see the Great Seal out of the Keeper's Hands by his Order, having sometimes been put into the Closets of the Kings, whence the Chancellor, or Keeper, and even sometimes other Persons imployed by them, took it as occasion required, and put it there again afterwards. And 'tis true, that as soon as the Seal was brought to him at *York*, having understood, that the People at *Westminster* were very impatient of that Loss, and full of Grief, and even that Orders had been given to arrest the Keeper where-ever he might be found, the King took the Seal into his own Possession, being fully persuaded that no Stone would be left unturned in order to recover it.

AND that excellent Minister found this Procedure of the King so reasonable, that when his Majesty offered to return it him again, he begged of him to keep it, and to be the Depository of it himself. But that ever his Majesty had put it into the Hands of disaffected Persons, was a Thing so far from being true, that it never could be made Use of but in Presence of the Keeper, or, upon extraordinary, secret, or pressing Occasions, in Presence of the King, and that could be done according to the Ordinances of *Henry VIII.* Besides, the Great Seal was so in the Power of the Kings, that in the Ordinances of *Philip* and *Mary*, it is called the Great Seal of the King and Queen, which could not be counterfeited without committing Treason, as it is declared in the Ordinances of *Edward III.*

MOREOVER, the King, that the Commissions dispatched under the Great Seal for making Levies of his faithful Subjects, against an Army of Rebels who were seeking his Ruin: And for informing against such as fomented the Rebellion, were according to the Course of Justice. That as to the Commission which was sent to *Edmund Waller* Esquire, a Member of the House of Commons, the King avowed it; but maintained, that it was of the same Nature with the rest, that is to say, for levying and commanding Troops for his Service, and the Defence of his Person. That he believed there was no Man that doubted but he might do it lawfully in *London* and the County of *Middlesex*, where the Rebellion began. The two Houses, however, made a great Noise about that Commission, and as the King had explained himself, they represented it in bloody Colours: For the Account that was published of it by their Order, was, that *Waller* being impeached upon it, had discovered, that Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Challoner*, Mr. *Hassel*, and Mr. *White* were comprehended in the Commission, and that the Design appeared to be: I. "To seize into their Custody the
" King's Children. II. To seize several Members of both Houses, the
" Lord Mayor, and Committee of the Militia, under Pretence of bringing them to a legal Trial. III. To seize upon the Out-works, Forts,
" Tower of *London*, Magazines, Gates, and other Places of Importance
" in the City. IV. To let in the King's Forces to surprize the City, and
" to destroy all those who should oppose them by Authority of the Parliament. V. By Force of Arms to resist all Payments imposed by Au-

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“thority of Parliament, raised for the Support of the Armies imployed
 “for their just Defence, &c. to suspend, if not to alter, the whole Govern-
 “ment of the City, and, with the Assistance of the King’s Force, to
 “awe, and master the Parliament.”

BUT the particular Inclination which the King had always had to spare the Blood of his Subjects, the Passion he had shewn, on many Occasions that had offered, for putting a Stop to the Shedding of it, and the great Tenderneſs he had had at all Times for what concerned his poor People, shew clearly that he had no Hand in, nor any Knowledge of such a Design, if it be true that there ever was any such, as they had thus described. All those that were accused were condemned to die, but, however, there was none of them but *Tomkins* and *Challoner* that were hanged before the Windows of their own Houses: *Waller* himself was saved, because, it was said, that he had very ingenuously confessed the whole Matter, and that Mr. *Pym*, who was the Commissioner for interrogating him, had promised him his Life upon that Condition: But in all Appearance it was because he bought his Life with Ten thousand Pounds, which the Parliament imployed for raising new Forces to recruit their Army which had been ruined in *Cornwal*.

A sacred Vow, and Covenant, taken by the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament upon Discovery of the late horrid and treacherous Design, for the Destruction of this Parliament, and the Kingdom; the sixth of June 1643.

THIS Affair occasioned the Parliament to order a Form of Oath to be drawn up, which having been first sworn by the two Houses, they ordained to be taken likewise by the Army, then by all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom: The Words of the Oath were: “I *A. B.* in Humility, and
 “Reverence of the divine Majesty, declare my hearty Sorrow for my
 “own Sins, and the Sins of this Nation, which have deserved the Calamities, and Judgments, that now be upon it; and my true Intention
 “is, by God’s Grace, to endeavour the Amendment of my own Ways;
 “and I do farther, in the Presence of Almighty God, declare, vow, and
 “covenant, that in order to the Security and Preservation of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, and Liberty of the Subject, I will not consent to the laying down of Arms, so long as the Papists, now in open
 “War against the Parliament shall by Force of Arms be protected from the Justice thereof. And that I do abhor and detest the said wicked, and
 “treacherous Design, lately discovered: And that I never gave, nor will
 “give my Assent to the Execution thereof, but will, according to my
 “Power, and Vocation, oppose and resist the same, and all other of the
 “like Nature. And in case any other like Design shall hereafter come
 “to my Knowledge, I will make such timely Discovery, as I shall conceive may best conduce to the preventing thereof. And whereas I do
 “in my Conscience believe, that the Forces, raised by the two Houses of
 “Parliament, are raised, and continued for their just Defence, and for the
 “Defence of the true Protestant Religion, and Liberty of the Subject,
 “against the Forces raised by the King; that I will, according to my
 “Power, and Vocation, assist the Forces raised and continued, by both
 “Houses of Parliament, against the Forces raised by the King without
 “their Consent: And will likewise assist all other Persons that shall take
 “this Oath, in what they shall do in Pursuance thereof; and will not
 “directly, or indirectly, adhere unto, nor shall willingly assist the Forces
 “raised by the King, without the Consent of both Houses of Parliament.
 “And this Vow, and Covenant, I make in the Presence of Almighty
 “God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the
 “same, as I shall answer at the great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts
 “shall be disclosed.”

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AT last the King, by an exprefs Declaration, made it known, that the Commission for treating of a Cessation of Arms in *Ireland* for a Year, had been granted at the Request of his Council in that Kingdom, who had sought it from him for the Good of the Affairs of his Protestant Subjects, whose Preservation should always be as dear to him, as that of his own Person, or of his Children. 1643.

IN the Month of *February*, while a Peace was negotiating, the Queen having made ready for her returning to *England*, before she left *Scheveling* in *Holland*, she ordered Sir *William Boswell*, his Majesty's Resident at the *Hague*, to enter a Protestation against the *States General* of the United Provinces, in her Name. The Reason was, that the Queen having caused a Ship to be loaded, wherein, amongst other Things, there were Arms and Ammunition, the Vessel was searched and arrested, by Virtue of a Prohibition made by the *States General*, forbidding the Exportation out of their Dominions of any Arms or Ammunition for the King, or Parliament. But besides that the Queen thought she had Reason to complain of that Prohibition, which put the Parliament of *England* on a Level with the King, and that it was not even observed towards the Parliament, who had caused to be brought from *Holland* great Plenty of all Sorts of Warlike Stores, and bought Ships in order to imploy them against the King. She could not conceal her Displeasure with being so unworthily treated, that the Ammunition had been seized, which had been put aboard the Ship that she had hired for the Security of her own Person; and reckoned that her having taken no Notice of several other Injuries that had been done her, without shewing any Resentment, had drawn this Abuse upon her, which obliged her to open her Mind; that she took the Order which had been given for arresting her Ship, as a great Affront done to her Person, which she thought herself obliged highly to resent; and that if the *States* did not cause her Ship to be released, the Alliance betwixt the King, her Husband, and them was violated and broke. But as she did not doubt but the *States* knew very well the Consequence of an Affair of that Importance, she hoped they would take a better Resolution, and would not give either the King or her such Cause of Discontent.

THE Queen, by the Application of the Prince of *Orange*, having got Reparation of the Affront, left *Holland*, and, about the end of the Month, landed at *Burlington*, in the County of *York*, with a great Number of Officers, and some Ammunition which she had caused to be put aboard in *Holland*. The next Day in the Morning four Men of War, and a small Frigate, in the Parliament's Service, having anchored in *Burlington* Road, discharged above a hundred Cannon Shot through the Houses; so that the Queen was forced to rise quickly out of her Bed, and get into a Bottom, where the Earth, raised by the Bullets, often fell upon her Majesty. In the mean time the Officers, that had accompanied her, having in all Haste caused a Battery to be raised against the Men of War, sent them some Cannon Shot, which obliged them to retire. One of the Captains was taken some time after at *Scarborough*, and brought to the Queen, that she might order him to be hanged: But that good Princess would suffer no Harm to be done him, and, after having pardoned and treated him with great Humanity, sent him back again.

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VERY soon after, she was attacked after a much more uncommon Manner: For having then escaped the Violence of the Parliament's Arms, they had the Boldness to prosecute her as a Criminal. The House of Commons impeached her of High Treason, and sent the Bill to the House of Lords by Mr. *Pym*, where, after it had stuck for a long time, it passed at last. The Articles of the Impeachment were; "That the Queen had raised the Rebellion in *Ireland*; that she was making a Party in *Scotland*, and that she had pawned the Jewels of the Crown in *Holland*." But all the King's Declarations concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*, were so many Apologies for the Queen, who had no Hand in, nor Knowledge of the Insurrection of that Kingdom. That if she gave a kindly Reception to his Majesty's faithful Subjects of *Scotland*, and encouraged them to give Proofs of their Fidelity and Affection towards their native Prince, it was an Action worthy of the generous Daughter of *Henry the Great*, whose last Thoughts made all *Europe* tremble. As for the Jewels that were pretended to be of the Crown, that magnanimous Princess, who, out of her incomparable Love, has so often ventured her Life in order to free that of the King, her Husband, from Danger, and who has stript herself of all that she had of greatest Value for supplying his Necessities, did not think she could imploy the Jewels of the Crown better, than in securing it upon the Head of the King, her Lord, to whom it belonged. So 'tis Matter of Surprize, that that Act of conjugal Love should have been imputed to her as a Crime, and what's more (who could believe it?) the Crime of High Treason. That Act, I say, which, with many other of the same Nature, ought to be ingraven in Brass and Marble for the Sake of Posterity, and for which Statues ought to have been erected in Honour of that *Hyppocratea* of *Great-Britain*.

THIS Malice against the Queen was transferred from her Person to that Part of her Family she valued most, which was the Capuchin Friars whom she had left in her Palace at *London*. They had been alarmed the Year before, when four or five hundred armed Men came there, under Pretence of searching for Priests that they pretended had taken Shelter with them: But the *French* Ambassador hearing of it, made his Complaint to the House of Peers, who put a Stop to the Disturbance, and offered to the Ambassador to convey them beyond Sea, if he did not chuse rather to receive them into his own House. To which the Ambassador answered, that they having remained in the Queen's House by her Majesty's Order, and having been sent to *England* at her Desire, and by a Treaty betwixt the two Crowns, he could not receive them into his House, much less send them to *France*, till he had first known the King, his Master's Pleasure. Whereupon it was ordered for that Time, that the Friars should remain in the House, and perform the Service privately amongst themselves, without allowing one *Englishman* to be present. But in the Month of *March* 1643, Mr. *Martin*, one of the most violent Men in the World, having got an Order of the House of Commons, went with some Soldiers into the House, turned out the Friars, broke the Organs, and threw down the Altar of the Chapel, which was richly adorned, as it was suitable to the Piety of so great and virtuous a Queen. Then going into the Church-yard, with great Insolence he caused the Cross which was placed in the Middle to be pulled down, leaving the Marks of his Fury in all the other Places of her Majesty's Devotion. Her Confessor, Father *Phillips*, a Priest of the Oratory, had been thrown into Prison about the end of the Year 1641, where he was interrogated about Things with

with which that religious Man did not meddle. He had always lived with so much Moderation, and performed his Office with so great Prudence and Christian Charity, that Malice itself could find nothing to censure in his Conduct, it was so godly, and so great an Example of Humility, which is the first of the Virtues, and Guardian of all the rest. We should be wanting in what we owe to his Memory, if, after his Death, we should pass over in Silence a Particularity of that Virtue, which he strove to hide all his Life-time. The Queen having asked a Cardinal's Cap of Pope Urban VIII. his Holiness made some Difficulty with respect to the Person she had recommended; but, in a Letter he wrote to her Majesty upon that Subject, with a great deal of Willingness he offered to bestow it upon Father *Phillips*, if she would be pleased to name him. The Letter having fallen into the Hands of this good Priest, and having learnt what it contained, from a Person who had a Mind to tell him agreeable News, the Splendor of the Purple was so far from dazzling his Eyes, or tickling his Fancy in the least, that he concealed the Esteem which the Pope had for him, and did not deliver the Letter to the Queen. After having been kept some Time in Prison, he was set at Liberty, and continuing to attend her Majesty, he accompanied her to *France*, where, in the Beginning of the Year 1647, he was seized with an acute Disease in the House of the Fathers of the Oratory in *Paris*, where the Queen honoured him with a Visit, and with Tears expressed how sensibly she was affected with the Loss she was going to sustain. At last this holy Man gave her his last Blessing, and died on the Eve of *Epiphany*.

The End of the Third BOOK.

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B O O K I V .

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AT the same Time that the Queen landed in *England*, the Marquis of *Montrose*, accompanied by the Lord *Ogilvie*, the eldest Son of the Earl of *Airly*, came there, in order to acquaint the King with many Things of great Importance to the Good of his Service. And having learnt at *Newcastle*, that the Queen was landed at *Burlington*, he went to wait upon her, and told her that the Covenanters were beginning to rise in *Scotland*, and who hearing, that the Affairs of the Parliament of *England* were in a bad Way, which might break their Measures, they had a Mind to espouse the Parliament's Quarrel.

THE Queen being upon the Point of setting out for *York*, put off deliberating upon this Advice till her Arrival in that City; because she was resolved to stay some Time in it. As soon as her Majesty had got there, the Duke of *Hamilton* arrived from *Scotland*, whither he had been sent by the King, in order to keep Matters in that peaceable State he had left them. The Duke having paid his Compliments to the Queen, and congratulated her upon her safe Return, he entertained her with the State of the Kingdom, and was of Opinion, that in order to put a Stop to the new Disturbances, gentle Measures were to be taken with the People, to which

which end he offered his Service. He added that the mildest Remedies must be tried first, and that Fire and Sword must not be applied but the latest that may be, and when the Distemper should appear to be incurable. On the contrary, *Montrose* maintained, that those restless People must be kept under by Force, and that to dally with them, was giving them Time to take Arms, and make themselves Masters of the whole Kingdom. The Queen began but then to know that great Probity of the Marquis which has shined so bright since; and the Opinions of those, in whom she much confided, appearing more plausible, she imbraced the Duke's Overture, and accepting the Offer of his Service, caused a full Power to be given him to negotiate on the King's Part in *Scotland*. The Duke, before he left *York*, and very soon after his Arrival in *Scotland*, caused the Marquis to be spoken with, in order to gain him over to his Opinion: But he would not hear of it, and retired again to his own House.

A GREAT Number of the Nobility and Gentry came to wait upon the Duke at *Edinburgh*, where the Commissioners, appointed to preserve the Peace betwixt the two Nations, having met in the Month of *May* with those which the Parliament of *Scotland* had appointed to have the Inspection of the publick Necessities of the Kingdom, represented; "That
 " the King having refused their Intercession for making up the Differences between his Majesty and his Subjects of *England*, the Protestant Religion, his Majesty's Person, and the Peace of his Kingdoms were in
 " the utmost Danger, by Reason of the great Number of Papists, and their Adherents, that were in Arms as well in *England* as *Ireland*; and
 " that the Importance of that Affair required the Advice of the Representative Body of the Kingdom." Therefore seeing the King had refused to grant them a full Meeting of Parliament, it was necessary to have Recourse to that Assembly, which they call *the Convention of the Estates*, which differs but little from it, except in the Pomp and the Formalities of the Meeting.

A Remembrance from the Commissioners of England to those of Scotland.

THE Duke invited all the King's Servants to be present in this Convention, which met the 22^d of *June*, undertaking to bring it to a happy Issue for the Good of his Majesty's Service; and in case they should happen to be over-matched in it, he would protest against the Proceedings. *Montrose* persisting in his Opinion, demanded more, that they should be ready, in case of Need, to maintain his Majesty's Interest with the Sword: But finding that they had not all the Resolution which he could have wished, he resolved to remain a bare Spectator of all that should pass in the Convention. The Commissioners of the Parliament of *England* went there, in order to demand of that Meeting, and of the General Assembly, which was called very soon after, Assistance against the Faction of the Prelates and Papists that was making War upon them, and likewise to invite them to send some of their Divines to the Synod that was sitting at *Westminster* by the Authority of Parliament.

THESE Commissioners offered, in Name of the two Houses of Parliament, "To enter into a Covenant with them for the Reformation of
 " the Church, which they had partly begun, having not only turned the Bishops out of the House of Peers, but also abrogated the Court of High Commission, and presented a Petition to the King for abolishing Episcopacy. And because that cursed Faction hindered the Progress of
 " this Work, the two Houses of Parliament demanded a Supply of Foot and Horse, for vigorously opposing the Enemies of the publick Good,
 " obliging

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“ obliging themselves to render like for like to the Covenanters, if it
 “ happened, that they should be attack’d on any account whatsoever.
 “ They likewise bound themselves to keep a Squadron of Men of War
 “ upon the Coast of *Scotland* against the Rebels of *Ireland*, as long as
 “ the Covenanters Army should be in *England*. Lastly, the Commis-
 “ sioners represented, that the Design of the two Houses of Parliament was
 “ to cause the *Scots* Army that should march into *England* to be subsisted
 “ as their own, till the Faction of the Prelates and Papists should be
 “ brought under the Obedience of the Parliaments of both King-
 “ doms.”

IT was then that the Parliament of *England* was very low, and that their Affairs seemed to be desperate: For the King had made himself Master of all the North of the Kingdom, by the Valour and Vigilance of the Marquis of *Newcastle*, where the Lord *Fairfax*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, his Son, commanded for the Parliament, with some Success at first. They took the Town of *Wakefield*, and retook that of *Leeds* from the Marquis, and when he marched to *Bradford* they were ready to dispute his Passage upon *Aderton* Heath, in the County of *York*, where having lodged themselves in an advantagious Post, they boldly bore the Shock for two Hours, their Musketeers firing upon *Newcastle’s* Troops from behind the Hedges, where they wounded many of them, and killed others. But after the Marquis had drawn up his Foot in Order, and pointed his Cannon, he broke them, and having pursued them as far as *Bradford*, he took Possession of the Place, from whence Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the Governor, had retired as it was about to be invested. He did just so at *Leeds*, which fell again into *Newcastle’s* Hands, and both Sir *Thomas* and his Father were forced to fly into *Hull*, where the Marquis besieged them. At the same Time Sir *Hugh Cholmondley* made himself Master of *Beverly*, and the Parliament’s Troops quitted the Town of *Hallifax*, which boasts of the Birth of that excellent Mathematician *Joannes de Sacrobosco*, who lies buried in the Cloisters of the Mathurins at *Paris*; but the *Scots* pretend that he was born in a Place called *Holy-wood*, near *Dumfreis*, where still are to be seen the Ruins of an old Monastery. This Town of *Hallifax* was of old called *Horton*, but the Superstition of the People changed its Name upon this Account: A most chaste Girl was a long Time solicited contrary to her Honour by a lascivious Man, whose Passion having turned into Fury, he cut off her Head, which being put upon a Yew Tree, the People had a Veneration for it even after it was rotten, and as it was an ignorant Age, and the Superstition gross in some Places, the People preserved a Devotion for the Tree itself, imagining that the Fibres, spread betwixt the Bark and the Trunk, were the real Hair of the Girl, whence the Town was called *Hali-fax*, that is to say, Holy Hair.

THE King’s Affairs had no less Success in the Western Counties. The Earl of *Carnarvan* reduced the Town of *Dorchester*, in the County of *Dorset*: The Port of *Weymouth*, *Melcomb*, and the Isles of *Purbeck* and *Portland*, in the same County were likewise brought under the King’s Obedience. In *Cornwal*, the Lord *Hopton* defeated the Earl of *Stamford*, General of the Army which the Parliament had in the South Part of the Principality of *Wales*, who had kept the Field for some Time with Success. He had even caused the Siege of *Plymouth* to be raised. But after this Defeat, which was near *Stratton*, the Earl was forced to retire into *Exeter*, where *Hopton* having pursued and besieged him, and Prince *Mau-*

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rice being sent thither to command the Troops, the Town was forced to surrender upon Capitulation. Sir *William Waller*, a great Officer, on the other Hand had gained great Advantages, and reduced many Places under the Obedience of the Parliament: He had contributed much towards the taking of *Portsmouth* from Colonel *Goring*, one of the most gallant and resolute Officers the King had on his Side.

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HE had likewise taken the Town of *Chichester*, in the County of *Sussex*, whence the Bishop and several Persons of Note were sent Prisoners to *London*. He had added to his Conquests the Town of *Chepstow*, in the County of *Monmouth*, and that of *Hereford*, where he took the Lord *Scudamore* Prisoner, with some Gentlemen and Officers whom he sent to *Gloucester*, and having surprized *Leominster*, in the County of *Hereford*, he found there a rich Booty, which came very seasonably for the Subsistence of his Troops. With the same good Fortune he had made himself Master of the Town of *Malmesbury*, so called from *Mardulph*, where that learned and holy *Scots* Hermit had built a Cell. He likewise took the Town of *Tewksbury*, in the County of *Gloucester*, near which Place was fought the last Battle for the Crown, betwixt *Henry VI.* and *Edward* Earl of *March*, the Son of *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, who having been killed in the Battle of *Wakefield*, out of Derision, after his Death, was crowned with Paper, and exposed to a thousand foolish Indignities: But his Son *Edward* revenged his Death at *Tewksbury*, where he came off victorious. Queen *Margaret*, of the House of *Anjou*, who had drawn all this Storm upon her Family, having fled for Shelter into a Convent, was turned out of it, and carried Prisoner to the Tower of *London*, where King *Henry* ended his Days. Their only Son *Edward* endeavouring to make his Escape, was likewise taken, and brought before King *Edward*, and as neither his Misfortunes, nor Adversity had in the least lessened the Greatness of his Courage, he spoke to the King with much Boldness and Resolution, which so irritated the King, that he gave him a severe Blow in the Face with his Gantlet, and at the same time *Richard*, the King's Brother, with the Stroke of a Dagger put an End to the Miseries of that unfortunate Prince, which freed him from the Confusion, wherewith, no doubt, his Mind was seized in their Presence.

AFTER so many Advantages, *Waller* had an unlucky Rencounter with the Marquis of *Hertford* near the *Devizes*, in *Wiltshire*, where, after an obstinate Fight of twelve Hours, *Waller's* Soldiers stuck their Matches in the Hedges, and left the Field to the Marquis, who lost Sir *Bevil Greenvil* fighting gallantly at the Head of his Troops; and soon after, about the 13th of *July*, the Lord *Wilmot*, Lieutenant General of the King's Horse, gave him an intire Defeat, took a great Number of Prisoners, with all his Cannon and Baggage, and forced him to fly into *Bristol*, which did not long serve him for Retreat. For Prince *Rupert* having joined his Brother, Prince *Maurice*, besieged that opulent City, and made himself Master of it about the end of *July*. It is situate upon the Borders of the Counties of *Gloucester* and *Somerset*, upon the River *Avon*, which falls into the *Severn*. The Castle, which surrendered with the Town, was built by *Robert*, natural Son of *Henry I.* being then Sheriff of the Town. It was erected into a Bishoprick by King *Henry VIII.* who likewise erected *Gloucester*, *Peterborough*, *Chester*, *Oxford*, and *Westminster* into Bishops Sees. But the Erection of this last having had no other Foundation but the Caprice of that Prince, *Thomas Thirlby* was the first and last Bishop of it. For Queen *Mary* restored that famous Abbey to the Monks of *St. Benedict*,
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1643. and Queen *Elizabeth* secularized it, and made it a Collegiate Church, the Deanery of which is one of the finest Benefices, without Cure of Souls, in *England*. These Actions of *Henry* might be taken for certain Marks of his good Will towards the Church, whose Lands, indeed, he liked very much. For these he made but small Restitutions, instead of the great Riches he had usurped. For having seized upon all the Abbeyes, he erected the chief of them, which were in those Towns, into Bishopricks, and which had abundance of Revenue for his Erections. 'Tis true Cardinal *Wolfey* was the first that opened a Door to that Sacrilege, for having with-held the Revenues of forty small Abbeyes, in order to found two Colleges only; the one which he had caused to be built at *Ipswich*, the Place of his Nativity; the other extremely magnificent, which he had begun at *Oxford*, under the Name of *Cardinal-College*, he set an Example for *Henry* to usurp the fattest Benefices; for in all Kinds of Sins, there's only the first Step that's difficult, so that that Prince intirely ruined those Houses, which the Piety of his Ancestors had built and founded with so much Magnificence. Indeed, as the learned Bishop *Richard Montague* writes, they ought to have been reformed, and brought back to their first Institution; but War ought not to have been made against God, & *Aras ad Haras, Altaria ad Lupanaria flagitioso facinore transferre*.

THE King's Arms had had no worse Success in many other Places: For Prince *Rupert* had taken the rebellious Town of *Birmingham*, in the County of *Warwick*, where the old Earl of *Denbigh*, who had adhered to the King's Party, was mortally wounded. And the Prince after a Siege of three Weeks had recovered the Close of *Lichfield* (containing the Cathedral Church, and all the Clergymens Houses) which had been strongly fortified, where the Lord *Brooke*, in besieging it for the Parliament, was killed with a Musket Shot in the Eye, upon the Feast of *S. Chad*, the first Bishop of that Church, and in whose Memory it had been built.

BESIDES, about the middle of *March*, *Spencer*, Earl of *Northampton*, having met Sir *John Gell* in the County of *Stafford* with fifteen hundred Men, the Earl marching at the Head of twelve hundred Horse, attacked him with so much Vigour on *Hopton-Heath*, about two Miles from the Town of *Stafford*, that he put *Gell's* Horse to the Flight in great Disorder; so that many of them were taken Prisoners. This Victory, indeed, was not compleat, for the Earl was killed upon the Spot, running headlong to break the Foot, who stood their Ground, and Sir *William Bruerton* having come to *Gell's* Assistance, the brave Earl's Horse were forced to retire with Loss. But soon after, his Son was revenged near *Banbury*, where he cut in Pieces seven hundred Foot, and five Troops of Horse, and took all their Cannon and Baggage.

ABOUT the same Time Colonel *Charles Cavendish* having taken *Grantham*, in *Lincolnshire*, had caused it to be dismantled, and, near *Ancaster*, defeated *Hotham*, the Son. Some time after, both the Father and Son being suspected by the Parliament, were sent Prisoners to the Tower of *London*, where, after a long Imprisonment, they were executed as Traitors. Even the Troops that served as a Guard to the Queen had done some warlike Exploits; for the Lords *Jermyn* and *Loughborough* had taken *Burton* upon *Trent*. At the same Time, the King marched to meet the Queen, and the meeting of their Majesties happened to be at *Edge-hill*, where the King had so gallantly defended the Honour and Interests of his Crown, with Sword in Hand, on the 23^d of *October* the foregoing Year.

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AMIDST the so many Advantages which his Majesty had obtained 1643. over the Parliament in all those Counties, their Generals made some Progress in that of *Lancaster*: Colonel *John Seaton* made himself Master of *Preston* and *Wiggan*, and *Manchester's* Troops took *Warrington*, a considerable Place in that County, from the Earl of *Derby*. The Earl of *Essex*, who commanded the main Body of their Army, besieged *Reading*, which, on the 27th of the same Month, was surrendered upon Articles, wherein the King's Orders were not observed: For those of the Garrison, who had deserted the Parliament's Service, were not comprehended in the Capitulation, although the King, by his Proclamations, had promised them Protection. The King, in Vindication of himself therein, immediately caused a Proclamation to be published, in which he disowned that Action, done without his Knowledge, and found Fault with his Officers for being so cowardly as to sign a Capitulation so prejudicial to his Service. The taking of this Town proved very fatal to the Earl of *Essex*; for his Army was seized with the Plague, which in a Trice dwindled so away, that above a hundred Soldiers died in a Day.

THE King's Affairs then being in so favourable a Situation, and those of the Parliament at so low an Ebb, there was great Appearance, that had his Majesty, instead of marching to *Gloucester*, which he besieged in the Month of *August*, being the only considerable Place that held out for the Parliament in those Parts, directed his March towards *London*, that haughty City had been forced to have Recourse to his Clemency, and beg his Pardon. And even the Apprehension which the Parliament and Magistrates of the City had of it, occasioned the fortifying and drawing a Line about the whole City; wherein Thousands of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of all Sorts employed themselves daily, for advancing the Work; nay the Ladies, willing to have a Share in it, put their Hands to the Work with as much, or rather more Eagerness than the Men.

Now, the Covenanters having heard the Propositions of the *English* Commissioners, and framed the Design of assisting their Parliament with their Arms, they immediately cast their Eyes upon *Montrose*, and had a Mind to ingage him in the Design before entering openly into the Treaty with them. The Proofs which the Marquis had given of his Conduct and Valour during the first Commotions, had gained him such Reputation, that it concerned them much to get him not to oppose their grand Design. And as they imagined, that he was dissatisfied, because their Majesties had preferred Duke *Hamilton's* Advice to his, they sent to sound him. *Montrose*, the better to discover their Secrets, apparently received their Messengers very kindly, expressing great Satisfaction in the Account they gave him of the present State and Affairs of the Kingdom. These Messengers then opened their Minds freely, and assured him in Name of all the Covenanters, that if he would join with them, they certainly would make him Lieutenant General of the Army which they were resolved to raise for the Assistance of the Parliament of *England*. *Montrose* made no Answer to that Proposal, and they, taking his Silence for a Consent, begged of him, that for the better carrying on of the Design, he would be pleased to discourse with *Alexander Henderson*, the Minister, who should come from them to wait upon him: And because *Henderson* could not be long absent from their Meetings, having a great Share in all the Affairs that were treated of there, and where all his Words were received as Oracles, they intreated the Marquis, who was then at his House of *Kincardin*, in the Shire

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Shire of *Strathern*, to consent to the holding of their Conference in the House of *Keir*, near *Stirling*; *Montrose* agreed to it, and, that he might give no Umbrage to his Friends, he took with him the Lords *Napier* and *Ogilvie*, with some other Gentlemen that were known to be zealously affected to the King's Service, to whom he always communicated all that passed. Upon his Arrival at the House of *Keir*, *Henderson* having stayed at some Distance from it, sent to *Montrose*, begging to be excused from coming there, because that Place was too publick, and intreating he would be pleased to come, with another in Company, to a Place about three Miles from thence, on the Banks of the *Forth*, where they might discourse with Freedom. *Montrose* went thither, and he had no sooner saluted *Henderson*, than he spoke to him like a Man that wanted nothing but to treat, and who was ready, upon honourable Terms, to imbarck in the Party. *Henderson* having found him, as he thought, fully prepared, discovered to him plainly the whole Secret of the raising of Forces that were designed for *England*, which he called the main Affair of the Covenanters, the Prop, and Security of the Covenant.

HE added, that they were resolved to spare nothing, and to lay all at Stake for the Subsistence of that Army. At last having opened his Mind, and declared, that all the Covenanters would be overjoyed to understand, that he had entered into that holy Union, and was resolved to fight for so good a Cause, he begged of him, with the same Confidence, to tell him what Answer he might give from him to the Convention of Estates. *Montrose* could not, without ruining himself, discover what he had in his Heart, much less would he give him Reason to hope for the least Thing: Having got out of him all that he longed for, he wanted only to keep him in Suspence, and to get rid of him as gently and artfully as he could, which he did thus. *Henderson* had brought with him Sir *James Rollock*, who was one of those Messengers that had at first been sent to *Montrose*, and who had procured this Conference. Sir *James*, as *Henderson's* Assistant, endeavoured to persuade *Montrose*, that they had proposed nothing to him but according to the expresse Orders they had received from the Convention of Estates. Whereupon *Henderson* resuming the Discourse, said, that as for himself he was come to have a Conference with the Marquis of his own Accord, and without having any Order for it. The Marquis then seeing that they contradicted one another, bid them agree betwixt themselves, and that they could not expect he would explain himself upon the Propositions they had made him, until he had seen their Orders, and the Parliament's Commission in writing. This Answer confounded them, and their having so ill-concerted their Message, and their Misunderstanding troubled them so much, that they withdrew without appointing another Interview, still in Hopes, however, of bringing over *Montrose* to their Party.

BEING returned to his Friends, whom he had left at *Keir*, he told them all that had passed at this Conference, and proposed to them to go immediately to the King in order to acquaint him with the Design of the Covenanters, that he might take care of it in Time, and give the necessary Orders for preventing and warding off that Blow. They seeing no Remedy for the King's Affairs, which they looked upon to be intirely ruined; and besides thinking it impossible to get to him, were quite discouraged, what Affection soever they had for his Majesty's Service, and for *Montrose's* Person. On the other Hand, the Marquis finding no Difficulties but what he was resolved to surmount, or perish, since his Master's Interest was at Stake;

Stake; without any farther Deliberation set out with the Lord Ogilvie, 1643. and got safe to *Oxford*, from whence the King had but just gone with the Flower of the *English* Nobility and Gentry to the Siege of *Gloucester*, which was invested by the King's victorious Army the 10th of *August*.

MONTROSE having waited on the Queen, whom he found at *Oxford*, imparted to her the Cause of his coming to Court; but her Majesty took that for a false Alarm, and believed, that he had been easily persuaded, that the Covenanters had a Design to rise in Arms, because of the Advice he had already given at *York*, to oblige the Covenanters to continue in Obedience by Force of Arms. From thence he went to the King at *Gloucester*, where he discoursed with him at Leisure of all that the Covenanters had resolved upon for the Assistance of the Parliament of *England*; and that they had gone so far as to offer to make him Lieutenant General of the Army, which they were ready to send to their Relief. However the King, as well as the Queen, could hardly believe it. Indeed there was little Appearance that the Covenanters had been so forgetful, and had lost the Sense of so many Favours, with which the King had newly loaded them, or that they would be so much Enemies of their own Quiet, as to engage in a War, whereby having nothing to expect, they had much to be afraid of.

NEVERTHELESS, the Covenanters being met both in a General Assembly and Parliament, and having no Regard to these Motives, accepted the Covenant betwixt the two Nations, the Articles of which were:

" I. That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the Grace of
 " God, endeavour in our several Places and Callings the Preservation of
 " the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Wor-
 " ship, Discipline, and Government, against our common Enemies; the
 " Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, in
 " Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the Word
 " of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches; and we
 " shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms,
 " to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of
 " Faith, Form of Church-Government, Directory for Worship, and Ca-
 " techising; that we, and our Posterity after us, may, as Brethren, live in
 " in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst
 " of us.

*The solemn
 League and Co-
 venant betwixt
 the two King-
 doms.*

II. " THAT we shall, in like manner, without respect of Persons, endeavour
 " your the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church Government
 " by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deans
 " and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers de-
 " pending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Heresy, Schism, Prophaneness,
 " and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the
 " Power of Godliness; lest we partake in other Mens Sins, and thereby be
 " in Danger to receive of their Plagues; and the Lord may be one, and
 " his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

III. " WE shall, with the same Sincerity, Reality, and Constancy, in our
 " several Vocations, endeavour with our Estates, and Lives, mutually to
 " preserve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties
 " of the Kingdoms, and to preserve, and defend the King's Majesty's Per-
 " son, and Authority, in the Preservation and Defence of the true Reli-
 " gion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms; that the World may bear Wit-
 " ness,

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“ nefs, with our Consciences, of our Loyalty; and that we have no
 “ Thoughts or Intentions to diminish his Majesty’s just Power, and Great-
 “ nefs.

IV. “ WE shall also, with all Faithfulness, endeavour the Discovery of
 “ all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instru-
 “ ments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King
 “ from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any
 “ Factions or Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Co-
 “ venant; that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign
 “ Punishment, as the Degree of their Offences shall require or deserve;
 “ or the supreme Judicatures of both Kingdoms respectively, or others
 “ having Power from them for that Effect, shall judge convenient.

V. “ AND whereas the Happiness of a blessed Peace between these
 “ Kingdoms, denied in former Times to our Progenitors, is by the good
 “ Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded
 “ and settled by both Parliaments, we shall, each of us, according to our
 “ Places and Interest, endeavour, that they may remain conjoined in a
 “ firm Peace and Union to all Posterity, and that Justice may be done
 “ upon the wilful Opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent
 “ Articles.

VI. “ WE shall also, according to our Places and Callings, in this com-
 “ mon Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and
 “ defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the main-
 “ taining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly, or
 “ indirectly, by whatsoever Combination, Persuasion, or Terror, to be di-
 “ vided, and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether
 “ to make Desertion to the contrary Part, or to give ourselves to a detest-
 “ able Indifference or Neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerneth
 “ the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honour of the
 “ King; but shall, all the Days of our Lives, zealously and constantly con-
 “ tinue therein, against all Letts and Impediments whatsoever. And what
 “ we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal, and
 “ make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed; all which
 “ we shall do as in the Sight of God.

“ AND because these Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins, and Provoca-
 “ tions against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our
 “ present Distresses and Dangers, the Fruits thereof; we profess and declare,
 “ before God, and the World, our unfeigned Desire to be humbled for
 “ our Sins, and for the Sins of these Kingdoms; especially, that we have
 “ not, as we ought, valued the inestimable Benefit of the Gospel, that we
 “ have not laboured for the Purity, and Power thereof; and that we have
 “ not endeavoured to receive Christ in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of
 “ him in our Lives, which are the Causes of other Sins and Transgressions
 “ so much abounding amongst us: And our true, and unfeigned Purpose,
 “ Desire, and Endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our Power
 “ and Charge, both in Publick and in Private, in all Duties we owe to
 “ God and Man, to amend our Lives, and each one to go before another
 “ in the Example of a real Reformation; that the Lord may turn away
 “ his Wrath and heavy Indignation, and establish these Churches and King-
 “ doms in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant we make in the Presence
 “ of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to
 “ perform

“ perform the same, as we shall answer at that Great Day, when the Se-
 “ crets of all Hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord,
 “ to strengthen us by his holy Spirit, for this end; and to bless our De-
 “ fires, and Proceedings, with such Success, as may be a Deliverance and
 “ Safety to his People, and Encouragement to other Christian Churches,
 “ groaning under, or in Danger of the Yoke of Anti-Christian Tyranny,
 “ to join in the same, or like Association and Covenant, to the Glory of
 “ God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the Peace,
 “ and Tranquillity of Christian Kingdoms and Common-wealths.”

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THESE Articles were confirmed by the Parliament and General As-
 sembly of *Scotland* the 17th of *August*; and at the same Time, they or-
 dered all the Subjects of the Kingdom to swear and sign them. They
 were afterwards ratified by the meeting of Divines at *Westminster* the first
 of *September*, by the House of Commons the second, and by that of the
 Peers the fourth of the same Month.

THE Covenanters, who knew that this Action would make a great
 Noise in the World, immediately caused a Writing to be published, con-
 taining many Reasons, whereby they pretended to justify this Covenant;
 wherein they quoted the Scripture right or wrong, calling it to their As-
 sistance, and, according to their usual Custom, adapting it to all their
 Designs. These Reasons were: I. “ That the Controversies in Dispute at
 “ present in *England* were betwixt Jesus Christ, and Anti-Christ, and his
 “ Agents; so that the Representative Body of *England* making Applica-
 “ tion to that of *Scotland*, inviting them to give Assistance to the Lord,
 “ they could not refuse it them, without incurring the Curse of *Meroz*;
 “ because they were certain, that what Assistance they should give the
 “ Church of *England* at this Juncture, would be given to God himself,
 “ who would amply reward them for it. II. That the Parliament having
 “ made an Ordinance in the Year 1585, according to the Desire of the
 “ Assembly which was held in 1583, for making a League betwixt the
 “ two Nations, in which the other Protestant Princes and States were in-
 “ vited to join, for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, as well against
 “ all Designs of Foreigners, as against the Sedition of the Papists in the
 “ two Kingdoms; that League was signed in like manner betwixt the two
 “ Crowns at *Berwick* in 1586. Just so, in 1588, upon the Fear of the
 “ *Spanish Armada*, a Confession of Faith having been signed by Order of
 “ the King and his Council, by all the Subjects of the Kingdom, they
 “ bound themselves, by a solemn Oath, to join, with their Friends and
 “ Relations, against the whole Popish Faction, and their Favourers that
 “ should make any Disturbance. Therefore having now the same Cause
 “ to defend, the same Factions to struggle with, the same Dangers to a-
 “ void, they thought themselves bound to put in Execution at present,
 “ what they had sworn then. III. That they were sensible of what they
 “ owed to *England* for the Favours they had formerly received from it,
 “ when *Scotland* was in the same Condition, in which itself is at present.
 “ Such was the Assistance which they had against the *French*, who had
 “ Possession of the Port of *Leith*, and soon after they received a new Re-
 “ lief from it, by the Help of which they took the Castle of *Edinburgh*,
 “ which the Laird of *Grange* held out for the Queen, whereof mention
 “ is made in the publick Prayer, which is inserted before the Book of
 “ *Psalms*, in order to preserve the Memory of that Favour. Besides, in
 “ the late Troubles, the *English* not only refused to take Arms against
 “ them; but became Mediators of the Peace, kept up their Army a whole
 “ Year,

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“ Year, and, for Reparation of their Damages, made them a Present of a
 “ large Sum of Money: Which made the *Scots*, with good Reason, oblige
 “ themselves, to requite that Friendship, and, when Occasion should offer,
 “ to render them like for like, not in Words, but in Deeds, as they have
 “ promised in several of the Remonstrances, which they have sent to the
 “ Parliament of *England*. IV. That the common Danger, wherewith the
 “ Churches of the two Kingdoms are threatened, ought to oblige them to
 “ assist the Parliament of *England*, since, according to their own Language,
 “ they and the *English* were sailing in the same Ship, dwelling in the same
 “ House, and were Members of the same Body: Insomuch, that according
 “ to these Principles, if one of the two Nations, or of their Churches were
 “ ruined, the other could not long subsist, and if the Power of the Par-
 “ liament of *England* were destroyed, and Popery established there, both
 “ the Church and State of *Scotland* would be in a fair Way to be quite al-
 “ tered; because these two Kingdoms had the same Friends to preserve,
 “ the same Enemies to struggle with, the same Cause to support, and the
 “ same Hazard to run. Besides, that the Experience of many Years had
 “ sufficiently taught them, what powerful Influence Popery and Hierarchy
 “ might have upon *Scotland*, if they should be established in *England*, see-
 “ ing the Bishops, the Ceremonies, the Liturgy, and the Canons had come
 “ from thence, and that the War likewise from thence was solely owing
 “ to the Opposition which *Scotland* had made to all these Novelties. Which
 “ being the Case, they ought boldly to espouse the Interest of *England*,
 “ as the common Cause which equally concerned them all, and imploy
 “ their Strength for the Liberty of that Nation, if they had a Mind to
 “ shew any Zeal for Religion, Respect for the Laws, or Love for their
 “ Liberties. V. That the common Advantage, which the two Kingdoms
 “ may expect therefrom, ought to stir them up to give this Assistance; it
 “ being certain, that by granting it with a good Grace, they would find a
 “ noble Opportunity for bringing about a compleat Uniformity of their
 “ Communion in all Things, which would be the most strict Bond of their
 “ Union, and the greatest Bulwark of its Defence, and which, for that
 “ Reason, was as much longed for by all good Men, as it was dreaded by
 “ the Papists. That the *English* having already laid the Foundation of this
 “ Building, in overturning that great Idol of Episcopacy, with clasped
 “ Hands begged of them now to come and assist them in order to the fi-
 “ nishing of what they had so well begun, and crowning that Work, which
 “ could not but turn to the Comfort of the oppressed Churches in other
 “ Kingdoms, which would begin to recover Courage, and to strike Ter-
 “ ror into the Kingdom of Anti-Christ, which, without doubt, would re-
 “ ceive a considerable Wound from this holy Union. VI. That if they
 “ should leave *England* in the Lurch, they would forsake their best Friends,
 “ and those who could most conveniently assist them, if, in Process of
 “ Time, it should happen to them to be reduced to the Straits, into which
 “ their Neighbours have now fallen, by the Power of their common Ene-
 “ my, against whom they could not expect Assistance from any other
 “ Place, as well because some of the other Protestant Churches are at a
 “ Distance, as because the rest are under Oppression, so that if they should
 “ deprive themselves of the Help they might expect from *England*, by
 “ suffering its Parliament to be ruined, they would basely betray their own
 “ Interest, and pave the Way for the *English* to be even with them in
 “ their Straits. For as the Law of Nature teacheth us to do by others
 “ as we would be done by, probably they would require no less of their
 “ Neighbours, than a speedy Assistance, if it should happen again, as in
 “ the Time of Queen *Mary*, that the Popish and Prelatical Faction should
 “ be

" be uppermost. VII. That if they should suffer the Power of the Parlia- 1643.
 " ment of *England* to be weakened, their Peace would be for ever broke
 " with that Kingdom: Because having been once deceived by the break-
 " ing of the Treaty of *Dunee*, they resolved in good Earnest to make a
 " firm and lasting Peace, both for themselves and their Posterity, and found
 " no better Way to compass it, than by agreeing to all the Articles by the
 " Advice of this Parliament, which by that means became Surety that
 " the Peace should be durable. They likewise ingaged the publick Faith,
 " that they would treat all such as should act contrary to that Treaty,
 " and invade the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as Disturbers of the publick
 " Tranquillity. Therefore not only Religion, but even common Sense
 " taught them to preserve the Friendship of those who had obtained for
 " them not only the Liberty of Religion, but the Establishment of the
 " State against the Designs of the Papists and Bishops, their mortal Ene-
 " mies: Who at present still maintained that Liberty to them against the
 " same Persons, who had not only refused to pay the Contributions de-
 " manded of them for making War against them; but also who had pro-
 " cured them that brotherly Assistance, which ought never to be forgot-
 " ten; who, in fine, would probably still be ready to prevent their being
 " disturbed from *England*. But if, by the Fortune of War, these Sureties
 " of their Peace should be overcome by the Faction of Papists and Pre-
 " lates, who are the Occasion of the common Misfortune, 'tis not to be
 " doubted but the Storm may reach them; that the King and Parliament,
 " domineered over by that Faction, may declare War against them; and
 " that those wicked Men may, by all manner of Deceit, so manage those
 " in Power as to spur them on to that, having made that Nation's resist-
 " ing the King to pass for a Rebellion, and a Crime of High Treason.
 " VIII. That though they should be so ungenerous as to forsake their Bre-
 " thren, yet their Deliverance, as *Mordecai* very well said to *Esther*, would
 " come from another Place, and nothing could secure them, but they and
 " the Houses of their Fathers must be destroyed: Besides, that they could
 " not shun the Reproach of being also ungrateful towards God, who had
 " bestowed so particular a Favour upon them, having restored them to
 " the Liberty and Purity of the reformed Religion, if they did not assist
 " their Brethren in *England*, who both Day and Night were shedding
 " Tears of Blood, in their Prayers to God for a Reformation, since they
 " had the most favourable Opportunity of shewing their Love towards
 " JESUS CHRIST, and their Zeal for his Cause, that ever presented it
 " self to any Nation whatever, For which Cause, as the two Tribes of
 " *Reuben* and *Gad*, with the half of that of *Manasseh*, did not stand with
 " their Arms across in the Lands that fell to their Share, but taking their
 " Arms, they passed *Jordan* before their Brethren, in order to put them
 " in Possession of the *Land of Promise*; just so ought they to go before
 " theirs, in order to help them to drive out the *Canaanites*, and recover
 " the Liberty of the Gospel. In short, that this Assistance given to the
 " Parliament of *England* would be the only means to establish Peace be-
 " twixt the King and them, to put a Stop to the War, and to destroy all
 " the Enemies of Religion and the State: Because the Remonstrances
 " made to the King otherwise than with Sword in Hand, would never be
 " received, because of the common Enemies, who surround his Majesty,
 " and who make him shut his Ears to the Complaints of his Subjects.

ALL these Reasons had a very false Foundation: For lawful Leagues are made only betwixt Sovereign Princes; and though the two Nations were embarked in the same Ship, yet they could not arrive at the Port without

1643. having their Pilot; besides, what ever Zeal either of them had for Religion, it ought not to have been so warmly pursued, contrary to the Obedience which is due to the Prince. So that 'tis to be supposed, that what was repeated over and over, did not equally persuade all the Covenanters. For though the Clergy and People gave Way to the Passion they had to see Episcopacy ruined, the Altars pulled down, and the Liturgy abolished in *England*: And that they hoped to establish their Service and Presbyterian Government, in order, by that means, to secure themselves on that Side, from whence they always dreaded some Innovation; yet it was believed, that the chief of the Nobility and Gentry had more regard to what concerned the political Government; besides, it seemed that these considering, that the Parliament of *England* had made Propositions to the King for the Government of the State, and the Administration of Justice, like those which his Majesty had approved of in the last Parliament of *Scotland*, where the Circumstances of his Affairs seemed to oblige him then to grant what they desired, that he might not all at once draw the Strength of the two Kingdoms upon his Back; from thence they inferred, that assisting their Neighbours to establish the same Things in *England*, they would take the deeper Root, and be so much the more corroborated in *Scotland*. In a Word, all of them, as well the Zealots as the Politicians judged, that the two Nations being in the same Interests, the King would never attack the one but the other would run to its Assistance.

THEREFORE the Resolution was taken with great Zeal and much Courage, to send an Army into *England* for assisting the Parliament of that Kingdom; but, however, with the same Protestation that the Parliament had made when they took up Arms; that it was likewise for the Defence of the King's Person, Honour, and Authority: So that it seemed to many, that there was something in their Procedure not unlike that of a certain Emperor, who kept the Pope Prisoner in the Castle of *S. Angelo*, and for all that, caused Prayers to be said, and Processions to be made, at which he assisted in Person, for the Deliverance of him whom he kept Prisoner.

IN order to raise the auxiliary Troops, and at the same Time to provide for the Security of the Kingdom, the Parliament appointed particular Commissaries in all the Shires for mustering the Militia, gave Orders for the Subsistence of a Body of Troops in the Country, which was to be maintained at the Charges of the Shires, and at the same Time laid a Duty upon the most part of Commodities, for defraying the Charges of the Levies; but because a sufficient Sum could not so quickly be expected, the Parliament ordained, that all such as had Money should be desired to come and lend it to the State. That the publick Faith should be ingaged to them for those Loans, with such particular Security besides as they should require. That such as should refuse to comply therewith, should be compelled to do it by the Committees of Parliament. That, on the contrary, those who should frankly agree to it, would thereby express their Affection and Zeal for Religion, and the Good of their native Country. These Orders being given, and the Rates of the new Duties adjusted; the Parliament agreed to the following Articles with the Commissioners of the Parliament of *England*. I. " That, as soon as possible, an Army of eighteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse should be levied, and
" well armed, and each Man furnished with forty Days Provisions and
" Pay, and that it should appear at the Rendezvous which should be ap-
" pointed for it on the Borders, with a Train of Artillery suitable to such

“ an Army. II. That it should be commanded by a General to be named
“ by the Parliament of *Scotland*, and that it should follow the Orders,
“ which the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms should give with one Ac-
“ cord. III. That the Kingdom of *Scotland* should be at the Charges of
“ this Armament, which should afterwards be reimbursed by that of
“ *England*, as soon as the Peace should be proclaimed in the two King-
“ doms. IV. That the Parliament of *England* should pay to this Army
“ thirty thousand Pounds a Month, which Sum should be taken out of
“ the Estates of the Papists, Prelates, and their Adherents, whom they
“ called Malignants; and in case, that at the end of the Month, any
“ Thing be remaining unpaid of that Sum, the publick Faith should be
“ ingaged for satisfying it, with all the Arrears, and Interest at twelve *per*
“ *Cent.* V. That if the Parliament of *Scotland* thought they had Reason
“ to demand of their Brethren of *England* a more ample Satisfaction for
“ the Charges they may be forced to be at; and for the Dangers they
“ may run, they would ingage the publick Faith, that they should be
“ honourably recompenced. VI. That the Parliament of *England* should
“ advance a hundred thousand Pounds, which should be allowed to them
“ in the Payment of the first Month after the Arrival of the Army in
“ *England*. VII. That the Parliament of *Scotland*, in order to testify their
“ Zeal in Favour of the Affairs of *England*, should join the publick
“ Faith of their Kingdom to that of *England*, for a Loan of two hundred
“ Pounds, that the Parliament of *England* may the more quickly make
“ the necessary Advance for the Assistance demanded of their Brethren.
“ VIII. That no Treaty of Truce or Peace, nor even of Cessation of
“ Arms should be made, but by the common Advice of both Kingdoms.
“ IX. That that of *Scotland* should ingage the publick Faith, not to im-
“ ploy their Army to any other End, but to that which is contained in
“ the Covenant betwixt the two Nations. X. That as the Parliament of
“ *Scotland* was ready to assist their Brethren of *England*, these obliged
“ themselves in the same manner to assist the Kingdom of *Scotland* on the
“ like Occasion, and the same Conditions. XI. That while the *Scots* Ar-
“ my should continue in *England*, the Parliament of that Kingdom should
“ order eight Men of War to be fitted out, and maintained for the De-
“ fence of the Coast of *Scotland*, which should be commanded by such
“ Captains as the Earl of *Warwick* should appoint, with the Approbation,
“ however, of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms: Which with com-
“ mon Consent should give Orders to those Captains. XII. That a *Scots*
“ Garrison of six hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse, should be put
“ into the Town of *Berwick*, the Governor of which, as well as the prin-
“ cipal Officers of the Garrison, should be approved of by the Parlia-
“ ment of *England*, which should furnish a thousand Pounds a Month
“ for subsisting the Garrison. XIII. That the Parliament of *Scotland*
“ should ingage the publick Faith, for withdrawing their Garrison from
“ that Place, and demolishing all the new Fortifications they should make
“ for its Defence, when Peace should be made in the two Kingdoms.”

All these Articles were signed at *Edinburgh* the 29th of *November*, and in a short time after, the Army was ready to march into *England*. Thus was the Covenant and League concluded betwixt the two Nations, the Consequences of which have but too plainly demonstrated to the King, that the Advice of those, who at the Beginning persuaded him to sacrifice *Scotland*, in order to save *England*, tended only to make him lose both.

W H I L E

1643.

WHILE these Things were transacting in *Scotland* betwixt the Commissioners of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, the *Sieur de Bois-Yon*, a Gentleman sent by his most Christian Majesty, arrived there, and presented a Letter to the King's Privy Council, dated the 23^d of *September*, in these Words :

A Letter from
the King of
France to the
Privy Council
of Scotland.

“ MOST dear and great Friends, at all Times there have been Alliances between the Kings, our Predecessors, and those of *Scotland*, which have been so religiously and faithfully observed, that the Faith of both Nations has been acknowledged and published by all the People of the Earth as a Wonder. We have been brought up for having the Command of the first and most august Monarchy of *Europe*, and we are willing to preserve the Friendship of the most gallant Nation that inhabits it, and, in Testimony thereof, to concern ourselves in its Affairs. You have, with the Consent of the King of *Great-Britain*, sent to us, as your Delegate, the Earl of *Lothian*, who having gone away content; by the Advice of the Queen Regent, our most honoured Lady and Mother, we send to you the *Sieur de Bois-Yon*, in order to assure you of the Continuance of our Affection. He will have occasion to propose some Affairs to you, we desire you to give Credit to whatever he shall say to you from us, and to be pleased to give us Contentment therein as our true and ancient Allies: Which is what we expect from your Prudence, and that you will not be wanting to your own Interests, for which we shall always have a singular Regard, as you shall aim at the Obedience and Service of the King, your Master. So we pray God, most dear and great Friends, that he may have you under his holy Protection.”

THEIR most Christian Majesties concerning themselves more in the King's Affairs, than the other Allies of that Crown, made it appear that they had his Interests not much less at Heart than their own. Presently after the Death of the invincible *Lewis XIII.* the *Sieur de Cressy*, Steward of his Household, was sent to *England* to notify that Death, and to offer the Mediation of *France*, for accommodating the Differences between the King and his Subjects. For that end, the Count *d'Harcourt*, after having so often carried Terror amongst his Master's Enemies, went thither Ambassador extraordinary, in order to restore Peace amongst his Friends and Allies. However, it was not with the same Success: For amongst those he had found nothing that was able to withstand his Courage; but he could not subdue the Inflexibility and Stubbornness of these. At the same Time the Earl of *Norwich*, one of the ablest Men of the Age, was sent Ambassador extraordinary to *France*. That Lord confirmed at *Ruel* the Alliances betwixt the two Crowns, and served the King with so much Fidelity and Prudence, that he carried back from the Court of *France* this Testimony; that nothing could exceed the Zeal he had shewn for the good Success of the Affairs of the King, his Master, or the Care he had taken to serve him well.

THE King found more Resistance at *Gloucester*, than he could have imagined from so weak a Place. The Out-works were but half finished, and the Garrison consisted only of two thousand Men. The Town is situate upon a rising Ground, and the River of *Severn* runs by the Foot of the Walls towards the South-East, where it makes the little Island of *Alney*, very famous for the Duel that was fought there, between *Edmund Ironside*,

Ironside, and *Canutus*, the *Dane*. After these two Princes had fought many bloody Battles for the Crown, they resolved to decide their Differences by a Duel, and having gone over to this Island in Sight of their Armies, drawn up in order of Battle on both Sides of the River, they fought for a long time, without any Advantage on either Side; whereupon they entered into a Treaty, and divided the Kingdom betwixt them. But soon after *Edmund* having been murdered by a perfidious Captain, belonging to *Canutus*, this last remained sole Monarch.

THE King being come before *Gloucester*, caused it to be summoned by two Heralds, and promised, as well to the Garrison as Inhabitants, all manner of good Treatment if they would surrender it to him. They answered, that they were all ready to obey his Majesty's Commands, which should be presented to them by Order of Parliament. Whereupon Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Forth* having advanced with six thousand Horse, the Suburbs were set on Fire, and the Siege was immediately formed. Colonel *Masse*, who commanded in the Town, came nothing short of whatever the Parliament could expect of him. He made frequent Sallies, countermined the Mines of the Royalists, and took such prudent Measures, that the Houses suffered but little Damage by the red hot Bullets that were thrown into the Town.

IN the mean time, the Parliament having caused Recruits to be raised in all Haste for the Earl of *Essex*'s shattered Army, and obliged some of the Trained-band Regiments of *London* to hold themselves ready to join him, on the 24th of *August* he reviewed his Troops on *Hounslow-beath*, and marched that Night to *Colebrook*. From thence he marched to *Berton*, and appointed the general Rendezvous to be at *Brackley*, where, on the first of *September* the *London* Regiments joined him. But the Body of Reserve, which the Parliament had ordered to be levied for *Waller*, could not march so soon. As he continued his March towards *Gloucester*, he had some Skirmishes with Parties of the King's Troops, and the 5th of the same Month having drawn up his Army upon the rising Grounds of *Prestbury* in Sight of *Gloucester*, he caused four Cannon to be fired, to give Notice of his Arrival. Upon the Approach of this Army, the King ordered the Siege to be raised in order to go to meet *Essex*, and fight him. For it appeared, that the King's Business was first to defeat this new Army, and then not only *Gloucester*, but the whole Kingdom would easily be brought under his Obedience. The Earl marched in Battle Order to *Cheltenham*, the King's Troops skirmishing with him during his March, and, after he was incamped at *Cheltenham*, they beat up his Quarters. From thence he marched to *Gloucester*, where he was received with great Acclamations, and having left all Sorts of Provisions there, for standing out a new Siege, he marched directly for *Tewkesbury*, and from thence to *Cirencester*, of which he made himself Master very opportunely for his Army, which wanted Provisions, whereof he found good Store there. As he continued his March towards *Hungerford*, he was pursued by a Party of the King's Horse, who attacked his Rear-Guard very briskly, and handled it pretty roughly 'till it joined the main Body, then the Fight was more sharp, and maintained with great Courage on both Sides, there never having been a Rencounter, wherein more gallant Actions had been performed than in that. Amongst those who were killed upon the Spot of the King's Side, the Marquis of *Vieu-Ville*, who, pushed on by *French* Generosity, had put himself as a Volunteer in his Majesty's Army, and was in very great Esteem, all the Officers shewing him a great deal of Deference, was made

R r

Prisoner,

1643.

Prisoner, and after he had been discovered by an Officer of the Enemy's Horse, whom he had wounded in the Fight, he was basely murdered in cold Blood, and very much regretted by the King and the whole Nobility of the Army, who had admired the Wit and Courage of that young Nobleman.

The Battle of
Newbury.

THIS Rencounter was only the Fore-runner of the great Battle that was fought the next Day the 19th of *September* near *Newbury*. *Essex* thought that he indisputably had carried the Day: And, accordingly he was received some time after in great Triumph at *London*. On the contrary, the Royalists gave out, that they had remained Masters of the Field of Battle. Indeed *Essex* retired from it in great Haste, and pretended, that it was because he wanted Provisions. However that may be, the King lost that Day the Earls of *Carnarvan* and *Sunderland*, the Viscount of *Falkland* and Colonel *Morgan*; and the Parliament some Officers. As for the Number of the dead, they differed about that, both Sides thinking themselves victorious. But soon after *Cromwel* defeated a Body of an Army at *Horncastle* in *Lincolnshire*, commanded by the Lord *Withrington*. And about the same time the Marquis of *Newcastle* raised the Siege from before *Hull*, which he had put to great Straits, and which the Lord *Fairfax* had vigorously defended.

THE King being returned to *Oxford*, where he had fixed his Winter-Quarters, the Duke of *Hamilton* sent him Word from *Scotland*, that having still expected to have made the Covenanters understand, that Religion, Honour, and their own Interests ought to hinder them from entering into a League with the Parliament of *England*, and taking up Arms in their Favour; he saw now, that his Advices had been to no Purpose, and without minding the Remonstrances he had in vain made to them, they had resolved to send an Army into *England*, which they had raised since the Meeting of the Parliament, under Pretence of providing for the Security of the Kingdom. Whereupon he was obliged to break with them, and to make it appear to all the World, that he disapproved of their Proceedings. The King, surprized at this News, called for *Montrose*, who had followed him to *Oxford*, and told him, that he no longer doubted but the Account he had formerly given him was true, though he could never bring himself to believe it before. But now, seeing that Matters were so as he had represented them to him, he commanded him to tell him freely what he thought was fit to be done in this Conjunction, in order to drive back the Covenanters Army, who, not content with breaking all Laws, both divine and human, and plunging themselves into Rebellion, but were coming to foment that of their Neighbours likewise.

MONTROSE, who had already formed in his Mind a Plan of all that could be attempted for recovering the King's Affairs, answered his Majesty, that though the Evil was very great, and that it was a very difficult Matter to remedy it, seeing that the whole Body of the Kingdom was closely united, and powerfully fortified by a League offensive and defensive with the Parliament of *England*; yet, if he approved of his Advice, he would undertake some Diversion, which should be brought to a good Issue at the Peril of his Life, Affairs being in such a Condition, that they could not be worse, and that being carried on with more Vigour than formerly, perhaps their Face would quickly alter. He begged then of the King, that he would be pleased to give Orders for levying some Troops in *Ireland*, and transporting them to the Western Coast of *Scotland*.

Scotland. That his Majesty would order the Marquis of *Newcastle* to furnish him with as many Horse as he could. That he would send to the King of *Denmark* to desire of him a Supply of Men and Ammunition, which that Prince had constantly offered his Majesty these two Years; by which Means he hoped to make a Party that would stagger the League, and which, in his Opinion, would bring his Majesty's Subjects under his Obedience.

1643.

THE King approved of these Overtures, and at the same Time set about the Work. The Marquis of *Antrim*, an *Irish* Peer, but of a Scots Extract, being then at Court, his Majesty proposed to him to raise Men in *Ireland*. He accepted of the Commission, and obliged himself to transport two thousand Men into *Scotland*, and to land them in the Shire of *Kintire* before the Month of *April* of the following Year, at which time *Montrose* was to be in Arms in the same Kingdom. Colonel *Cockbrun* was at the same time dispatched into *Denmark*, and it was resolved, that *Montrose* himself should carry the Orders to the Marquis of *Newcastle*. Nothing remained but his Majesty's Commission for *Montrose*, who would not take upon him to command in Chief; for though he was of one of the most illustrious Families of *Scotland*, and that his Ancestors had been in the highest Employments, and possessed the greatest Offices of State; yet in order to shun Jealousy, and for the Good of the King's Service, which was the only Thing he aimed at, without regard to his own Advantage, he begged his Majesty to make Prince *Maurice*, his Nephew, General of the Royal Army in *Scotland*, of which he would accept to be Lieutenant General. The King approved of the Advice, and caused his Commission to be made out in the Form he had desired.

The Marquis
of Montrose's
Expedition in-
to Scotland.

WHILE these Things were a doing, the Duke of *Hamilton* left *Scotland* in order to come and wait upon the King. As soon as he arrived at *Oxford*, his Majesty caused him to be arrested, with the Earl of *Lanerick*, his Brother. Some Days after the Duke was carried to *Bristol*, and from thence to the strong Castle of *Pendennis*, which commands the fine Harbour of *Falmouth*. But the Earl having had only the Town for his Prison, found means to make his Escape, and went to *London*. The King having Account of it, he gave the Seal to Sir *Robert Spotswood*, who officiated as Secretary of State for a long Time. The Reason of the Duke's Disgrace was, that his Proceedings in *Scotland* not having pleased every body, Complaints had been made of them to the King, and his Majesty having a mind to inquire into them, thought fit to secure his Person. *Montrose* was likewise of that Opinion, and declared freely to the King, that if he was pleased to leave the Management of his Affairs any longer to the Duke, he begged his Majesty to allow him to be gone, in order to carry Arms somewhere else amongst the Allies of the Crown.

THE Covenanters having taken Possession of *Berwick* in the Month of *December*, and put a Scots Garrison into it, as had been agreed betwixt the two Nations, General *Lesly* entered *England* with the Auxiliary Army in the Beginning of the following Year, where he immediately took the Castle of *Wark* in *Northumberland*, and afterwards that of *Morpeth*, where he left a Part of his Baggage, which he could not carry farther because of the Season. At the same time the General caused *Blysnok*, a small Sea-Port, in the same County, to be fortified, whither Provisions might come from *Scotland* to the Army: Then having passed the River of *Tyne* upon a Bridge of Boats below *Newcastle*, he directed his March towards *Sunderland*,

The Covenant-
ers get Posses-
sion of Ber-
wick, and Ge-
neral Lesly
enters Eng-
land.

1643. *land*, a Sea-Port in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, at the Mouth of the *Wear*, which he caused to be fortified for the same Reason as he had done that of *Blyth*. From thence having advanced to *Dalton-hill*, Lieutenant General *King*, with a Detachment of the Royal Army, came to observe him. They skirmished for some time with Loss on both Sides; but at last *King* retired to *York*, and *Lesly* continued his March, in order to lay Siege to that great City, which was the Metropolitan of all *Scotland*, till the Pope withdrew the Bishops of the Kingdom from it. The Bishops of *Durham*, *Carlisle*, and *Chester*, are now its only Suffragans. All the other Bishops of *England*, and the Archbishop of *York* himself being now subject to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: Which was decided in a Synod held at *Windsor* in the Time of *William* the Conqueror, because *Thomas*, Treasurer of *Bayeux*, being advanced to that See, had refused to take the Oath of Canonical Obedience to *Lanfrancus*. This City is famous for having been the Residence of the Emperors *Severus* and *Constantius*, who ended their Days in it; besides, in the Opinion of some, its Tribunal has been honoured with the Person of that Oracle *Papinianus*, and it was in this City that the Imperial Constitution *De rei Vindicatione* was published, which is to be found in the 3^d Book of the *Code*, tit. 32. The River of *Ouse* passeth through the middle of the City; and in the *Swale*, which falls into it, the Archbishop *S. Paulinus* baptized ten thousand Saxons in one Day, and made an Army of regenerated Men spring out of the Bosom of that River, who with an Emulation lifted themselves under the Banner of the Cross.

LESLEY, on his March towards *York*, joined the Parliament of *England's* Troops, which came to meet him under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*, *Cromwell*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and Sir *Thomas*, his Son. This last is the Gentleman, whose martial Atchievements have since raised him so high, though he has not pushed his Greatness to that Height, to which it justly might have been carried: For when he saw himself Master of all the Forces of *England*, and that he had it in his Power to give Laws to the Parliament, he let slip so fair an Opportunity, which Fortune had presented to him, of setting the King upon his Throne again, and making himself one of the greatest and most glorious Subjects in *Europe*.

THIS Invasion of the *Scots* Covenanters obliged the King to call a Parliament of the Kingdom of *England* to meet at *Oxford*. It was composed, for the most part, of Members who had either withdrawn from, or been expelled the two Houses at *Westminster*, and in the Proclamation for calling it, dated the 22^d of *December*, the King offered a general Pardon to all such as had a mind to withdraw from them, and come to this Meeting at *Oxford*, which was opened the 22^d of *January*. Some of those who had been of the House of Commons in the Parliament at *Westminster*, were of the House of Peers in this: For 'tis sufficient in *England*, if the King thinks fit to write to a Gentleman to go and take his Place in the House of Peers, for making him a Lord, and those are called Lords under a Sign-Manual, to distinguish them from those who are declared such by Letters Patent.

IN the House of Peers were, the Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *York*, Duke of *Cumberland*, *Littleton*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, *Cottington*, Lord Treasurer, Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Dorset*, *Shrewsbury*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Leicester*, *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, *Carlisle*, *Bristol*, *Berkshire*, *Cleveland*, *Rivers*, *Dover*, *Peterborough*,

rough, Kingston, Newport, and Portland: The Viscounts of Conway and Cambden; the Lords Digby, Mowbray and Matravers, Wentworth, Cromwell, Rich, Paget, Chandois, Howard of Carleton, Lovelace, Savile, Mounbun, Dunsmore, Seymour, Piercy, Wilmot, Leg, Hatton, Jermyn, Carrington, Abergavenny, Arundel, Capel and Newport. There were a great many other Peers in the Royal Party, some of which were employed elsewhere for his Majesty's Service, or had Liberty of Absence, such as the Marquisses of Winchester, Worcester, and Newcastle; the Earls of Derby, Huntington, Clare, and Marlborough; the Viscount of Falconbridge, with the Lords Morley, Darcy, Stouton, Evers, Daincourt, Pawlet, Brudenel, Powis, Herbert of Chisbury, Hopton, Loughborough, Byron, Vaughan, and Withrington: Others were out of the Kingdom; to wit, the Earls of Arundel, St. Albans, and Norwich; the Viscounts of Montague and Stafford, with the Lords Stanhope, Coventry, Craven of Hampstead, and Craven of Ryton; besides the Earl of Chesterfield, and the Lord Montague of Boughton, whom the Parliament kept Prisoners. In the House of Commons there were one hundred and forty Members, who had all left the Parliament of Westminster, besides a great Number, who had Commands in the King's Army, or Employments elsewhere for his Service.

My LORDS and GENTLEMEN,

“ WHEN I call to mind the common Interest which you have in the Honour of the *English* Nation, and when at the same time I consider the Hardships each of you in particular has undergone, for the Proofs you have given me of your Fidelity; I cannot but look upon you as the Men in the World most capable of giving me Advice in what concerns the present State of my Affairs, since we run the same Risk, and that the same Force hath oppressed us all. I have called you, as well to be privy to my Intentions as Witnesses to my Actions. Surely if I had the least Thought of doing any Thing contrary to the Happiness and Security of the State, I would not call so good and faithful Counsellors as you. I likewise think that the good Understanding that will be amongst us, will so prevail upon the Minds of all my Subjects, that it will no longer be in the Power of those, whose Malice has had but too great Influence upon the People, to cast a Blemish upon my Actions, of which you shall be Witnesses; nor to make my Promises to be disregarded, whereof you shall be the Sureties. Almost all of you know how loath I was to have Recourse to Arms for my Defence; I had so great an Aversion to it, that before I took care of my Safety, I was very near falling into the Hands of those, who, in two pitched Battles, have sufficiently shewn the Respect and Affection they have for my Person. I not only foresaw the Oppression of my People, whose Condition grows every Day worse and worse, according as our Enemies discover their pernicious Designs; but also the Inconveniences that my good Subjects were to suffer by the Army which I was obliged to raise for their Protection: For I am not so ignorant of War, as not to have foreseen, that it was impossible for me to get Discipline to be observed in it, being in want, as I was, of all Things necessary for maintaining it in a regular Way. And I can assure you, that the Sufferings of those, who espouse my Interest, affect me more than all that concerns me in particular. I still hoped, that God would quickly calm the Storm, either by his Blessing upon my Arms, or by the Repentance of my Enemies: But on the contrary, Rage and Despair have made them more insolent and malicious, than I had imagined they could be; for instead of contributing towards the Pacification of the Kingdom, they have given a Call to

*The King's
Speech to the
Parliament at
Oxford.*

1643. " foreign Troops to invade it, and have been so impudent as to solicit
 " that Invasion in Name of the States of the Kingdom, and under Pre-
 " tence of the publick Good. As for you, my Lords and Gentlemen,
 " as you have bravely disclaimed such Proceedings, so you clearly see, that
 " my Subjects of *Scotland*, by taking up Arms, have broke the Peace
 " which had been so solemnly made by your Care between the two Na-
 " tions, and that they intend no less than the Alteration of your Laws,
 " and the Conquest of your Country. I shall send you what Accounts I
 " have already had of that Rebellion, and such as I may hereafter receive.
 " I request you, without Loss of Time, to deliberate quickly upon what
 " is fit to be done in the present Juncture of the Affairs of both Nations.
 " As we have but one Aim, 'tis to be thought that we shall have but little
 " Difficulty in agreeing upon the Means for attaining it. Let us, in a par-
 " ticular Manner, take care of our Religion as the Foundation and Basis
 " of all our Happiness: Let us restore Royal Majesty to its ancient Splen-
 " dour, and its Rights, upon which yours depend: Let us preserve your
 " Liberties, and all your Privileges, without which I would not be your
 " King. For my part I promise to concur with you in all the Proposi-
 " tions which you shall make, and to join with you in whatsoever you
 " shall find reasonable for the restoring of Peace, and for the Prosperity
 " of the Kingdom."

THIS Parliament, according to the King's good Intentions, forthwith applied themselves with great care to find out means for re-establishing Peace: And as they had perceived that the Offers, which the King had made to treat with the two Houses that had continued at *Westminster*, had taken no Effect, they thought fit to write to them in their own Name. But because the Lords and Commons, who had continued there, had prohibited any kind of Address to be made to them, except through the Hands of the Earl of *Essex*, their General, those at *Oxford* resolved to write to *Essex*, " conjuring him by all the Obligations that have Power upon Honour or Conscience, to reflect upon the deplorable State of his native
 " Country, and to join with them in the Desire they had to treat with
 " some of those by whom he was trusted with the Command of their
 " Troops, to the end that some good Men on either part being met in a
 " Place that should be agreed on, the utter Ruin and Desolation of the
 " Kingdom may be prevented, which otherwise was inevitable." The Letter, which was dated the 27th of *January*, was signed as well by their Royal Highnesses, as by all the Peers and Members of the two Houses, and was sent to the Earl of *Essex* under the Cover of the Earl of *Forth*, General of the King's Army.

ESSEX answered that Earl, " that he had found in the Packet, a
 " Writing signed by the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *York*, and a great
 " many other Lords and Gentlemen; but that Writing not being addres-
 " sed to the Parliament, nor containing any Acknowledgment of them, he
 " could not impart it to them; for as much as they and he were resolved
 " to spend the very last Drop of their Blood, for the Defence of the
 " Parliament of *England*, and their Privileges; because these were the
 " Foundation upon which their Laws and Liberties were built." With the Letter he sent a Copy of the Covenant between the two Nations, with a Declaration of the two Kingdoms upon the Entry of the *Scots* into *England*.

THE two Houses at *Oxford* took this Answer for a Refusal, which those at *Westminster* made of the Treaty; because they had appointed Commissioners for drawing up the Answer with *Essex*, and that what he alledged concerning the Address of their Letter, was nothing but a Pretence the better to cloke the Affair. These were the Expressions which the Parliament at *Oxford* made use of in the Declaration which they published of this Negotiation. To which they added, "That the Covenant which
 " had been sent them could mean nothing else, but that they must join
 " with the Covenanters, as well for the Suppression of Episcopal Govern-
 " ment, as for exposing the Estates, Lives, and Honour of all those who
 " had served his Majesty, and likewise for approving the Invasion of the
 " Scots, before they could expect to treat with the Parliament at *West-*
 " *minster*. But they judged that Procedure to be so much the more ex-
 " traordinary, as, besides, that they looked upon the Covenant to be a
 " seditious, disloyal, and criminal League, as the King had declared it in
 " his Proclamation of the 19th of *October* before, it destroyed the Nature
 " of the Treaty; because if they should accept it, nothing would remain
 " to be decided, the Covenant containing all that the Covenanters of the
 " two Nations could demand."

1643.

THESE so uncommon Proceedings did not discourage the Parliament of *Oxford*, who, not having a mind to break about controverted Qualities and Titles, judged, that they must write no more; but beg of the King to send some Persons to *Westminster* that were not suspected by either Side, with Instructions for demanding a Treaty. His Majesty consenting to that, named two Gentlemen of great Reputation, *Richard Fanshawe* and *Thomas Offly*, and ordered the Earl of *Forth* to write to the Earl of *Essex* for getting them a Pass-Port; because without that no Body could go in Safety from the King to *London*. *Forth* having written to *Essex*, he gave him to understand by his Answer, that when it should please the King to require a safe Conduct from the Parliament at *Westminster* for these Gentlemen, he would contribute with all his Power to so good a Work, as the Understanding was, and which every Man ought to wish for between the King and the two Houses of Parliament, his only Council.

THE Parliament of *Oxford* observed, that *Essex* had not answered directly to *Forth's* Demand, and thought it strange that he had called their Party the King's only Council, thereby making them their Judges, and depriving of that Honour, not only the two Houses of Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, by the same Authority as those at *Westminster*; but likewise his Majesty's Privy Council, and his learned Council at Law. Nevertheless as there was nothing that could discourage them in so just and glorious an Undertaking; they humbly begged his Majesty to be pleased to write once more to the two Houses at *Westminster*, and in order to obviate the Objections that they might make to the Direction of his Letters, to address them *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster*. The King was so good as to yield to that, and sent them his Letters, dated the 3^d of *March*, "whereby he invited them to a Conference, leaving it to their Opinion to make Choice of the Persons as well
 " as the Number, the Time, and the Place where their Conference should
 " be held with those whom he should send. Above all Things he ex-
 " horted them to think upon means whereby all the Members of the two
 " Houses of Parliament may freely meet, in order to confer together a-
 " bout

*The Substance
 of the King's
 Letter to the
 two Houses of
 Parliament at
 Westminster.*

1643. "bout the publick Affairs, which were in so miserable a State, that one
 " must be altogether insensible not to be affected with it."

THIS Letter of the King's was sent by the Earl of *Forth* to the Earl of *Essex*, who having presented it to the Parliament at *Westminster*, they made an Answer which *Essex* sent by a Trumpet to *Forth* to be presented to his Majesty. Their Letter was dated the 9th of *March*, and signed by *Grey of Warke*, Speaker of the House of Peers in Parliament *pro tempore*, and by *William Lenthall* Speaker of Commons in Parliament, and was as follows:

May it please your Majesty,

*The Answer of
the two Houses.*

"WE the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*, taking into our Consideration a Letter sent from your Majesty, dated the 3^d of *March* Instant, and directed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster* (which, by the Contents of a Letter from the Earl of *Forth* unto the Lord General the Earl of *Essex*, we conceive was intended to ourselves) have resolved with the concurrent Advice, and Consent of the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to represent to your Majesty, in all Humility and Plainness, as followeth: That as we have used all means for a just and safe Peace, so will we never be wanting to do our utmost for the procuring thereof; but when we consider the Expressions in that Letter of your Majesty's, we have more sad and despairing Thoughts of attaining the same than ever; because thereby, those Persons now assembled at *Oxford*, who, contrary to their Duty, have deserted your Parliament, are put into an equal Condition with it. And this present Parliament, convened according to the known and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom (the Continuance whereof is established by a Law consented to by your Majesty) is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the Scope and Intention of that Letter being to make Provision, how all the Members, as is pretended, of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament; whereof no other Conclusion can be made, but that this present Parliament is not a full, nor free Convention; and to make it a full and free Convention of Parliament, the Presence of those is necessary, who notwithstanding that they have deserted that great Trust, and do levy War against the Parliament, are pretended to be Members of the two Houses of Parliament.

"AND hereupon we think ourselves bound to let your Majesty know, that seeing the Continuance of this Parliament is settled by a Law, which (as all other Laws of your Kingdom) your Majesty hath sworn to maintain, as we are sworn to our Allegiance to your Majesty (these Obligations being reciprocal) we must in Duty, and accordingly are resolved, with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend and preserve the just Rights and full Power of this Parliament; and do beseech your Majesty to be assured, that your Majesty's royal and hearty Concurrence with us herein, will be the most effectual and ready Means of procuring a firm and lasting Peace in all your Majesty's Dominions, and begetting a perfect Understanding between your Majesty and your People: Without which, your Majesty's most earnest Professions, and our most real Intentions concerning the same must necessarily be frustrated. And in case your Majesty's three Kingdoms should, by reason thereof, remain in this sad and bleeding Condition, tending, by the Continuance of this unnatural War, to their Ruin, your Majesty cannot be the least, nor the last Sufferer.

“ferer. God in his Goodness incline your royal Breast, out of Pity
“and Compassion to those deep Sufferings of your innocent People, to
“put a speedy and happy Issue to these desperate Evils, by the joint Ad-
“vice of both your Kingdoms, now happily united in this Cause by their
“late solemn League and Covenant; which as it will prove the surest
“Remedy, so it is the earnest Prayer of your Majesty’s loving Subjects,
“the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*. 1643.

THE Parliament assembled at *Oxford* found Fault with many Things in this Answer of the other Parliament at *Westminster*. In the first Place they did not approve of some Expressions, which Subjects, that are willing to continue dutiful, ought not to make use of, such as their calling his Majesty’s Endeavours for obtaining Peace, *a bare Profession*, setting off their feigned Propositions for the same Thing, under the Name of *real Intentions*: But they were yet more surprized at this Threat; *That the King would not be the last, nor the least Sufferer*: That Expression seemed to them to be of a dangerous Consequence, coming from Subjects in Arms against their King. They were more surprized at the Contents of the Letter, and wondered, that those who called themselves the Parliament of the Kingdom, neither would, nor could agree upon what Answer they were to give the King, without the Advice and Consent of the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*: So that the *Scots* had got a Negative Voice, and those Lords and Commons, who, in their former Letter, had a mind to pass for the King’s only Council, were now no longer such without the Conjunction of the *Scots* Commissioners. That being the Case, the Lords and Commons assembled at *Oxford* desired to know, by what Law the two Houses at *Westminster* could exclude them from having Seat and Voice in the Parliament, they, who had been legally called to it, and admit therein Men of another Kingdom, who, on the contrary, were not bound to go by the Laws of *England* in their Deliberations.

ABOVE all, they thought their Expressions to the King very odd concerning the Observance of the Laws, putting him in mind, that he had sworn to maintain them, in the same Manner as they were bound to observe their Allegiance to him, these Obligations being reciprocal. The Parliament of *Oxford* joined with them, that that was true in one Sense, to wit, that they both ought to keep their Oaths; but whoever would explain the Parliament of *Westminster*’s Letter according to the Words of their Covenant, wherein they have sworn to defend the King’s Person and Authority, as he shall preserve the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, would find another Sense; which is, that Subjects may dispense with the Oath of Allegiance they have sworn; whenever, in their Opinion, the King fails in his Duty, making themselves Judges of that Failing, and assuming to themselves the Liberty of rising in Arms against their Sovereign. Which is a Principle destructive of all Government, which the Parliament of *Westminster* took care not to own, lest the People should make use of it against themselves, and come to shake off the Yoke under which they were groaning: Because those who spoke most of the Obligation Men were under of observing the Laws, laboured more to destroy them than others, by the Power which they had assumed of rising in Arms without the King’s Consent: Of making their Ordinances to pass for Laws legally established: Of imposing Taxes: Of issuing out Warrants against such as refused to pay them: And of disposing at their Pleasure of the Estates and Persons of all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom in an arbitrary manner.

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THE Parliament of *Oxford* acknowledged, that since the War, they themselves as well as many others of his Majesty's faithful Subjects, who were under the Protection of his Army, had suffered much, and been put to great Charges: However, they did not pretend that these Things were done by virtue of any Laws; but only either by voluntary Contributions, or by a fatal Necessity of contributing, which always attends War, and which likewise must cease when this Rebellion should be suppressed. In fine, they declared, that having hitherto concurred with the King in the Design of giving Peace to his People, though their Endeavours have been hitherto fruitless, they were resolved not to desert their Religion, to maintain their Laws and Liberties, and to hazard their Lives in supporting them, in recovering as well the Rights of the Crown, as the Privileges of Parliament, and in driving back the *Scots* who were attempting to invade the Kingdom.

AFTER that the Parliament of *Oxford* had lost all Hopes of being able to treat with the two Houses of *Westminster*, they gave Orders for the Subsistence of the King's Army, and declared many Actions of those Houses High Treason, among the rest their Ordinance for making a new Great Seal. As they were ready to take Leave of the King in order to set about the Work in their several Counties, they begged five Things of his Majesty in order to remove all the Fears and Jealousies with which the Minds of the People had been filled: I. To cause the Declaration which he had made at the Head of his Army, and the other Declarations, wherein he had expressed his constant Resolution to maintain the Protestant Religion, to be reprinted, and dispersed amongst the People with more care than formerly. II. To call a National Synod as soon as there should be a full and free Meeting of Parliament for re-establishing the Peace of their Church, and finding out some Temperament that may ease the tender Consciences of his Protestant Subjects. III. To declare that he would inviolably observe the Laws, without suffering them to be altered, but by the Advice of Parliament. IV. To inform all his good and faithful Subjects, that if he should suppress this Rebellion by the Force of Arms, he would steadfastly and as often as possible continue to advise with his Parliament. V. That his Majesty would be pleased to let all the World know, that he did not mean that the Impositions, Taxes, and other extraordinary Contributions, raised for the levying and subsisting of his Troops, should be brought into Precedent; but that they should cease and end with the War. The King took this Request in good Part from his Parliament, and gave them all the Satisfaction they wanted as to that; after which, having recommended as well to those who had Commands in his Army, as to such as were employed about subsisting of it, to use their utmost Endeavour, that the People might be as little over-charged as possible, they broke up the 16th of *April*, with Design, however, to meet again the 8th of *October* following.

A Declaration
ordered to be
drawn up by
Montrose, and
subscribed by
the Scots Nobility
and Gentry
then at Oxford.

IN the mean time, *Montrose*, before he left *Oxford*, caused a Declaration to be drawn up, in order to be subscribed by all the *Scotsmen* that were there then in great Numbers, as well for ingaging them, as for finding out what Party each Man was to side with. The Purport of the Declaration was very near as follows: "Seeing of all the King's Subjects we ought to be
" the most sensibly affected with the deplorable Condition of his Kingdoms,
" the Shame and Confusion of which reflect particularly upon our Nation:
" And whereas likewise Foreigners, who see all Things pass by public
" lick

“ lick Authority in Appearance, would have Reason to believe, that the
 “ whole Kingdom were equally guilty: To the end therefore, that a Di-
 “ stinction may be made between a perfidious Faction of Rebels and the
 “ Body of the Nation: We all, who are here met, declare for all the
 “ faithful Subjects of *Scotland*, and for ourselves, that we disclaim the last
 “ Meeting of Parliament, and that we hold all that has been determined
 “ therein to be illegal and criminal. That we abhor and detest that abo-
 “ minable Covenant made between the two Nations, into which we pro-
 “ mise upon our Honour never to enter upon any Consideration whatso-
 “ ever; on the contrary, that we will with all our Might oppose that
 “ Army of Rebels, which has been raised against the King and State of
 “ *England*. Therefore we humbly intreat the two Houses of Parliament,
 “ lawfully assembled in this Place, to join with us in the Request which
 “ we have to present to his Majesty, which is: That all *Scotsmen*, who
 “ shall refuse to subscribe this Declaration, be driven out from among the
 “ King’s faithful and loyal Subjects, and be reputed Favourers of the Re-
 “ bels of the two Kingdoms.” The Earls of *Traquaire*, *Crawford*, *Nithsf-*
dale, *Kinowl*, and *Aboyn*, the Lords *Rae* and *Ogilvie*, *William Murray* of
 the King’s Bed-Chamber, with the rest of the *Scots* Nobility and Gentry
 that were then at Court, subscribed this Declaration, and offered all that
 was in their Power for his Majesty’s Service.

MONTROSE having thus engaged in the Party a good Number of
 his Countrymen, took Leave of the King, and forthwith set out for *Scot-*
land with so much Haste, that in the Beginning of *March* he got to *Dur-*
ham. He found the Marquis of *Newcastle* there, to whom he presented
 the King’s Orders, and gave him an account of all that had passed at
 Court. But though that Nobleman was one of the greatest Sticklers for
 the King’s Service, and who would have done all that he judged necessary
 for powerfully opposing his Majesty’s Enemies, nevertheless having to do
 with two Armies, and many Places to garrison, he could not afford *Mon-*
trose so many Horse as he expected; all that he could do was to give him
 a hundred Horse and two Field Pieces: This might have reasonably stopt
Montrose from advancing farther, but either to wait the Succour that was
 expected from *Denmark*, or till some considerable Body of an Army should
 draw together in the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*, whither
 the Marquis of *Newcastle* had sent the King’s Orders for raising the Mili-
 tia, and joining *Montrose*. But calling to mind, that the Time drew near
 for performing the Promise, which he and the Marquis of *Antrim* had
 made, which he had no mind to break whatever should happen, he went
 forward to *Carlisle*. The Nobility and Gentry of these Parts expressed a
 great deal of good Will for the King’s Service, and with a good Grace of-
 fered to join *Montrose*. He had then eight hundred Foot, and two hun-
 dred Horse, and the Nobility and Gentry having furnished him with two
 hundred more, and some Companies of Foot, which being joined toge-
 ther might make about two thousand Men, he entered *Scotland* the 14th
 of *April*.

BUT some disaffected Persons, and who were in the Covenanters Inte-
 rest, having made the *English* Troops mutiny at the River of *Anan*, they
 refused to pass it. *Montrose* notwithstanding continued his March with
 what remained, and took the Town of *Dumfries* without any Opposition,
 where having staid some time to inform himself of the State of the King-
 dom, and to get News of the Marquis of *Antrim*, who according to his
 Promise ought to have been landed in *Scotland*, he could get no account
 of

1644. of him, nor saw he any Person that so much as mentioned him. Besides, the *English*, who had appeared to be so heartily for the Cause before, persisted in refusing to go farther. Moreover, the Country was in Arms, and the Earl of *Callander* was marching with an Army in order to join General *Lesly* at the Siege of *York*, which obliged *Montrose* to march back to *Carlisle*, from whence having sent back Spies into *Scotland*, he had no mind to shut himself up in that Place, nor to remain any where useless to his Masters Service; but joining with the *English*, who had deserted him, without shewing them the least Resentment of it, he assisted them in retaking the Castle of *Morpeth*, and an important Fort at the Mouth of the *Tyne*, from the Covenanters.

IN the mean time, the King's Troops made some Progress in other Places. In *Wiltshire* Sir *Francis Doddington*, after a long Siege, had made himself Master of *Warder* Castle, and Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Governor of *Worcester* for his Majesty, of that of *Sturton* in *Staffordshire*. About the same time Colonel *Woodhouse* had taken the Castle of *Hopton* in the County of *Salop*, and Colonel *Ellies* the strong House of *Apley*, in the same County. Prince *Rupert* had likewise taken the Castles of *Longford* and *Tonge*, and raised the Siege of *Newark*, which the Parliament's Troops had besieged for three Months: In consequence of which they very soon after left *Lincoln*. It was there, where *William*, King of *Scotland*, and *John*, King of *England*, having met as the Corps of *S. Hugo*, who had been Bishop of that See, was carrying thither, they went to meet the Company, not thinking it below them to carry the Corps of that holy Prelate to his Church upon their Shoulders.

PRINCE *Maurice* took by Storm *Studland* Castle in *Dorsetshire*, and the Garrison of *Gloucester* having attacked *Newent*, was repulsed by Colonel *Minnes*, Governor of the Place, with the Loss of some of their Men, and two Pieces of Cannon. The Garrison of *Plymouth* came no better off in the Attack of *Mount-Edgecomb*: But it fared better with the Garrison of *Latham* in *Lancashire*, who having made a great Sally upon the Besiegers, put all to the Sword that were in the Trenches, put the rest to the Flight, and carried off with them to the Castle three Pieces of Cannon. Prince *Rupert* having immediately after taken *Bolton*, in the same County, by Storm, and *Stockport*, in *Cheshire*, threw a Supply into these Places.

IN the mean time, the Parliament's two principal Armies, under the Command of *Effex* and *Waller*, being joined at *Blewbury* in *Berkshire*, they marched to *Abingdon*, where *Waller* having halted, with a Design to block up *Oxford* on the South Side, *Effex* marched to *Islip*, in order to invest it on the North Side.

THE King perceiving their Design of besieging *Oxford*, gave all the necessary Orders for the Security of the Place, and marched at the Head of his Army to *Worcester*, from whence he sent some Troops who reinforced *Dudley* Castle. *Effex* having had Advice of the King's March, passed the River of *Charwell*, and followed his Majesty as far as *Chipping-Norton*, from thence he marched back to *Burford*, where having ordered *Waller* to observe the King's March, he had a mind to have the Honour of taking the Castle of *Lesitbiel* himself.

WALLER, in order to stop the King's Way, marched into *Staffordshire*; whereupon his Majesty having resolved to reinforce his Army with
the

the Regiments which he had left at *Oxford*, he returned to *Whitney*: On the other Hand *Waller* reinforced his with the Garrisons of *Gloucester*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Northampton*, and appointed his Rendezvous in *Keynton* Field. Of which the King being informed, he resolved to meet him, and on the 26th of *June* took up his Quarters at *Brackley*; the next Day having advanced to *Banbury*, he found *Waller* in Order of Battle in a very advantageous Post, surrounded with Ditches and a Morass; so that it would have been running too great a Risk to attack him in that Place. But the King, in order to draw him to an Engagement, having retired towards *Cropredy*, *Waller* quitted his Post, and marched after the King, the River of *Charwell* being between the two Armies; whereupon his Majesty expecting to make *Waller* pass it, drew off from *Cropredy* leaving the Bridge free to him: Which *Waller* taking to be a great Advantage, he immediately made two thousand Horse, with a great Body of Foot, and fourteen Pieces of Cannon pass the Bridge. The Earl of *Cleveland*, who commanded the Rear-guard of the King's Army, facing about, charged them very vigorously; and at the same time the Earl of *Northampton*, with the same Courage, charged the rest of the Troops that were fording the River. In this Fight *Waller*, lost his Cannon, and above three hundred Men, besides a much greater Number that were made Prisoners. The King did not lose twenty Men, amongst whom were Sir *William Boteler*, and Sir *William Clarke*, who had acquired great Reputation in his Majesty's Army.

The Fight of
Cropredy.

THE Siege continuing still before *York*, where Provisions began to fail, towards the Beginning of *July* Prince *Rupert* marched to its Relief, and sent for *Montrose* to come and join him with all his Troops. *Montrose* set out immediately, and marched to *Northallerton*; but what Haste soever he made, the Battle was over before he could reach the Army. Upon the Prince's Approach, the three Armies, to wit, that of the *Scots* Covenanters, that of *Manchester*, which *Cromwell* commanded, who was that Earl's Lieutenant General, and that commanded by *Fairfax* and Sir *Thomas*, his Son, raised the Siege, and incamped on *Marston-Moor*. Their Design was to intercept the Relief which the Prince intended to throw into the Town, or, whatever should happen, to give him Battle. The Prince still continued his March, and incamped very near the Enemy the first Day of *July*. That same Night the Marquis of *Newcastle* and Lieutenant General *King* went out of the Town, in order to discourse with the Prince about what was fit to be done. He ordered them to return, and to march out the next Morning with the Garrison, which consisted of about six thousand Men, and with all the Inhabitants that he could induce to take Arms, declaring to them, that he was resolved to fight the Enemy, though some were of Opinion that a Relief ought rather to be thrown into *York*.

BY Break of Day the Covenanters Army, and that of the Prince were drawn up in Order of Battle, having a long Hedge betwixt their main Bodies, however their Wings were in Sight of one another both on the Right and Left. About eight a-Clock in the Morning the Prince gave Orders to salute the Enemy with a Volley of Cannon-Shot, which the Covenanters answered: And without either of them quitting their Posts, they continued cannonading one another all the rest of the Day, the Prince still waiting impatiently for *Newcastle's* falling out of the Town with his Troops, in order to begin the Battle. But it happening to be Muster-day, when the Soldiers were to receive their Pay, without which they would

1644. not march; and it being to be raised out of the Contributions of the Inhabitants, the whole Day was spent in collecting it; so that *Newcastle* and *King* could not march out sooner than Five a-Clock at Night. The Prince was highly incensed against them, as well for having staid so long, as for having been so ill accompanied, fretting at the Loss of Time. Many Officers were against engaging that Day. They represented, that Night was approaching; that the Enemy was by much stronger than they; that the next Day some Companies of the Inhabitants might be drawn out of the Town, who had not had Time to take Arms, and that *Montrose* might join them: In fine, that they ought to run no Hazard, since the good or bad Success of the King's Affairs in *England* depended upon that Battle.

The Battle of Marston-moor. During this Deliberation, the Covenanters, looking upon themselves to be strongest, and perceiving that the Disposition of the Prince's Army was altered by *King*, and that the Troops were not as yet drawn up, their left Wing began the Fight with Pistol-Shot: Whereupon the Prince, transported with a generous Passion for fighting, without minding those who advised a Retreat, put himself upon the right Wing, where the Horse, on that occasion, not answering the Expectation he had of them, gave Ground, and falling foul upon the Foot, run quite away: But the left Wing, commanded by Colonel *Goring*, broke bravely through the Covenanter's right Wing, where General *Lesly* was, and put it into Confusion. That General prognosticating no Good from the Success of the Day, rallied some Squadrons of Horse, and cried loud out, that he could not survive that Misfortune, and that he chose rather to die in the Battle: Sir *Adam Hepburn*, one of the Lords of the Court of Sessions, who was then hard by him, being of the Committee of the Army, with clasped Hands begged of him not to hazard his Person, upon the Safety of which, next to God, depended that of the Common Cause: Which so provoked Major General *David Lesly*, who commanded the Horse, that the General with Difficulty hindered him from running *Hepburn* through with his Sword. The Fight being very sharp, all the Generals of the covenanted Army fled, *Lesly* to *Wetherby*, and *Fairfax* to *Carwood*, and there being nothing but Confusion and Disorder on all Sides, the Prince retired into the Town with *Newcastle*, who had no Command in the Army, having all the Time fought on the Head of his own Troop of Horse: So that Night coming on, both Sides thought they had lost the Battle.

IN the mean time, *David Lesly* having still stood his Ground with some Regiments of *Scots* Horse, and of Foot of both Nations, *Cromwell*, who had been wounded at the first Onset, and had retired only to have his Wounds drest, returned after the Battle, joined *Lesly*, and then in the Night-time many Troops rallied, and returned to the Field of Battle; where the Generals did not appear till two Days after. The Prince being told, that the Covenanters had rallied, sent *John Hurry* in the Morning to view them; that Officer having given him an Account of their Number, the Prince, though he had rallied the greatest Part of his Horse, saw that of Necessity he must make a counter March through *Lancashire* for reinforcing his Army. Before he left the Town, there passed some hard Words betwixt him and *Newcastle*, whose Commission he took from him, and, having given Credit to another Account he had got, that the Covenanters were not so strong as they had been represented, he also broke *Hurry*; which was the Cause of that excellent Officer's going over to the Covenanters, and of the Marquis of *Newcastle*'s and General *King*'s retiring to *Scarborough*, where they took Shipping in a Vessel that was bound to *Hamburg*.

ON the King's Side, the Lord *Kerry*, Sir *Thomas Metham*, and the Colonels *Ewer* and *Townley*, with about fifteen hundred Men, the most part of them of the Garrison, who behaved gallantly, were killed in the Battle; and Sir *Charles Lucas*, with the Colonels *Porter* and *Tillard* were taken Prisoners. There were more killed on the Covenanter's Side, who, having had Advice of the Prince's Retreat, drew off their Cannon, with a part of those that he had left, and their Generals being returned, they laid Siege again to *York*, which was surrendered upon Articles. The Capitulation was, that the Garrison that was to march in should be all *English*: And truly the *Scots* had no great Mind to have it; for as 'tis a very large Place, the greatest Part of their Army would scarce have been sufficient to guard it. *Berwick*, which they had, with *Newcastle* and *Carlisle*, which they took very soon after, were more convenient for them.

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*York delivered
to the Parlia-
ment Forces.*

WHILE these Things were a doing, the Earl of *Callander* enters *England* with a Reinforcement of seven thousand Men, takes *Hartlepool*, and, after the Battle of *Marston-Moor*, invests the Town of *Newcastle* on the *Durham* Side: The City of *York* being taken, General *Lesly* marched immediately, and invested it on the *Northumberland* Side, where the Siege lasted two Months, at the end of which the Town was taken by Storm. The Earl of *Crawford*, who commanded in the Castle, was forced to surrender at Discretion, and from thence was carried Prisoner to *Edinburgh*. He was led on Foot, bare-headed through the high Street, and was imprisoned in the *Tolbooth*, the Covenanters not allowing him the Honour of being put into the Castle, though he was one of the ancientest Earls of the Kingdom.

WHILE Matters were thus passing in *England*, the General Assembly, which had been appointed to sit on the 29th of *May*, met at *Edinburgh*, and taxed the Declaration subscribed by the *Scots* Nobility and Gentry at *Oxford* with Treachery, and Blasphemy against the solemn League and Covenant between the three Kingdoms, and ordained that all such as had subscribed it should be excommunicated, if they did not acknowledge their Fault, and do publick Pennance. Moreover they ordained, that after the Sentence of Excommunication should be fulminated against them, they could not be absolved from it but on their Death-bed. They likewise ordained, that the Marquis of *Huntley*, Chief of the powerful Family of the *Gordons*, who had taken Arms for the King in the North, should be dealt with in the same manner as *Montrose* had been. The rest of the Time was imployed in answering a great many Letters, which had been sent them by the Assembly of *London*, by many Ministers of *Ireland*, and by their Brethren that were with the Army in *England*. They likewise wrote a long Letter of Thanks to the *Classes* of the *Low-Countries*, for the Assistance they had given their Brethren in *Ireland*, and for the Part they took in the Affairs of *Scotland*. The Assembly ended with appointing another to meet in the Month of *May* 1645.

AT the same time the Convention of Estates, by Virtue of the Ordinance made in 1641 for a triennial Parliament, met at *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Lauderdale* having been made President, they confirmed the League made between the two Nations, the raising of the Army sent to the Assistance of the Parliament of *England*, the Order for the Subsistence of the Troops raised for the Defence of the Kingdom, the Duty upon Commodities, the Loans, and generally all that had been determined by the extraordinary

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ordinary Convention of the Estates of 1643. They likewise confirmed the Censure pronounced by the General Assembly against the Declaration of *Oxford*, and besides, ordained a Copy of it to be burnt by the Hands of the Hangman; and that all those who had subscribed it should be punished as Traitors, and wicked Men. They also declared Rebels all such as had taken up Arms against the Covenant, and condemned them to be punished with the Pains of Treason.

THE same Convention published a Declaration concerning the Imprisonment of the Duke of *Hamilton*, to this Effect, “ That the Duke being a
 “ Native of the Kingdom, and one of the first Peers, having been ar-
 “ rested at *Oxford*, and detained Prisoner under the Pretence of some
 “ Crime committed by him in *Scotland*, without the least Intelligence
 “ thereof being given to the Peers of this Kingdom, its fundamental Laws,
 “ and its Liberties and Privileges were thereby altogether infringed. That
 “ it was an Injury done to this Nation, and an Action of dangerous Con-
 “ sequence to Posterity, if they should pass it over in Silence. That if
 “ his Majesty had had Advice, that the Duke had done any Thing that de-
 “ served to have been inquired into, he ought to have been sent to *Scot-*
 “ *land* in order to be judged there according to the Laws, and by the
 “ Peers of the Kingdom. That if he was not guilty, they expected from
 “ his Majesty’s Justice that he would set him at Liberty, and preserve that
 “ of the Kingdom. That if the Advice of such as are Enemies to the
 “ King’s Honour, and to this ancient Kingdom, had so great Influence
 “ upon his Majesty as to make him keep the Duke Prisoner any longer,
 “ or proceed against him out of his native Country, they declared, that
 “ the Privileges of this Kingdom, which was independent of any other,
 “ and the Liberties of the Subject would be grievously infringed, and that
 “ the Kingdom would resent such an unjust Procedure, as an Affront put
 “ upon the whole Nation. In fine, that all those, who, in any manner
 “ whatsoever, should contribute to the Imprisonment, or Trial of a Peer,
 “ or free Subject of the Kingdom, should be lookt upon as Enemies to the
 “ King and State, and pursued on that account with the utmost Rigour.”

BUT whereas in the Year 1641, the King and Parliament had appointed five Lords to exercise the Office of Lord High Treasurer by Commission, this Convention of Estates considering that it might be done more for the Advantage of the King’s Service, and for the Ease of the Subjects, by one than by many, they gave a Commission to the Earl of *Lindsey*, appointing him to exercise that Office, and enjoy all the Privileges and Honours belonging thereto. Lastly, having made several Ordinances both for the civil and military Government, and engaged their Faith that all maimed Soldiers should be maintained at the publick Expences, they were adjourned to the Month of *January* of the following Year.

IN the mean time *Ogilvie* and *Rollock*, whom *Montrose* had sent from *Carlisle* into *Scotland* in Disguise, because the Covenanters had made themselves Masters of all the Passes, having wandered up and down the Country for a Fortnight, in order to get a particular Account of the State of Affairs, returned to the same Place, and told him; “ That they heard not
 “ one Word of a landing of the *Irish*; that there were Garrisons in all
 “ Places that were worth keeping, and that no Body durst so much as
 “ mention the King’s Service but in the Terms of the Covenant.” This account staggered *Montrose*’s People. The greatest part of his Officers left him, and every one endeavoured to secure himself. Nay, some Persons of

Autho-

Authority lent them a helping Hand, and facilitated their Retreat, by giving them Money to bear their Charges on the Road. There staid none with *Montrose* but about a hundred Gentlemen, who all with one Voice advised him to go to the King where-ever he might be, and return him his Commission, there being no Hopes left of being able to undertake any Thing for his Service. *Montrose* seeing them thus dispirited, pretended to yield to their Advice, and to have a Design to lay down Arms. Whereupon they immediately set out in order to go to the King; but *Montrose* having kept them Company for two Days, began to open his Mind to Sir *Fleming* and Sir *John Innis*, and to others, in whom he could confide; and having privately given Orders to the Lord *Ogilvie* to continue the Journey with the rest, till they had got to the King, he slipped away from them, leaving all his Equipage with the Company, in order to make them believe that he was still following them, and kept with himself only Sir *William Rollok*, and one *Sibbald*, who deserted him some time after, with whom he returned to *Carlisle*. *Montrose* finding himself in a Condition to pursue what he had projected, forthwith made himself ready for returning to *Scotland*.

THE Difficulties he had to meet with seemed to be invincible: For the Covenanters upon the Borders, being alarmed with the passing of the Earl of *Aboyne*, kept a strict Guard. Sir *Richard Graham* had given them his Word, that he would advertise them whenever any body appeared from the King, and they knew very well that that Knight's Men, who were very numerous in that Border, had Orders to join and assist them upon a Call. Besides, there were in these Parts some Persons of great Quality, who had but just then refused the King's Commission for levying Men, and who had a particular Grudge against *Montrose*, on account of what had passed betwixt them at *Oxford*, where they had signed the Declaration, drawn up there by the King's Order, against the Grain, and with great Reluctancy. All these Obstacles were not able to make him alter his Resolution; but after having intrusted the Care of some Affairs to the Fidelity of Mr. *Sandilands*, a clever Gentleman, and recommended to his Friends at *Carlisle* still to give out that he was gone to wait upon the King, until he had got a good Way in the Country, he ventured to set out, accompanied only by the above-mentioned Sir *William Rollok* and *Sibbald*, whom he followed upon a little Nag, and, in the Disguise of a Groom, led another Horse in his Hand. He could not so disguise himself, but he was known by a Soldier who named him by his Name; whereupon *Montrose* took him aside, and stopt his Mouth with a little Money. Having narrowly escaped being discovered, he made such Haste, that almost without drawing Bit, on the 22^d of *August*, which was the fourth Day after his setting out from *Carlisle*, he came to the House of his Friend and Cousin *Patrick Graham* of *Inchbraky*, in the Shire of *Pertb*.

AFTER they had refreshed themselves there some Days, *Montrose* dispatched *Rollok* and *Sibbald* to several Places, with Letters to some of his Friends, and having put on the Highland Dress, he shut himself up in the House in the Day-time, and lay in the Fields all the Night, whatever Weather it was. These two Gentlemen sent him Word, That such as had not taken the Covenant durst not appear, nor open their Minds to any Person, so much were they over-awed and persecuted. That the Marquis of *Huntley* having taken the Field, upon the Approach of the Marquis of *Argyle*, his Army had disbanded themselves, and he himself had retired to *Strathnaver*, the utmost Part of *Scotland*.

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To mitigate these bad News, *Montrose* heard it whispered about at the same time, that some *Irish* had landed in the Highlands of *Scotland*, and he judged that it might be those, whom the Marquis of *Antrim* had promised to send over four Months before. He was not deceived, for the next Morning he received Letters from these *Highlanders*, who had joined the *Irish*, whom *Antrim* had sent under the Command of Sir *Alexander Macdonald*. It was his Father, who by the Country People, was called *Colkittogh*, which, in the *Irish* Language, signifies a left-handed Man. He was Proprietor of the Island of *Y*, or *Yon*, which is famous, not so much for the Tombs of the Kings of *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and *Norway*, the Inscriptions of which still appear at this Day, as for the Retreat of that great Saint, *S. Colomb*, whose Cell has been erected into the Cathedral Church of all the Western Islands of *Scotland*.

NEITHER the *Highlanders* nor the *Irish* believed that *Montrose* was in the Country; but their Letters being directed to one of their Friends, who lived near *Inchbraky*, where *Montrose* was skulking, that Man, knowing that the Master of that House was one of *Montrose's* intimate Friends, addressed the Packet to him to be forwarded to the Marquis at *Carlisle*, or where-ever he might be; so that it fell happily thus into his Hands.

HE instantly returned an Answer, and dated his Letters from *Carlisle*; he sent them Word, that they must advance into the Shire of *Athol*, where he expected to raise a considerable Body of Men, the Nobility and Gentry of that Shire having still preserved their Loyalty, and the most Part of them being his Friends and Relations. Upon Receipt of his Letters, they followed his Orders, and incamped in the *Blair* of *Athol*, about twenty Miles from the Place where he was. *Montrose* no sooner heard of their being come there, than he caused the News of his being in the Kingdom to be spread every where, in order to raise up the drooping Courage of the King's good Subjects; and taking only with him *Inchbraky*, he was in the midst of his Troops, before they could have the least Thought of his being in the Kingdom. These poor People were so transported with Joy by that agreeable Surprise, that they could scarce believe their own Eyes; but being a little come to themselves again, they knew not what Reception to give him, and above all they were extreamly pleased to see him dressed after their Fashion.

MONTROSE came very opportunely for those poor *Irish* Men. They were but about twelve Hundred, in very sorry Condition; for having no Person of any Note to command them, but few People of the Country had joined them. The Covenanters having seized their Ships, and *Argyle* following them at the Heels with an Army, put them out of all Hopes of a Retreat. Before them, all the *Low Country* was in Arms, so that they durst not quit the Mountains, where they could not long subsist. That handful of Men then were designed for Slaughter, if *Montrose* had not come to free them from that Danger; which he did very quickly: For as soon as the Gentry of *Athol* heard of his unexpected Coming, they met, and in two Days Time brought him above eight hundred good Men. *Montrose* seeing himself at the Head of two thousand Men, was for losing no Time, and though the Number of his Men was not equal to the smallest Body of the Covenanters, he took the Field, and marched directly for the River of *Tay*, the greatest in *Scotland*, as well to give an Opportunity to all the Royalists to join him, as to prevent the joining of the Covenanters

Troops,

Troops, which were assembling from all Parts, in order to hem him in on all Sides. Towards the evening of the first Day's March, having passed the River with a Party of his Men, according to his usual Custom, he lay in the open Fields, near the Castle of *Weme*, and because they refused to give him any manner of Provisions or Assistance, though he had asked them with all possible Mildness and Civility, he ordered Fire to be set to the Corn, which, in those Parts, was on the Ground, in order to strike Terror into the other Places where he was to pass.

THE next Morning, the rest of his Men having passed the River, he marched through the Hills of the Earldom of *Strathern*, and made *Inchbraky* advance with a Party to discover the Troops which the Covenanters had raised in that Earldom. *Inchbraky* having marched three or four Miles, sent him back Word, that some Troops appeared upon the high Hill of *Buckintb*: Whereupon *Montrose* having joined him in all Haste, and sent to view the Troops that appeared upon the Hill, he found that it was the Lord *Kilpont*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Monteth*, and Sir *John Drummond*, Son to the Earl of *Pertb*, who had advanced with about five hundred Men to observe the Motion of the *Irish*; for they knew not as yet that *Montrose* was in the Kingdom, and he, to let them know it, marched straight towards them. As soon as they understood who it was, they sent to know what he wanted of them. He answered them, "that
" he had taken Arms by the Orders, and for the Service of the King,
" their Master, and that as his Lieutenant he commanded them to join
" their Arms to his, and by that means to save both their Lives and Ho-
" nour, which they were going to prostitute for the most ignominious
" Quarrel in the World." These Gentlemen being none of the most disaffected, were easily persuaded to hearken to *Montrose's* Advice, and came and joined him with a very good Grace. They told him that the Covenanters were assembled at *Pertb*; but they made not their Army half so numerous as it was, besides, it had been reinforced since they had been detached from it. *Montrose*, having got Intelligence from other Hands, that *Argyle*, by long Marches, was following him with another Army, and judging well, that his Defeat was inevitable, if the Troops, by which he was hemmed in on both Sides, should fall upon him, he continued his March the whole Night towards the Town, resolved to fight the Enemy as soon as he could get Sight of them.

AT Break of Day he was got within three Miles of the Town, and but the half of that Distance from the Covenanters Army, which he saw drawn up upon a large Plain, called *Tipper-moor*. It was composed of six thousand Foot, and seven hundred Horse, with nine Pieces of Cannon. *Montrose* had no Horse, having only three Scouts in his Army, or Regiment rather; because at the most he had not above two thousand Foot, for the most part ill-armed, the *Irish* having no Swords, and the Musketeers but one Shot of Powder each. But though the Match was so very unequal, he continued steadfast in his Resolution to fight, and all his Men, by the Chearfulness of their Countenances, made it appear, that they were not afraid of the Number of their Enemies. He drew up his small Army in order of Battle, but before he engaged, he sent the Lord *Maderty* to tell the Covenanters; "That they had no Enemy to fight but themselves.
" That *Montrose* did not appear there before them, with any other Design
" but for the Service of the King, their good Master. That his Majesty
" had left them without any Grounds of Complaint, and with all Cause
" of Contentment, having taken care not only of the Liberty, but of the
" very

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“ very Tenderness of their Consciences, and settled so good Order over all
 “ the Kingdom, that every Man lived peaceably under the Shelter of the
 “ Laws, and found the Temple of Justice open indifferently to all. That
 “ the King had always shewed himself the Father of his People, constantly
 “ willing, that their Safety might be the Supream Law of the State, and
 “ that the Glory of his Reign might be the Happiness of his Subjects.
 “ That they could not shake off so easy a Yoke, without staining them-
 “ selves with the blackest Rebellion that ever was. Let them but re-
 “ member, that the Rising of Subjects against their Prince was an odious
 “ Thing among all Nations. That Heaven was just, and sooner or later
 “ would revenge the Injuries done to the Lord's Anointed. Lastly, let
 “ them not cast a Blemish upon the Reputation of their Nation, which
 “ had always been lookt upon to be loyal, and, in foreign Countries, still
 “ inviolably preserved so glorious Marks and Rewards of Fidelity; but
 “ that having Time given them to come to themselves, let them join
 “ with *Montrose*.”

*The Battle of
 Tipper-moor.*

THE Covenanters made no Answer, but by Bravadoes disarmed, and made Prisoner that Lord, who had brought them the Message, threatening to put him to Death as soon as the Battle was over. Being first in the Field of Battle, they had possessed themselves of an advantageous Post: And they likewise saw very well, that they were almost four to one; besides, that they were to fight for the Covenant, and therefore doubted not but the Success of the Day would be both prosperous and advantageous. The Lord *Elcho*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Weems*, who was General in chief of the Army, commanded the right Wing; Sir *James Scot* of *Rossy*, the most experienced Officer of their Army, the left; and the Earl of *Til-libardin* led on the main Body. They made a very large Front, and placed the Horse on the Wings, in order to surround the Royalists. *Montrose* perceiving that, drew up all his Men in three Lines, that he might make as large a Front as that of the Covenanters, and placed the *Highlanders*, being best armed, on the Wings; he himself led the right, knowing well that if he defeated the left Wing of the Covenanters, which *Rossy* commanded, he would have a cheap Pennyworth of the rest. He put the Lord *Kilpont* on the left, and *Macdonald* at the Head of the main Body, where he placed all the *Irish*, because they were the worst armed.

*Montrose's
 Orders, and
 Speech to his
 Men before the
 Battle.*

“ he gave Orders not to fire till they were close in with the Enemy Muz-
 “ zle to Muzzle, and to the three Ranks to fire all together, the first kneel-
 “ ing, the second stooping, and the third standing; and then to fall upon
 “ the Enemy Sword in Hand, and for such as had none, to make use of
 “ the But-ends of their Muskets. Lastly, he recommended to them to
 “ behave themselves like Men of Resolution, and to set in Ballance against
 “ that confused Multitude that was coming to them, the Greatness of
 “ their Courage, and the Goodness of their Cause, which ought to make
 “ up the Smalness of their Number; whereas, without doubt, a secret
 “ Sting of Conscience would dishearten the Enemy; he bid them consider
 “ that this Day would give Reputation to their Arms. That it would stir
 “ up the Zeal of such as had not as yet shewn any Warmth for the King's
 “ Service. That it would strike Terrour into the Covenanters, who
 “ would see that Heaven would fight for his Majesty, and defend the Ju-
 “ stice of his Cause.”

THE Day was very fair, which was the first of *September*, and pretty hot for the Season, with a little Wind. The two Armies disputed a long Time who should get the Advantage of the Ground; at last *Montrose* gained

gained it, and at the same time the Lord *Drummond*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Perth*, who had come there only in his own Defence, was commanded to charge with his Brigade. *Montrose* detached some Men to receive them, who, with a great Shout, charged, and drove them back upon their main Body, which he taking for a good Omen, and that the best Thing he could do was to follow those Run-aways close at the Heels, who were putting their own Troops into Disorder, he made his whole Army advance, who having born the Fire of the Enemy's Cannon, gave them a Volley Muzzle to Muzzle, as *Montrose* had ordered. The Covenanters seeing that they wanted Powder, charged them sharply with their Horse; but the Royalists, without giving Ground, some with Swords, others with the But-end of their Muskets, and some even with Stones, for want of other Weapons, beat them back, and routed them. The Battle was more fierce betwixt *Montrose* and *Rossy*: The Dispute was about a rising Ground, where there were some Ruins of Houses, from whence the Musketeers of the Covenanters fired without Intermission upon *Montrose's* Men. In order to drive them out of that Post, he rushed in upon them with the *Athol-men*, and after a sharp and bloody Fight he made himself Master of it. The Covenanters immediately fled, *Montrose* driving them before him six or seven Miles, and taking many Prisoners. Two thousand were killed upon the Spot, and all their Cannon and Baggage taken, and what is very strange, *Montrose* had only two Men wounded. After this compleat and memorable Victory, the Town of *Perth* opened the Gates. It is situate upon the Banks of the *Tay*, and is one of the finest in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Of old it was called *Berth*, and was built a little higher upon the River, which having one Night, in the Time of King *William*, in the Year 1029, over-flowed its Banks, almost all the Inhabitants were drowned, and the King's Family itself suffered by it; for one of his Children with the Nurse, and fourteen of his Domesticks perished in the Flood. Some time after, the same King caused a new Town to be built in a more convenient Place, and a little below the other towards the East, and called it *Perth*, from the Name of the Proprietor of the Ground.

MONTROSE having entered the Town, saved it from being plundered, though the greatest Part of the Inhabitants had been among the Troops, which he had but just now defeated; because he had a mind to gain the good Will of the People, and to win their Hearts as much by Clemency as by the Rigour of his Arms. And for that reason having made the Prisoners of War, who were more in Number than the slain, to promise never to carry Arms against the King's Service, he set them all at Liberty. There were some of them that engaged to follow him, but very soon deserted him. *Montrose* staid two or three Days at *Perth*, hoping that upon the Noise of his Victory, all the King's Friends that were in the Neighbourhood, would come and join him. Yet none came but the Earl of *Kinoul*, followed by some Gentlemen of the *Carse* of *Gowry*, but almost all of them left him very soon. Therefore having had Advice that *Argyle*, with the whole *Posse* of his own *Higblanders*, and many of the *Low-Country* that had joined him, was within a Day's March of him, he judged that the best Course he could take, was to march into the Shire of *Angus*, and after having made the Inhabitants of the Town to swear an Oath of Fidelity to the King, he passed the River. The next Day he marched to the Village and Abbey of *Cowper*, where Sir *Thomas Ogilvie*, Son to the Earl of *Airley*, having come to meet him, with some of the Gentry of that Shire, he quartered there that Night.

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As the Reveille was a beating, *Montrose* having heard a Tumult in the Camp, believing that the *Highlanders* and *Irish* had quarrelled amongst themselves, he run to see what the Matter was, and found the Lord *Kilpont* basely murdered by one of those in whom he had the greatest Confidence. It was believed, that this unhappy Wretch having a Design upon *Montrose's* Person, had opened his Mind to *Kilpont*, expecting to get him to approve of his Undertaking, and to intice him away from the King's Service, and that this Nobleman detesting so wicked an Attempt, and checking the Villain, that he had attacked him unawares, and stabbed him, justly believing, that he would have discovered his Design, if he did not put him to Death. This Assassin in making his Escape, after that cursed Blow, killed the Centry that endeavoured to stop him, and escaped by the Favour of a Fog, which was so thick, that one could not see the Length of a Pike. The Covenanters received him very kindly, and gave him a Command in their Army. *Montrose* was grievously afflicted for the tragical Death of this promising Nobleman, and ordered his Servants to take his Corps and carry it to the burying Place of his Ancestors.

MONTROSE having performed his last Duty to his dear Kinsman, marched in all Haste to the Town of *Dundee*, which is situate on the Banks of the *Tay*, where having drawn up his Army in Battle-Order in Sight of the Place, he sent to summon it by a Drum, offering what Terms the Inhabitants should think fit to demand. But as the Town was populous, rich, and well provided with all Necessaries, having a good Number of Ships, and commanding the Mouth of the River, they refused to treat, and put themselves in a Condition to stand out a Siege. *Montrose* did not think it fit to hazard the Loss of his Men in attacking a Town of no great Consequence, and which *Argyle*, who was continuing his March, would have relieved, if he had formed a Siege. Therefore he kept marching through the Shires of *Angus* and *Merns*, hoping that all such as were well affected to the King would join him, and thereby inable him to make Head against *Argyle*. However, none appeared but the brave Earl of *Airly*, though a Man sixty Years of Age, who met him, with two of his Sons, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *David Ogilvie*, and all the Men he could raise, and with admirable Constancy shared with him in his good and bad Fortune to the end of the War.

AIRLY having told *Montrose*, that there was a Committee of the Convention of Estates sitting at *Aberdeen*, and that all the Troops, which the Covenanters had in the North, were incamped in that Neighbourhood, he resolved to go and fight them, before *Argyle* could join them. That Resolution being approved of by all, he entered the Shire of *Aberdeen*, and marched directly towards the Town. They were two thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, which the Lord *Burly*, who presided in the Committee, commanded in chief. He had placed the Horse on the Wings in a very advantageous Post, where he was resolved to stand his Ground, and wait the Royalists. *Montrose* having advanced within Cannon Shot, they began to fire upon his Men. They were only fifteen hundred Foot, and forty four Horse: The rest having either gone with the Lord *Kilpont's* Corpse, or, after the Battle of *Tipper-moor*, gone home loaded with Spoil. He divided the Horse upon the Wings, and ordered them to run to the Assistance of one another, which soever of them should be attacked. The Colonels *Hay* and *Gordon* commanded the right, and
Sir

The Battle of
Aberdeen.

Sir *William Rollok* the left. The Situation of the Covenanters Camp was so strong, that though their Cannon annoyed the Royalists, yet they could not advance upon them, and much less draw back, without running the Risk of being cut in Pieces, and the Disadvantage they had of the Field of Battle, made their Cannon altogether useless. Insomuch that had the Covenanters continued to fire briskly with their Cannon, without quitting their Post, they would have very much thinned *Montrose's* Ranks, and made the Event of the Battle doubtful: But *Lewis Gordon*, the Marquis of *Huntley's* third Son, who commanded their left Wing, having a Mind to signalize himself on this Occasion, advanced in order to charge *Montrose's* right Wing, which being immediately reinforced by the other Division of Horse from the left, stood the Charge of the Enemy's Horse with so much Courage, that they drove them back in great Disorder, and struck such a Terror into them, that all that Wing gave Ground at once, and fled in Confusion out of the Field of Battle. The Covenanters, in order to be revenged, immediately detached their right Wing, which consisted of two hundred and fifty Horse, to fall upon *Montrose's* right Wing, left destitute of Horse. Whereupon *Montrose* having called back the few he had, and considering that they could not bear the Shock of the Enemy, in Front, he ordered them, upon their Approach, to wheel, and attack them in Flank, which the Horsemen, and the Platoons of Musketeers that were mixed with them, did with so good Luck, and such Address, that they beat back the Enemy, and took Sir *William Forbes* of *Craigivar*, and *Forbes* of *Boyndly* Prisoners: But as they were but a handful of Men, they could not pursue their Victory farther. The Covenanters retired at a slow Pace to some distance from *Montrose*, and halted, expecting a Reinforcement of Foot, which they had sent from the Town, with a Design to renew the Battle. *Montrose* suspecting it, and judging that he ought to take the Start of the Relief, upon which they grounded all the Hopes of their Safety, he ordered his Foot to lay down their Muskets, and, Sword in Hand, to rush desperately in upon the Enemy's Foot. That it was so they must shew their Bravery, and that Fire-Arms did not distinguish the most gallant Men from the Cowards. The Men, encouraged by this Speech, executed that Order with so much Eagerness, that the Enemy had not the Courage to wait them. What remained of their Horse likewise fled with such Speed, that *Montrose's* Horsemen being mounted upon little Nags, quite fatigued, could not pursue them. But to make amends, his Foot pursued those of the Covenanters so close, that they entered the Town pell mell with them, where they made a terrible Slaughter.

THIS Battle was fought the 12th of *September*. It lasted four Hours, and the Victory was for a long Time doubtful. The Covenanters lost above a thousand Men in it. On the other Hand, *Montrose* had only five Men killed, and ten or twelve wounded, amongst which an *Irish* Soldier having one of his Thighs broke to Pieces with a Cannon-Shot, and seeing his Fellow Soldiers much grieved for him, he told them with a chearful Countenance; *That it was the Fortune of War: Go on, behave yourselves like good Men, and redouble your Courage; as for me, I hope that some time or other the Marquis will, from a Foot Soldier, mount me on Horseback;* this short Soldier-like Speech being ended, he cut the Skin by which the Thigh was held, and gave it to one of his Comrades to bury. *Montrose* hearing of the Resoluteness of this Soldier, ordered that he might be acquainted when he was cured, after which he put him amongst the Horse, where he afterwards did very gallant Service.

1644.

IT may be thought strange, that the Marquis of *Huntley* did not come and join *Montrose*; but it was yet more surprizing, that one of his Sons had appeared in Arms against him. It will likewise be seen in the Sequel of this History, how many of *Huntley*'s Friends, and even his Vassals, whom *Montrose* had engaged in the Party, from Time to Time left him very rashly, and sometimes when he stood most in need of them. It was not that this illustrious Family ever departed from the King's Interest, nor that *Huntley*, who after the Loss of his Estate, suffers Imprisonment still for having served his Majesty, did ever fail in the Allegiance he owed his Prince, no more than his Sons, all brave and gallant Men, who did as their Father directed them: But *Huntley*, who could not at that time return to that part of the Country, where his Estate lay, had that Passion to struggle with, which has got the better of the greatest Men. He was the first that took up Arms for the King against the Covenanters, and was displeased that the King had given the Command of his Troops to another; or at least he was easily persuaded that *Montrose*'s Commission did not empower him to command the Troops in the Northern Parts: For as he was his Majesty's Lieutenant General in those Shires, and that he could bear neither an equal nor superior; so he had a Mind to keep the Forces of those Shires, which he commanded, in order to oppose the Covenanters with better Success than he had as yet done.

MONTROSE rallied his Troops, entered the Town in order to refresh them, and after having staid there two Days, he marched to *Kintore*, about ten Miles from *Aberdeen*, where he halted, that he might give Time to all such as were well-affected to his Party to come and join him. At the same time, he sent Sir *William Rollok* to the King, to give him an account of all that had passed since his entering the Kingdom, and to desire his Majesty to send him a Supply quickly: But finding that no body offered to move in those Parts, whether it was, that they were disheartened by the bad Success of their first Arming, or that they did not like to follow any other General but the Marquis of *Huntley*; and knowing that *Argyle* and the Earl of *Lothian*, who had joined him, with the Forces of the *Low Country*, and a great Body of Horse, were advancing towards him, he judged that the safest Way for him was to betake himself to the Mountains, where their Horse could do them little Service, and if they had a Mind to follow him with their Foot, he made but little reckoning of them.

FOR that end, having hid some Field-Pieces under Ground, and secured the Baggage that could not follow, he marched to the old Castle of *Rothemurcus*, which stands on the Banks of the River of *Spey*, the most rapid of *Scotland*. His March alarmed all the Country on the other Side of the River, where, to the Number of five thousand Men, rose up in Arms, to hinder him from passing it, and to give *Argyle* Time to advance with his Troops. From thence he marched on to *Badenoch*, where being sick for two or three Days with the Fatigue of the March, upon the News of which the Covenanters gave out that he was dead: But very soon after he made them feel that he had revived, for in a few Days they found, that he was got into the Shire of *Athol*, from whence having sent *Macdonald* with a Party to invite the *Highlanders* to come and give Proof of their Fidelity to, and Affection for the King, he marched with the rest of his Troops into *Angus*, intending, by his extraordinary Haste, to fatigue *Argyle*'s Horse, who were still following, but so slowly,

slowly, that he seemed rather to be seeking the Advantage of a Battle, 1644. than an Opportunity to fight. He likewise expected, in going through that Shire and the *Merns*, to find the Nobility and Gentry more pliable than they had been the first Time that he passed, but having found them rather more backward, he was forced to return to the *Highlands*, leaving *Argyle* a great Way behind, whom he hoped to see in a short time, and to be very soon in a Condition to go and find him out where-ever he might be. With these Hopes he passed over the *Grainsbain*, or *Grampion* Hills, (which run through all *Scotland* from East to West, as the *Appenines* do *Italy*, and divide it into two equal Parts) and marched straight to *Strathbogy*, a stately House belonging to the Marquis of *Huntley*, where he obliged some of the Friends and Vassals of that Lord to return again to the King's Service: But *Huntley* himself keeping still in *Strathnaver*, his eldest Son, the Lord *Gordon*, being detained Prisoner by *Argyle*, his Uncle by the Mother's Side, his second Son, the Earl of *Aboyn*, besieged in *Carlisle*, and *Lewis* the third, being in the Covenanters Army, the greatest Part of the *Gordons* did not appear, notwithstanding the great Pains that *Montrose* took to put them in mind of their Duty, and notwithstanding the great Inclination they themselves had to serve the King. Nevertheless he did not sit idle in his Camp; but every other Night he marched out eight or ten Miles, and surprized such of the Enemy as kept not a good look-out. At last having lost all Hopes of prevailing with the *Gordons*, he decamped about the end of *October*; and having marched the whole Night towards the Castle of *Faivy*, he beat up the Enemy's Quarters, and having made all the Officers Prisoners, he made himself Master of the Castle. Such as made their Escape, did not stop, till they had joined *Argyle* and *Lothian*, who, upon Advice of this Defeat, marched Day and Night, with a Design to surprize *Montrose*, in which they had very near succeeded: For the Scouts he had sent out for Intelligence betrayed him; so that the Enemy was within two Miles of him before he knew that they had passed the *Grampion* Hills. They were two thousand five hundred Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, and *Macdonald* not being as yet returned from the *Highlands*, *Montrose* had in all but fifteen hundred Foot, and fifty Horse.

BUT as he very well judged, that it would be Rashness to go and meet the Enemy with so few Troops, so he justly thought, that it would be dishonourable to shut himself up in the Castle. Therefore having drawn his Men out of it, he drew them up upon a rising Ground that over-looked it, leaving some Ditches and Inclosures made of Turf betwixt him and the Enemy, which their Horse could with Difficulty get over: But as he was drawing up his Men in order of Battle, some of those, whom he had brought from the Neighbourhood of *Strathbogy*, left him: And seeing, that the rest of his Troops were thereby discouraged, he put them in Heart again, and said, "that they had Reason to be glad that those cowardly Fellows had not staid to partake with them of the Victory, which does not always attend the Number, but the Bravery of the Combatants." The Covenanters, encouraged by this Desertion, charged at the same time with so much Fury, that they made themselves Masters of *Montrose's* principal Post, which had they kept, he had been utterly defeated. But Colonel *O Kyan*, an *Irishman*, attacked them so vigorously, that in Spite of the Enemy's Horse, who sustained their Foot, he forced them to quit it; the Covenanters retiring in Disorder, left some Arms and Barrels of Powder, of which the Royalists stood much in need, and who, in gathering them up, shewed so much Assurance, and were

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MONTROSE having waited them some Days without stirring from the Place, and not being able to subsist longer at *Faivy* for want of Provisions, he resolved to quit that Castle, and considering how dangerous it was to retreat in the Day-time in Sight of an Army incomparably stronger in Horse, than his; he decamped in the Night-time, and returned to *Strathbogy*, where he was near the Hills, in case that the Enemy should come upon him stronger, and from whence he shortly expected *Macdonald* would join him with the Recruits. The Covenanters hearing of his March, followed him by the Track, and, as soon as they came in Sight of him, made as if they had a mind to retrieve their Honour: But *Argyle* having detached some *Highlanders* to piqueer with Montrose's Men, they were shamefully beat back, and fell foul upon the Horse that sustained them; whereupon *Argyle* retired again, and taking an advantageous Post, made a Shew of putting himself upon the defensive. He continued three Days in that Posture in Sight of Montrose, during which time he did all he could to find out means of speaking with some of his Officers, hoping to succeed better by Cunning than by Arms. At last Montrose finding that he wanted nothing but to watch an Opportunity, either to fall upon his Rear-guard with his Horse during his March, or to intice away his Men; and besides, not being able to bring him to an Engagement, without running the Risk of losing all; he marched to some distance from him in order to meet *Macdonald* and his Recruits, whom he expected with great Impatience.

THEREFORE he proposed to make a long March the whole Night from *Strathbogy* to *Badenoch*; and that it might be done with the least Hindrance, he sent the Baggage before with a Guard, under Pretence of preparing himself the better for a Battle: But the Baggage was scarce gone, when he missed *Forbes* of *Craigievar*, whom he had left at Liberty upon his Parole, and *Sibbald*, whom he had brought out of *England* with him, as one of his most trusty Friends. Whereupon, not doubting but they would give an account of his Design to the Enemy, he ordered back the Baggage, and making as if he had changed his Resolution, he amused the Enemy three or four Days more. But as he was ready to decamp in earnest, towards the Evening he caused some Centries, on Horseback, to advance within Sight of the Enemy, and Fires to be made in the Camp, and sending his Baggage only two Hours before him, he marched after it with such Speed, that early the next Morning he was at
Balveny

Balveny before the Covenanters knew that he was decamped. From thence he intended to march to *Badenoch* in order to join *Macdonald* and the Captain of the *Clan-Ranald*, having had notice that they were there with five hundred Men. That Design surprized many of his Followers: For considering that it was already the Month of *November*, and that they must suffer a great deal by the Sharpness of the Winter in the mountainous North Country, they obtained Pass-ports underhand from *Argyle*, and retired to their own Houses. *Argyle* offered the same to all *Montrose's* Men, and solicited very much to treat with himself. *Montrose* having a mind to make Advantage thereof, caused a Pass-port to be desired of him for a Messenger to be sent to the King, *Rollok* not having been able to pass, which *Argyle* refusing, the Treaty came to nothing. Whereupon *Montrose* decamped from *Balveny*, and marched into *Strath-Spey*, and from thence to *Badenoch*; where having joined *Macdonald*, he had Advice that *Argyle*, with some Troops, was at *Dunkel*, endeavouring, by under-hand Dealings, to persuade the *Athol-men* to revolt. But though *Montrose* knew that they were of unshaken Loyalty, yet the more to strengthen the Resolution of all his Friends, he marched in one Night four and twenty Miles, through most rugged Ways, and in Snow up to the Mid-leg, and was in *Athol* before the Enemy had the least Notice of his March. *Argyle* was so frightened with the Report of his coming, that he left his Men to shift for themselves the best Way they could, and fled to *Perth*, where the Covenanters had a strong Garrison.

MONTROSE having encouraged the *Athol-men*, marched to the Lake, out of which the River of *Tay* riseth, where he began to think of a secure Retreat to winter his Troops in. He immediately considered that the shortest Way to be even with *Argyle*, was to carry the War into the Heart of his own Country, as well because the Covenanters drew their best Men from thence, where he commanded like a little Sovereign, as because he could never expect that the *Highlanders* would join with him, till they were first freed from *Argyle's* Yoke; and that his Power being once brought low, his Interest would be lessened amongst his own People. Besides, he knew that there were strong Garrisons in all the Places of the *Low-Country*, and that of all the Shires in the *Highlands* that of *Argyle* was the best preserved. These Reasons moved him to take that Rout, and by so long Marches, that in the middle of *December* he got within two Miles of *Inverara*, *Argyle's* principal House, and where he himself had arrived a little before, in order, with the greater Convenience, to make his Recruits for the next Campaign. Never was Man more surprized than *Argyle*, when he was told that *Montrose* was so near; because he took him to be at least a hundred Miles from thence. Not finding himself safe but by Flight, he betook himself to a Boat, and escaped, leaving his Country and his Friends to the Mercy of an Enemy. *Montrose* having so well-succeeded in this Design, he divided his Troops into three Parties, in order to over-run all the Lands depending upon *Argyle*. He sent one under *Clan-Ranald*, another under *Macdonald*, and commanded the third himself. They went through the whole Shire of *Argyle*, the Baronies of *Lorn* and *Glencow*, and a Part of *Lochabar*, driving all the Cattle before them, which are the chief Riches of that Country, which produceth but little Corn. They likewise fired the Villages and Hamlets where they passed, to hinder the Enemy from pursuing them, putting all the Recruits, that were so unlucky as to come in their Way, to the Sword. Within the Memory of Man so mild a Winter

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Winter as that of this Year had not been seen in *Scotland*, which was a great Happiness for *Montrose*; for if the Season had been severe as it commonly is in those Parts, and that the People of the Country, after having driven their Cattle out of the Way, had placed but two hundred Men to guard the Passes of the Hills, he would have had much ado to subsist in a wild, and almost inaccessible Country, and would have been harder put to it in resisting the Severity of the Weather, than the Enemy's best Troops.

The Queen is
brought to Bed
of Princess
Henrietta at
Exeter.

WHILE the King was keeping the Field, the Queen was retired to *Exeter* in order to lye in, and, on the 16th of *June*, was happily brought to Bed of Princess *Henrietta*, of which the King received the agreeable News at *Buckingham*. But a Fortnight afterwards the Town being threatened with a Siege by the Earl of *Essex*, she was forced, weak as she was, to leave it, and fly to the strong Castle of *Pendennis* in *Cornwal*, where she took Shipping and came to *France*. She was pursued by Vice-Admiral *Batten*, who caused several Cannon-Shot to be fired upon the Ship in which her Majesty was in Person: But that Providence which watches particularly over sacred Heads, preserved and conducted her to *Chatel* near *Brest*, where she landed the 15th of *July*.

THE same Day, the King marched at the Head of his Army in *Somersetshire* to the *Bath*, so called from the hot Baths that are there. From thence he marched in pursuit of *Essex* in the County of *Cornwal*, having obliged him to quit *Devonshire*. His Majesty passed the River of *Tamar*, which separates the two Counties, upon the Bridge of *Ponaltou*, and re-took the Castle of *Lisithiel*, where *Essex*'s Army was intrenched: But it was seized with such a Fright, that the Night following all the Horse filed off through his Majesty's Quarters, and fled to *Plymouth*. It was thought that *Essex* himself retired from thence in a Boat, with the Lord *Roberts*; so that the next Day, the 2^d of *September*, all his Foot came and surrendered themselves to the King, with all their Cannon, Arms, Ammunition, and Baggage: And his Majesty pardoned, and dismissed them without doing them the least Displeasure. Clemency is one of the most excellent royal Virtues; but though its Moderation should be Excess, as it ought to be in Friendship; the King might have drawn some Advantage from the broken Remains of that Army, and in pardoning his Enemies he might have so dealt with them, that for the Time to come they should not have stood in need of a second Pardon.

AFTER this Defeat the Town of *Barnstable*, in *Devonshire*, which, at the Approach of *Essex*, had submitted to the Parliament, surrendered to the King: *Ilfordcomb*, which is a Sea-Port in the same County, likewise surrendered to Colonel *Goring*: *Monmouth*, which had been betrayed by *Kerle*, was retaken by *Herbert* of *Ragland*: Sir *Richard Greenville* took *Salisbury*, in *Cornwal*, by Storm, and the Fort of *Plymouth* had very near been delivered up to the King; but Sir *Alexander Carew*'s Design of surrendering it to his Majesty being discovered, he was taken and carried Prisoner to *London*, where, on the 23^d of *December*, he was beheaded in the *Tower*. In the Beginning of *October* the Earl of *Northampton* and Sir *Henry Gage*, Governor of *Oxford*, caused the Siege of the Castle of *Banbury* to be raised, which Colonel *John Fiennes* had besieged above a Month. In the mean time, the Parliament having called *Manchester*'s Army out of the associated Counties, it was reinforced by some of the Train-

Train-bands of *London*, in order to march against the King, who was returning to *Oxford*; and as he was incamped at *Newbury*, in *Berkshire*, with a Part of his Army, *Manchester* having attempted to beat up his Majesty's Quarter's, he was repulsed with Loss. 1644.

FROM thence the King having assembled his Army at *Bullington*, between *Wallingford* and *Oxford*, he advanced to *Hungerford*, in order to fight *Manchester*, who still fled before his Majesty, and sent the Governor of *Oxford* with a Detachment to relieve *Basing-house*, which the King believed to be in great Straits; but the Garrison had shewn so much Courage and Zeal for the King's Service, that the Siege was already raised. After these warlike Exploits his Majesty retired to *Oxford* about the end of *November*, there to receive some Overtures of Peace; and the Earl of *Essex* have resigned his Commission of General, and returned it to the Parliament, they chose Sir *Thomas Fairfax* in his Place. That Change seemed to many to be of dangerous Consequence to the the Parliament, their Troops having a great Opinion of the Earl of *Essex*: but, however, it succeeded to their Heart's Desire, and proved of great Advantage to them.

The End of the Fourth B O O K.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
T R O U B L E S
O F
G R E A T - B R I T A I N.

B O O K V.

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ALL this great Success did not in the least puff up the King. He took no Pleasure in seeing Trophies erected to him, cemented with the Blood of his People: Though he was victorious, he could not triumph but with Regret in a War which did not enlarge his Dominions; but, on the contrary, laid them Waste. He still preserved the Tenderness of a Father towards his Subjects, without ever affecting the Air of a Conqueror, and he chose rather to gain their Affection by gentle Means, than to bring them back to their Duty by the Severity of his Arms.

HIS Majesty therefore, after the Defeat of *Waller*, on the 4th of *July* wrote to the Parliament of *Westminster*; “ That being deeply affected with
“ the deplorable State of the Kingdom, and the Sufferings of his poor
“ Subjects, he earnestly desired, that they would think of means, which,
“ by the Blessing of God, may change their calamitous Condition, and re-
“ store Peace to the State. That as the greatest Success should never be
“ able to divert him from so blessed a Design, so the Aversion, which some
“ had shewn to Peace, should never hinder him from seeking after it with
“ Passion. That to facilitate the means whereby to obtain it, he was
“ ready

“ ready to consent to all that was necessary for the Good of his People, 1644.
 “ whether by ratifying the Things which he had already granted, or by
 “ consenting to others that should be proposed for assuring his Subjects of
 “ the Sincerity of his Intentions, for maintaining the Protestant Religion
 “ in the Kingdom, the Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of private
 “ Persons, and the Property of their Goods according to the Laws of the
 “ Kingdom. That to facilitate so just and pious a Design, he would con-
 “ sent to a general Pardon, if it was not thought more expedient to ex-
 “ cept some out of it. Lastly, that if they would send to him some
 “ Men heartily inclined to Peace, they might expect all Things from him
 “ that could contribute to the Quiet, the Security, and the Happiness of
 “ his People.”

THE Parliament not having given any Answer to this Invitation to Peace, the King renewed it the 8th of *September*, and to that end wrote to them from *Tavistock* in the like Terms. However they returned no Answer till the 23^d of *November*, that the Earl of *Denbigh*, accompanied by some other Members of the two Houses, went to the King at *Oxford* with a great Number of Propositions, all the same in Substance with those they had sent before upon other Occasions concerning Religion, the Militia, and the War of *Ireland*.

HIS Majesty having seen the Propositions, he lookt upon them to be of too great Importance to be answered immediately, and said, “ That he
 “ could not come to any Resolution upon them till after a mature De-
 “ liberation.” For which Reason, he sent the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Southampton* to the Parliament, to acquaint them, that he desired they would name some of their Body, for treating with as many Persons as he should appoint on his Part, about all that might contribute towards a happy Peace.

THE two Houses having had a Conference upon this with the Commis- 1645.
 sioners of *Scotland*, accepted the Treaty, and wrote to the King the 18th of *January*, “ That the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *Westmin-* The two Houses agree to a Treaty at Ux-
 “ *ster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* had named bridge.
 “ for the Treaty, *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Philip* Earl of *Pem-*
 “ *brok* and *Montgomery*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Basil* Earl of *Denbigh*,
 “ of the House of Peers, and of the Commons, *Thomas* Viscount of *Wain-*
 “ *man*, *William* *Pierpoint*, *Denzil* *Hollis*, *Oliver* *St. John*, *Sir* *Henry* *Vane*
 “ the younger, *Bulstrode* *Whitlock*, *John* *Crew*, and *Edmund* *Prideaux*, and
 “ for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, *John* Earl of *Lowdon*, Chancellor of the
 “ Kingdom, *Archibald*, Marquis of *Argyle*, *John* Lord *Maitland*, *John* Lord
 “ *Balmarino*, *Sir* *Archibald* *Johnston*, *Sir* *Charles* *Erskin*, *George* *Dundas* of
 “ *Maner*, *Sir* *John* *Smith* Provost of *Edinburgh*, *Hugh* *Kennedy*, and *Ro-*
 “ *bert* *Barclay*; together with *Alexander* *Henderson*, for the Propositions
 “ relating to Religion. All which Commissioners, or ten of them, pro-
 “ vided some of both Kingdoms be always of that Number, should be
 “ authorized to treat, according to the Instructions they should receive,
 “ upon the Propositions that had been sent them, with such Persons as
 “ his Majesty should be pleased to send to *Uxbridge* in the County of
 “ *Middlesex*.” This Letter was signed by the Lord *Grey* of *Warke*,
 Speaker of the House of Peers, by the Earl of *Loudon* in Name of the
 Commissioners of *Scotland*, and by *William* *Lenthall*, Speaker of the House
 of Commons. The King having received this Letter by the Hands of
Sir *Peter* *Killigrew*, named on his Part *James* Duke of *Richmond*, *William*
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Marquis of Hertford, Thomas Earl of Southampton, Henry Earl of Kingston, Francis Earl of Chichester, Arthur Lord Capel, the Lord Seymour, the Lord Hatton, the Lord Colepepper, Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State; Sir Richard Lane, Lord Chief Baron of his Court of Exchequer; Sir Thomas Gardiner, his Majesty's Solicitor General, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Attorney of his Court of Wards; Mr. John Ashburnham, Mr. Geoffery Palmer, and Doctor Richard Stuart, his Majesty's Chief Almoner, for Matters relating to Religion, to whom, or to ten of them, the King gave full Power to treat, and conclude with the Commissioners of the Parliament upon all their Propositions, and upon such as he should charge his with, which contained the same Demands with those he had made to the Parliament in the Beginning of the Year 1643.

AFTER that the safe Conducts were sent on both Sides, the Commissioners went to *Uxbridge* the 29th of *January*. All disinterested Men, at the first Thought it was strange, that the Parliament had delayed so long in resolving to enter upon a Treaty with the King, and that the Commission which they had given to their Commissioners, was not so ample as that which the King had given to those whom he sent on his Part: For whereas the King had given them a full Power to treat freely, and to conclude upon all the Particulars of the Propositions, the Parliament had restricted the Powers of their Commissioners to the Instructions which they received, giving them Liberty of conferring only, reserving to themselves the Power of concluding. That made People believe, that they did not act sincerely, and that they did not answer the Desire which the King had of pacifying the Troubles of the Kingdom, seeing his Majesty had given his Commissioners a Power, of which they might make a wrong Use, by yielding many Things in favour of the Parliament, without running any Risk on their Parts, if they had a Mind to betray the King's Cause, of which his Majesty had then made them Masters. Whereas though the Parliament's Commissioners had likewise had an absolute Power, they could not have made an ill Use of it so freely, and with so much Advantage to the King.

THE Treaty was begun the 30th of *January*, when a Difficulty was started about the Time that the Conference was to last, which the Parliament's Commissioners confined to twenty Days, and would likewise have it observed as a Rule, that they should treat three intire Days upon each Article of the Propositions; which being agreed to, they entered upon the Matter of Episcopacy, of which the Parliament's Commissioners demanded the Abolition, and the Alienation of the Lands depending upon the Bishopricks. The King's Commissioners opposed these Demands, very hard indeed, and alledged, that his Majesty could not consent to the first, because Episcopacy was of divine Institution, and that at his Coronation he had sworn always to maintain it. That his Majesty could not agree to the Alienation of the Church-lands, which would be a heinous Sacrilege, because it was forbidden both by the Laws of God and Man; and that commonly it fared no better with such as seized Goods of that kind, than with the Aigle that carried to her Airy the Piece of Flesh she had taken from the Altar.

THE King had not taken the same Oath in *Scotland* at his Coronation. He had only sworn in general to maintain the Religion of the Kingdom, of which Episcopacy was not thought to be an essential Part: And as its
Re-establish-

Re-establishment in that Kingdom depended only upon the Laws, it could be abolished again there by the Parliament, with the King's Consent, as it happened the last Time his Majesty was there. That if the King had promised in particular to maintain Episcopacy there, nothing would have obliged him to consent to its Abolition. For both in Prosperity and Adversity his Majesty has always squared his Actions by the Principles of Honour and Conscience, and, by an admirable Steadiness of Mind, has never consented to any mean Action unworthy of the Majesty of a King. He was neither puffed up by good Success, nor cast down by bad, preserving still the same Evenness of Temper in the Prison, and upon the Throne.

THE Parliament's Commissioners had nothing to answer that had the least Shadow of Reason, with regard to the Perjury and Sacrilege: But they enlarged with a more specious Pretence upon what had been advanced, that Episcopacy was of divine Right, and maintained that that Proposition could not be proved by the Word of God; that, on the contrary, a Bishop and a Priest were the same Thing in the Scripture-Phrase. The King's Commissioners answered to that, that all Things are not there explicitly decided, nor set down in express Words; so that it almost always happens, that those, who are prepossessed with any Opinion, keep close to the literal Sense, and from thence bring most strong and evident Proofs, according to their Meaning, which others, who hold the contrary Opinion, nevertheless find very weak, and sometimes ridiculous: For the holy Scripture, according to the Apostle, is not of private Interpretation, which occasioned *S. Augustin* to exhort us not to hold private Truth, lest we be deprived of the Truth, or as *S. Hilary* says, lest there be as many Heads, as many Opinions in the Faith. It was likewise what made *Tertullian* say, that Disputes about the Scripture commonly had no other Effect, but to leave the Disputants in the Belief, that neither Side had the Advantage, and that the Victory to be expected was likewise very doubtful, though otherwise, as for his own Part, he had adored the Fulness of the holy Scriptures.

MOREOVER they added, that Episcopacy having been established from the Times of the Apostles, though its Establishment could not be found in express Terms in the holy Scripture, what the Adversaries had alledged made nothing against it: No more than it would in the least prejudice a Monarchy that had lasted a thousand Years, to alledge, that its fundamental Laws made no mention of its Foundation. So the Church having at all Times acknowledged a notable Difference betwixt the Bishop and the Priest, there is no Ground for saying, that in the Beginning they were the same Thing, because the Bishop and the Priest, according to the Word of God, are sometimes both called by the Name of Priest only. As if, because *Annas* and *Caiaphas* in the Gospel, are both called High Priests, it might be inferred from thence, that there were at that Time two High Priests in the languishing Synagogue, it being certain, that there had never regularly been but one at a Time, though the High Priest had his Suffragan, as the Patriarch of *Constantinople* has his *Protosyncellus*.

BESIDES, 'tis not to be wondered at, if in the Infancy of the Church, the Functions of the Bishop and those of the Priest have not appeared distinct: Seeing that the Infancy of the Church bears some Resemblance with that of Man. For though the reasonable Soul of an Infant, which is of a heavenly Origin, be of a more eminent Quality, than either the sen-

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fitive or the vegetative Soul, which have their Origin from Matter; yet it does not appear to have distinct Operations from those of inferior Faculties, till a Maturity of Age, that the Mind finding the Organs of the Body well prepared and fit to be imployed in its most noble Functions, begins to make use of Reason, and to exercise that Power which it naturally has over the other Faculties. It may have been just so in the Infancy of the Church, when that mystical Body, which was to fill the whole Earth, was as yet weak, and as it were contained in a few Families. That the hierarchical Operations, which the Holy Ghost performs by its Organs, appeared but confusedly, till that Body had got some Strength, and that the Order of that spiritual House had rendered it both glorious and formidable, like an Army drawn up in order of Battle.

LASTLY, the King's Commissioners offered to yield to the Demand of those of the Parliament, if they could shew, that there ever had been a particular Church in any one Age, which had been governed any otherwise than by Bishops: Which they offered the more boldly, that they were very well persuaded, that all the holy Fathers lookt upon the Succession of Bishops to be one of the principal Marks of the true Church, and that Stone, which the proud Gates of Hell should not be able to prevail against; and they did not believe, that that Church was a Member of the Catholick Church, which could not count its Bishops from *S. Peter*, or from some of the other Apostles, who not having established their Sees apart, had all fate in that of *S. Peter*, as the only one, and the Center of Unity; but *S. Peter* was the first to whom the Lord gave the Keys of Heaven, and all the Sheep of the Flock to feed: So that if JESUS CHRIST had established any other Government in his Church but the Episcopal, it would have gone to Ruin from its Institution, and there would not have been remaining the least Foot-step of it in the Space of fifteen hundred Years.

AFTER having for a long time disputed upon this Article, the King's Commissioners, for the Good of Peace, and for making up, in some manner, the Differences that were betwixt his Majesty's Subjects on account of Episcopacy, and the ecclesiastical Ceremonies, proposed this Medium. I. "That there should be Liberty of Conscience for all Sort of Persons, with regard to the Ceremonies in the Religion of the Kingdom, and that the Ordinances, injoining the Practice thereof, should be suspended. II. That the Bishops should not give Orders, nor exercise the Power of episcopal Jurisdiction, but by the Advice and Consent of Synods, which should be composed of the most learned and grave Ministers that the Clergy of each Diocese should elect from among their own Body. III. That the Bishops should be bound to Residence in their Diocesses, if the King should not think fit to call them to be about his own Person, and that they should be obliged to preach every *Sunday* in some of their Churches, if they were not hindered by old Age, or some other Indisposition. IV. That the Ordination of Ministers should be performed publickly, and with Solemnity, after a strict Examination of their Abilities, besides inquiring into the Lives and Conversations of such as should come to desire holy Orders, to which the Bishops should not advance any Person without the Consent of the Synod. V. That no Person for the Time to come should possess two Benefices, nor two Vicarships with Cure of Souls. VI. That in order to facilitate the restoring of Peace, there should be raised, by Virtue of an Act of Parliament, the Sum of a hundred thousand Pounds out of the Estates of

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“ the Bishops and Chapters without alienating the Lands. VII. That the
“ two Houses of Parliament should regulate the Jurisdiction for matri- 1645.
“ monial Causes, for Testaments or Wills, and for Tithes. Lastly, that
“ the two Houses should lay down Rules as well for the Visitations of the
“ Bishops, as for the Fees of the Officers of the Ecclesiastical Courts,
“ and that they should make Acts for reforming the Abuses in the pub-
“ lishing of Monitories, and all others that had crept into the Exercise
“ of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.” But the Commissioners of the Parlia-
ment being resolved not to abate of their Demands, still persisted, that E-
piscopacy and the Liturgy must be quite abolished, and that the Presbyte-
rian Government, with a new Directory for divine Service be established in
their Room.

THEIR Propositions about the Militia were not less bold; for they re-
quired, that, for the publick Security, the Parliament should name all the
Officers that were to command it, and to have that Power as long as
they should think fit; but the King's Commissioners remonstrated, that
since it was granted, that the Security of both Parties depended upon the
Nomination of the Officers that were to command the Militia, the Fears
and Jealousies being equal on both Sides, the Securities ought to be so like-
wise: And that the Parliament could not give a Reason, why they alone
had a Mind to assume to themselves the Power of naming those Officers,
since even the King could not reserve it to himself alone. To that they
answered, That the Parliament should not exercise that Power till Peace
be restored, which being done, the King may rely both upon what the
Laws had provided, and upon the Affection of his People. To which
was replied, That if there was as much Security to be had by the Laws,
and the Affection of the People, as by the Militia, Decency required, that
the King should have the Choice of his Security: And if there was more
Security on the one Side than on the other, that would be doing nothing;
because the Fears and Jealousies would still remain. After a long Dispute
upon this important Point of the Militia, which is the brightest Gem in
the Crown, the Commissioners of the Parliament proposed, that at least
the Militia should be in their Power for the Space of seven Years, after
which it should be commanded by Orders to be given by the King and
the two Houses of Parliament in *England*, and by his Majesty and the
Parliament of *Scotland* in that Kingdom. The meaning of which Propo-
sition was, that the King was to have no joint Power with them during
seven Years, and which being expired, he was to have none without them.
Therefore his Majesty's Commissioners rejected that Proposition as unjust,
and derogatory to the Honour of the King their Master. In order to
forward the Peace, they readily consented, that the Parliament should
name the half of the Officers for three Years: But that did not satisfy
their Commissioners, who insisting positively upon their last Demand,
they entered then upon the Article concerning the Cessation of Arms in
Ireland.

As to what related to the Affairs of that Kingdom, the Commissioners
of the Parliament demanded, that the Cessation should be annulled, and
the War carried on there by the common Consent of the two Kingdoms.
The first Head of this Demand seemed very strange, and the King's Com-
missioners saw not to what end those of the Parliament pressed it in that
manner, if it was not to oblige the King to break his Word, and from
thence to take occasion to render him suspected to his People, who for the
future would hardly believe any Promise he could make them. For this
Demand

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Demand was made in *February*, and the Truce of *Ireland* expired in the Month of *March* following; so that if the King's Commissioners had granted the last Head of the Demand, to wit, that the War of *Ireland* should be carried on by the Parliament, the King's breaking of the Truce could not in the least have contributed to their Designs, it being so near an end, and ceasing of itself before they could be in a Condition to continue the War there. There were likewise many who thought, that the Parliament discovered so much Zeal for continuing the War of *Ireland*, with no other Design, but that they might be the more able to carry on that of *England*, because, under Colour of that War, they raised Money the more easily, which they afterwards imployed according as their own Affairs required it. After all, the Proposition for carrying on that War by the common Consent of both Kingdoms seemed to be of dangerous Consequence to the Crown of *England*: Because the two Nations, without doubt, having different Interests, might occasion, that while the one meant nothing but the Reduction of *Ireland* under the Obedience of the Laws, the other might besides have some Thoughts of conquering the Kingdom.

AT last, the twenty Days being expired, some of them having been spent in Matters concerning Religion, and others in those relating to the Militia and the War of *Ireland*, without having adjusted any one of the Articles, the King's Commissioners demanded a Prolongation of the Treaty. The Commissioners of the Parliament refused it, and sticking close to their Instructions, broke off the Conference, in the whole Course of which they did not take what the King granted them as Goodness and Condescension in him; but always complained, and took for Acts of Injustice whatever his Majesty refused to grant them, though never so unreasonable. What yet more plainly discovered the little Desire the Parliament had to accommodate the Affairs of the Kingdom, was, that their Commissioners, instead of endeavouring to find out Expedients for coming to an Agreement with the King, on the contrary, without bating the least Thing of their Demands for the Good of Peace, they still pressed his Majesty's Commissioners to yield to them all, without any Restriction whatsoever: Which was a way of negotiating as contrary to the Nature of a Treaty, as it would be to the Method of reasoning, to form an Argument altogether made up of Conclusions.

AMONGST the Propositions, which the Parliament had sent to the King before entering upon the Treaty, there was one which contained the Names of such as by all Means they would have to be excepted out of the general Pardon. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was one of those, the other Bishops, who had been imprisoned in the *Tower*, having been set at Liberty upon Bail, that Prelate could not expect so mild Treatment: For they had a greater Design upon him than upon all the rest together, and thinking that it concerned them very much to finish his Trial betimes, they resolved to dispatch him out of the Way at any Rate. He was condemned to be beheaded by an Ordinance of Parliament, for Reasons, which he himself will tell you by and by.

ON the 10th of *January* the Archbishop was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, and this old Prelate, who had fainted away, when he gave his Blessing to the Earl of *Strafford*, who, on his Way to undergo the like Sentence, had stopt before the Window, where the Archbishop was, in order to receive his Blessing with a profound Reverence: This Prelate, I say, far from being dejected under the Burden of his great Age, on the contrary,

contrary, redoubled his Courage at this last Moment of his Life, like the Setting-Sun coming out from under the Cloud which had deprived us of his Brightness for some time, and, with his Rays, gloriously gilding the Horizon, which keeps him from our Sight, by this last Impression of his Beauty, leaves us to regret his Absence. This Prelate then stepping to the Edge of the Scaffold towards the People, who, upon account of the Novelty of the Spectacle, surrounded it in Multitudes, beckoned with his Hand, signifying that he wanted them to be silent for a little, and, with his ordinary Gravity, pronounced this last Speech, which every body heard with great Attention.

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“ THIS is an uncomfortable Time to preach; yet I shall begin with a Text of Scripture, *Heb. xii. 2. Let us run with Patience the Race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the Author and Finisher of our Faith, who for the Joy that was set before him endured the Cross, despising the Shame, and is set down at the right Hand of the Throne of God.*

*The Speech of
his Grace the
Archbishop of
Canterbury,
spoken at his
Death, upon
the Scaffold on
Tower-hill,
Jan. 10, 1644.*

“ GOOD People I have been long on my Race, and how I have looked unto Jesus the Author and Finisher of my Faith, he best knows. I am now come to the end of my Race, and here I find the Cross, a Death of Shame: But the Shame must be despised, or no coming to the right Hand of God. Jesus despised the Shame for me, and God forbid that I should not despise the Shame for him. I am going a-pace (as you see) towards the Red Sea, and my Feet are now upon the very Brink of it: An Argument (I hope) that God is bringing me into the Land of Promise: for that was the Way through which he led his People: But before they came to it, he instituted a Passover for them. A Lamb it was, but it must be *eaten with four Herbs*, *Exod. xii. 8.* I shall obey, and labour to digest the four Herbs, as well as the Lamb. And I shall remember it is the Lord's Passover. I shall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the Hand that gathered them: But look up only to him, who instituted that, and governs those; for *Men can have no more Power over me, than what is given them from above*, *S. John, xix. 11.*

“ I AM not in Love with this Passage through the Red Sea, for I have the Weakness and Infirmities of Flesh and Blood plentifully in me; and I have prayed with my Saviour, *ut transiret Calix iste*, that *this Cup may be removed from me*, *S. Luke, xxii. 42.* But if not, God's Will, not mine, be done. And I shall most willingly drink of this Cup, as deep as he pleases, and enter into this Sea, yea, and pass through it in the Way that he shall lead me.

“ BUT I would have it remembered (Good People) that when God's Servants were in this boisterous Sea, and *Aaron* amongst them, the *Egyptians* which persecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into that Sea, were drowned in the same Waters, while they were in Pursuit of them.

“ I KNOW my God, whom I serve, is able to deliver me from this Sea of Blood, as he was to deliver the three Children from the Furnace, *Dan. iii.* And (I most humbly thank my Saviour for it) my Resolution is now, as theirs was then: They would *not worship the Image which the King had set up*, nor will I the Imaginations which the People are setting up; nor will I forsake the Temple and the Truth of God, to follow the bleating of *Jeroboam's Calves* in *Dan* and in *Bethel*. And as

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“ for this People, they are at this Day miserably misled: God of his Mer-
 “ cy open their Eyes, that they may see the right Way. For at this Day
 “ *the blind lead the blind*; and if they go on, *both will certainly fall into*
 “ *the Ditch*, S. Luke. vi. 39.

“ FOR my self, I am (and I acknowledge it in all Humility) a most
 “ grievous Sinner many Ways, by Thought, Word, and Deed: And yet I
 “ cannot doubt but that God hath Mercy in Store for me, a poor Peni-
 “ tent, as well as for other Sinners. I have now, upon this sad Occasion,
 “ ransacked every Corner of my Heart; and yet, I thank God, I have not
 “ found among the many, any one Sin, which deserves Death, by any
 “ known Law of this Kingdom: And yet hereby I charge nothing upon
 “ my Judges: For if they proceed upon Proof, by valuable Witnesses, I,
 “ or any other innocent, may be justly condemned. And, I thank
 “ God, though the Weight of the Sentence lye heavy upon me, I am as
 “ quiet within as ever I was in my Life. And though I am not only the
 “ first Archbishop, but the first Man that ever died by an Ordinance in
 “ Parliament, yet some of my Predecessors have gone this Way, though
 “ not by this Means. For *Elphegus* was hurried away, and lost his Head
 “ by the *Danes*; *Simon Sudbury*, in the Fury of *Watt Tyler* and his Fel-
 “ lows. Before these, S. *John Baptist* had his Head danced off by a leud
 “ Woman: And S. *Cyprian*, Archbishop of *Carthage*, submitted his Head
 “ to a persecuting Sword. Many Examples, great and good; and they
 “ teach me Patience: For I hope my Cause in Heaven, will look of an-
 “ other Dye, than the Colour that is put upon it here.

“ AND some Comfort it is to me, not only that I go the Way of these
 “ great Men in their several Generations; but also that my Charge, as foul
 “ as it is made, looks like that of the *Jews* against S. *Paul*, *Acts* xxv. 8.
 “ For he was accused for the Law and the Temple, *i. e.* Religion. And
 “ like that of S. *Stephen*, *Acts* vi. 14. for breaking the Ordinances which
 “ *Moses* gave, *i. e.* Law and Religion, the holy Place and the Law, *ver.* 13.

“ BUT you will say, Do I then compare my self with the Integrity of
 “ S. *Paul* and S. *Stephen*? No, far be that from me. I only raise a Com-
 “ fort to my self, that these great Saints and Servants of God were laid at
 “ in their Times as I am now. And it is memorable, that S. *Paul*, who
 “ helped on this Accusation against S. *Stephen*, did after fall under the very
 “ same himself. Yea, but here is a great Clamour, that I would have
 “ brought in Popery: I shall answer that more fully by and by. In the
 “ mean time you know what the *Pharisees* laid against Christ himself,
 “ S. *John* xi. 48. *If we let him alone, all Men will believe in him: Et ve-*
 “ *nient Romani, and the Romans will come, and take away both our Place*
 “ *and Nation*. Here was a causeless Cry against Christ, that *the Romans*
 “ *would come*. And see how just the Judgment of God was. They cru-
 “ cified Christ for fear lest the *Romans* should come; and his Death was
 “ it which brought in the *Romans* upon them; God punishing them
 “ with that which they most feared. And I pray God this Clamour of
 “ *venient Romani*, of which I have given no Cause, help not to bring
 “ them in. For the Pope never had such a Harvest in *England* since the
 “ Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Divisions that are
 “ amongst us. In the mean time, by Honour and Dishonour, by good Re-
 “ port and evil Report, as a Deceiver and yet true, am I passing through
 “ this World, 2 Cor. vi. 8.

“ SOME

“ SOME Particulars also, I think it not amiss to speak of.

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“ AND first, this I shall be bold to speak of the King our gracious Sovereign: He hath been much traduced also for bringing in of Popery. But in my Conscience (of which I shall give God a present Account) I know him to be as free from this Charge, as any Man living: And I hold him to be as sound a Protestant, according to the Religion by Law established, as any Man in this Kingdom; and that he will venture his Life as far, and as freely for it. And I think I do, or should know both his Affection to Religion, and his Grounds for it, as fully as any Man in *England*.

“ THE second Particular is concerning this great and populous City (which God blefs.) Here hath been of late a Fashion taken up to gather Hands, and then go to the great Court of the Kingdom, the Parliament, and clamour for Justice; as if that great and wise Court, before whom the Causes come, which are unknown to the Many, could not, or would not do Justice but at their Appointments; a way which may endanger many an innocent Man, and pluck his Blood upon their own Heads, and perhaps upon the City's also.

“ AND this hath been practised lately upon my self: The Magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from Parish to Parish without Check. God forgive the Setters of this, with all my Heart I beg it: But many well-meaning People are caught by it.

“ IN *S. Stephen's* Case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the People against him, Acts vi. 12. And *Herod* went the same Way, when he had killed *S. James*; yet he would not venture upon *S. Peter*, till he found how the other pleased the People, Acts xii. 3.

“ BUT take Heed of having your Hands full of Blood, Esai. i. 15. For there is a Time, best known to himself, when God, above other Sins, makes Inquisition for Blood. And when that Inquisition is on Foot, the Psalmist tells us, *Psal. ix. 12. that God remembers*; but that is not all, he remembers, and forgets not the Complaint of the Poor, i. e. whose Blood is shed by Oppression, ver. 9. Take Heed of this: 'Tis a fearful Thing to fall into the Hands of the living God, Heb. x. 31. but then especially, when he is making Inquisition for Blood.

“ AND with my Prayers to avert it, I do heartily desire this City to remember the Prophecy that is expressed, *Jerem. xxvi. 15*.

“ THE third Particular is the poor Church of *England*. It hath flourished, and been a Shelter to other Neighbouring Churches, when Storms had driven upon them. But alas! Now it is in a Storm itself; and God only knows whether, or how it shall get out. And, which is worse than a Storm from without, it is become like an Oak cleft to Shivers, with Wedges made out of its own Body. And at every Cleft Prophaneness and Irreligion is entering in; while, as *Prosper* * speaks, *Men that introduce Prophaneness are cloaked over with the Name Religionis Imaginariæ*, of imaginary Religion: For we have lost the Substance, and dwell too much in Opinion. And that Church, which all the Jesuits Machinations could not ruin, is fallen into Danger by her own.

* Lib. 2. de vitæ contempt. cap. 4.

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“ THE last Particular (for I am not willing to be too long) is my self.
 “ I was born and baptized in the Bosom of the Church of *England* e-
 “ stablished by Law. In that Profession I have ever since lived, and in
 “ that I come now to die.

“ WHAT Clamours and Slanders I have endured for labouring to
 “ keep an Uniformity in the external Service of God, according to the
 “ Doctrine and Discipline of this Church, all Men know, and I have a-
 “ bundantly felt. Now at last I am accused of High-Treason in Parlia-
 “ ment, a Crime which my Soul ever abhorred. This Treason was
 “ charged to consist of two Parts, *An Endeavour to subvert the Laws of*
 “ *the Land*: And a like *Endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Re-*
 “ *ligion established by Law.*

“ BESIDES my Answers to the several Charges, I protested mine In-
 “ nocency in both Houses. It was said, *Prisoners Protestations at the Bar,*
 “ *must not be taken.* I must therefore come now to it upon my Death,
 “ being instantly to give God an Account for the Truth of it.

I DO therefore here in the Presence of God and his holy Angels take
 “ it upon my Death, that I never endeavoured the Subversion either
 “ of Law or Religion. And I desire you all to remember this Pro-
 “ test of mine for my Innocency in this, and from all Treasons what-
 “ soever.

“ I HAVE been accused likewise as an Enemy to Parliaments: No, I
 “ understand them, and the Benefit that comes by them too well to be
 “ so: But I did dislike the Misgovernments of some Parliaments many
 “ Ways, and I had great Reason for it. For *Corruptio optimi est pessima.*
 “ And that being the highest Court, over which no other hath Juris-
 “ diction, when 'tis misinformed or misgoverned, the Subject is left with-
 “ out all Remedy.

“ BUT I have done: I forgive all the World, all and every of those
 “ bitter Enemies, which have persecuted me; and humbly desire to be
 “ forgiven of God first, and then of every Man. And so I heartily de-
 “ sire you to join in Prayer with me.

“ O ETERNAL God and merciful Father, look down upon me in Mercy,
 “ in the Riches and Fulness of thy Mercies, look down upon me: But not till
 “ thou hast nailed my Sins to the Cross of Christ, not till thou hast bathed
 “ me in the Blood of Christ, not till I have hid my self in the Wounds of
 “ Christ; that so the Punishment due unto my Sins may pass over me. And
 “ since thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I most humbly beseech
 “ thee, give me now in this great Instant full Patience, proportionable Com-
 “ fort, and a Heart ready to die for thine Honour, the King's Happiness,
 “ and this Church's Preservation. And my Zeal in these (far from Arro-
 “ gancy be it spoken) is all the Sin (human Frailty excepted, and all the
 “ Incidents thereto) which is yet known to me in this Particular, for which
 “ I come now to suffer: I say in this Particular of Treason. But otherwise
 “ my Sins are many and great; Lord pardon them all, and those especially
 “ (whatever they are) which have drawn down this present Judgment upon
 “ me. And when thou hast given me Strength to bear it, do with me as
 “ seems best in thine own Eyes, Amen.

“ AND

“ AND that there may be a Stop of this Issue of Blood in this more than 1645.
 “ miserable Kingdom, O Lord, I beseech thee give Grace of Repentance to
 “ all blood-thirsty People. But if they will not repent, O Lord, confound all
 “ their Devices, defeat and frustrate all their Designs and Endeavours upon
 “ them, which are, or shall be contrary to the Glory of thy great Name,
 “ the Truth and Sincerity of Religion, the Establishment of the King and
 “ his Posterity after him in their just Rights and Privileges, the Honour and
 “ Conservation of Parliaments in their just Power, the Preservation of this
 “ Church in her Truth, Peace, and Patrimony, and the Settlement of this
 “ distracted and distressed People under their ancient Laws, and in their na-
 “ tive Liberties, and when thou hast done all this in meer Mercy to them,
 “ O Lord, fill their Hearts with Thankfulness, and with religious dutiful
 “ Obedience to thee and thy Commandments all their Days. So, Amen, Lord
 “ Jesu, Amen. And receive my Soul into thy Bosom, Amen.” He conclu-
 ded with the Lord’s Prayer, after which he looked Death in the Face,
 with so sedate and chearful a Countenance, that his Greatness of Courage
 shook the Hard-heartedness of his very Enemies. Thus died *William Laud*,
 Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the seventy second Year of his Age.

HE was nothing beholden to his Birth, and very little to Fortune; but
 having been guided by Virtue in all the Ecclesiastical Degrees, he was ad-
 vanced to the Primacy of all the Kingdom. For as the Statues and Tro-
 phies, erected in Honour of our Ancestors, belong not to us, the Glory of
 our own Actions being only ours: So neither ought it to be a matter of
 Pride, but rather of Shame and Confusion for us to take Advantage of
 them, and boast of being descended of some illustrious Men, if we our-
 selves do not follow their Foot-steps, and if we do not add some Steps to
 the Pyramid, of which they have laid the Basis. But it is honourable for
 a Man to signalize himself by noble Actions, and to distinguish himself
 from the Vulgar by uncommon Atchievements, and by leading a good Life
 eternize his Name to Posterity. ’Tis surprizing to see, that the two
 Houses of Parliament having given Orders the 30th of *May* 1643, to seize
 all the Papers of those who were Prisoners in the *Tower*, amongst those of
 the Archbishop was found a Journal of his Life, which was immediately
 printed; and though it was published by a suspected Hand, yet there are
 many Things in it very much to the Advantage of the Memory and Re-
 putation of this Prelate: Many very remarkable Things are to be found
 therein, which shew his Piety and Devotion after the Manner of his Com-
 munion; for in a Manual of Prayers which he had composed for parti-
 cular Occasions, there are many of them very devout upon Account of
 several Accidents that had happened to him, of which he kept the Anni-
 versary in Retirement, and by some Mortification. This Journal also con-
 tains a great Number of general Designs, which he had formed, and part-
 ly executed for the Ornament of Churches and Colleges, for the Founda-
 tion of Hospitals, for the redeeming of alienated Church Lands, and
 for the Maintenance of Professors of the Oriental Languages, and of all
 Sciences: In fine, it may be observed through it all, that this Archbishop
 has been one of the most vigorous Defenders of the Ecclesiastical Liberty
 and Authority, that has been since the great Martyr *S. Thomas Becket*, who
 died and was canonized for defending the Immunities and Privileges of
 the Spouse of the Son of God.

To return to *Montrose*, while he was thus laying Waste all *Argyle’s*
 Lands, the Parliament, which had met at *Edinburgh* in the Month of
 D d d May

1645. *May* 1644, and being adjourned to the Month of *January* following, met again in the same Place the 7th of the Month, and the Earl of *Lauderdale*, a most accomplished Gentleman, and of great Merit, having died soon after the opening of the Session, they chose the Earl of *Lindsey* for their President. They exposed to Sale, at twelve Years Purchase, the Goods and Estate of *Montrose*, and of the other Lords and Gentlemen of his Party, which they had confiscated, without Prejudice, however, to the Debts they had contracted before the Confiscation. They ingaged the publick Faith for the Security of such as should buy them, and obliged themselves to keep them in peaceable Possession in Spite of all Opposition, promising besides to punish as Enemies of the State such as should attempt to disturb them in that Possession. Moreover, they ordained that the Money that should arise from thence should be employed for the publick Necessities. Lastly, having made several Regulations for the Subsistence of their Army, and for the raising of new Troops against the Royalists, whom they called unnatural and rebellious Countrymen, the Parliament was adjourned to the Month of *July* following.

THE General Assembly, which had been appointed to be held in the Month of *May*, met occasionally the same Month with the Parliament. The Assembly of the *English* Divines at *Westminster* having agreed with the Commissioners of *Scotland*, upon a certain Form that had been proposed for publick Prayers, and the Administration of the Sacraments, they got it to be ratified by the two Houses of Parliament. It was on the 3^d of *January* that they passed an Ordinance to make it be received in Place of the Liturgy, the Use of which was prohibited over the whole Kingdom, though the same two Houses had declared in the Month of *April* 1642, that their Intention was to reserve the Liturgy, taking out of it only the superfluous and offensive Things. The Divines having got their Work authorized, they sent it to *Scotland*, in order to get the Approbation of the General Assembly, the Clergy, and Parliament of that Kingdom. Whereupon the General Assembly having appointed some Commissioners for receiving that Form, which they called a Directory, and which was to be in Place of the Liturgy, and having allowed every body to give their Opinion of it, it was approved by all, and they likewise ordained, that all the Ministers of the Kingdom should make use of it for the Time to come; provided, however, that what it enjoined in general Terms concerning the Sitting of the Communicants at the Table, and the Distribution of the Bread and Wine, might not give Occasion to any Person to believe, that he was at Liberty to go, or not to go to the Table, as many in *England* did, to whom the Ministers carried the Sacrament in their Seats, or that the Ministers were at Liberty to give it themselves to all the Communicants, who ought to give it to one another: For in *Scotland* it was not then allowed, that the People should communicate otherwise than sitting at the Table, or that any should receive the Bread and the Cup from the Hands of the Minister, but the Person only that was sitting next him.

Now, this Directory did not contain set Forms of Prayers, but only general Rules and Directions, by which the Ministers were to frame the Prayers and Exhortations, leaving it to them to chuse the Words, and to make the Service either short or long, as they thought fit. Indeed, they granted, that a well-framed Liturgy might serve as a Monument to Posterity, who thereby would understand what had been the Practice of the Church in the Time of their Fore-fathers, and that the Ministers, who
had

had been lately admitted, might make Use of it to good Purpose; but they did not think, that they ought to be tied down to certain Forms of Prayers and Exhortations in the Administration of the Sacraments. Their Reasons were: I. That these set Forms, so framed, were a Hinderance to the Glory that ought to be given to God: Seeing by that Means a certain Measure of Service was only done him, and the Prayers and Praises, which the faithful might offer up to him more abundantly without them, if they made a right Use of his Grace, were stinted. II. That they were contrary to the Honour that was due to Jesus Christ, and rendered his Gifts useless, since, though he should give none to his Servants, they would not make the less Use of the Liturgy. III. That they destroyed the Assistance of the Holy Ghost, leaving nothing for him to do. IV. That they hindered the People from being edified, since they could stay at home, and read the Prayer Books in private. V. That they hindered the Conversion of Souls, because Prayers said by Rote, and without Devotion were not able to affect a Heart that was not converted to God. VI. That they never would awaken a Soul lulled asleep; on the contrary, that they would keep the People in a sensual Security, and persuade them, that God required nothing else of them but to be present at the Service. VII. That they made the Minister lazy, who might confidently go from the Tavern, or some worse Place, to read the Liturgy. VIII. That that Sort of Service might be performed by a Child of seven Years of Age, and that at that Rate a *Turk*, who could only read, might be a Minister. Lastly, That the Lord himself would have framed a Liturgy, if he had judged it necessary for his People. If these Reasons were good, the holy Scripture should no more be read, nor even the reading of it to the People be suffered; since they equally, and in the same manner, strike at the reading of that holy Book, as they do at the Liturgy. Nay, the Lord's Prayer, which is a set Form, ought not to be said; and indeed, since this new Reformation, many Ministers of *Scotland* have left off saying it at the end of their Prayers.

THEN the General Assembly answered the Letters of the *English* Divines, who, not having as yet come to any Resolution about the Uniformity of the Ecclesiastical Government, had represented to them; "That it was the Fate of the Walls of *Jerusalem* to advance but slowly:" Then they wrote to their own Commissioners that met with the Divines at *Westminster*, encouraging them to crown the Work of the Lord; and signified to them the Joy that all the Members had, upon hearing by their Letters, "That the Mountain of Episcopacy was levelled; and that in Place of the Liturgy, the two Houses of Parliament had established the Directory, which appeared to them like an agreeable Dream, so marvellous was that Change."

LASTLY, The Assembly having condemned all those who had solemnized the Feast of *Christmas*, to do publick Penance for it, though more than twelve hundred Years ago the holy Priest *Sedulius*, of their own Nation, had such a Regard for that Day, that he composed a Hymn for that holy Feast, which is still sung in the Catholick Church; they appointed another Assembly to meet in the Month of *June* the following Year, and at the same time caused a very free Remonstrance to be drawn up, in order to be sent to the King, as follows; "That the Clergy of *Scotland* having published a Warning to all Ranks of People of the Kingdom concerning the Judgments of God, which their Sins had drawn down upon them, since the Lord has no regard to the Qualities or Conditions

*The General
Assembly's Re-
monstrance to
the King.*

1645. " of Persons, and that such Condescension ought not to be had for the
 " Great as to palliate their Sins, they thought they could not better testify
 " their Fidelity and Affection to his Majesty, than in representing to him,
 " with all due Respect, the dangerous Condition he had plunged himself
 " into, as well as his People. That though they should be willing to
 " conceal it, the most inanimate Things would proclaim it aloud. That
 " the Patience of the People was severely tried, in seeing the Blood of
 " their Brethren shed by a cursed Faction of *Irish* Rebels, with their Ac-
 " complices, under the Command of certain Men authorized by his Ma-
 " jesty. That besides that Hardship which he made his People suffer,
 " they could not conceal one yet much more dangerous, without being
 " wanting in the Fidelity, to which their Offices obliged them, which
 " was, that his Majesty made himself guilty of all the Blood that was
 " shed of so many Thousands of his most faithful Subjects, and sinned
 " greatly in having suffered the Mass and other such like Idolatries both in
 " his own Family, and in other Places of his Kingdoms; in having au-
 " thorized the Publication of an Ordinance for the Prophanation of the
 " Lord's Day; in having suffered in his Court many Scandals unpunished;
 " in having shut his Ears to the most humble and most just Requests of
 " his faithful Subjects; in having taken the Advice of those who were far
 " from seeking God; in having consented to the Cessation of Arms in
 " *Ireland*; to be short, in having opposed the Reformation of the Church.
 " That for these Causes, they, the Servants of the most High, prostrating
 " themselves humbly, and with great Grief, before his Majesty, took the
 " Boldness to tell him, that these Sins that stuck to his Person and Throne
 " were so great, that whatever his flattering Preachers might say to the
 " contrary, they would draw down the Wrath of God upon him and his
 " Posterity, if he did not soon give a Testimony of an humble Repentance.
 " That now was the Time, or never, to reconcile himself with God, and
 " in good Earnest to suffer that the Son of the Almighty may reign over
 " his three Kingdoms, in the Purity of his Word. That if God touched
 " the Heart of his Majesty, and inspired into it to do these Things, he
 " would find Favour at his Hands, and be loved by all his People. That,
 " on the contrary, if he refused this sound Advice, they had cleared
 " their Consciences by it, and would be innocent of the Miseries, where-
 " with both the Church and State were threatened. That happen what
 " would, they did not doubt of the good Success of the Covenant be-
 " twixt the two Nations, which having already had so many Blessings
 " from Heaven, would undoubtedly surmount all Manner of Difficulties
 " and Opposition; besides, that they hoped, with the Assistance of God,
 " never to go from it; but, on the contrary, to spend all their Fortunes,
 " and even their Lives, if need were, for its Furtherance.

IN the mean Time, *Montrose*, not minding what was passing either in
 the General Assembly or Parliament, and having finished the laying Waste
 * *The Lake of* of *Argyle's* Lands, directed his March towards the Head of *Lough-Nefs* *,
 Nefs. where he soon had an Account that the Garrison of *Inverness* had joined
 the Forces of the Northern Shires, and that they had taken the Field to
 the Number of five thousand Men, who were marching in great Haste
 to fight him. He had then but fifteen hundred Men, because *Clan-Ra-*
nald's Men and those of the Shire of *Athol*, loaded with the Spoil of *Ar-*
gyle's Lands, had had Liberty to go home. He had freely given them
 that Liberty, because he knew not that so many of the Enemy's Troops
 had been assembled: But though the Match was very unequal, yet he
 did not hesitate to give them Battle, being persuaded, that, except the
 Garrison

Garrison of *Inverness*, which, indeed, was composed of old Soldiers, injured to the Hardships of War, all the rest, who were only the Militia of the Country, and raw Soldiers, would make but little Resistance. 1645.

As he was making ready to go and meet them, he had an Account that *Argyle* having made up a Body of three thousand Men, composed of such *Highlanders* that as yet adhered to him, and of the Garrisons of the *Low Country*, was incamped at the old Castle of *Inverlochy*, thirty Miles from him, upon the Banks of *Lough-Aber*, from which that Country takes its Name. *Montrose* was not surprized to see himself between two Armies, being accustomed to it; but knowing very well, that *Argyle's* Intention was only to ingage him in a Battle with the Northern Forces, and if he found his Advantage in it, to charge him in the Rear, whenever he should see another Army attack him in Front; he judged it was necessary both for the Reputation of his Arms, and the Good of his Majesty's Service, to rid himself once for all of that Enemy, who was one of the principal Ring-leaders of the Covenanters, and whose Defeat would terrify all the rest. For which Reason he resolved to make Head against him; and that he might have no Account of his March, he detached Guards to be placed in the Passes of all the beaten Roads, and he himself at the Head of his Army scrambling over the Hills of *Lough-Aber*, which are desert and uninhabited Places, he got within half a Mile of *Argyle's* Camp before he was aware, where having put his advanced Guards to the Sword, two only escaped, who run and told *Argyle* of *Montrose's* Approach. Whereupon the Covenanters stood immediately to their Arms. *Montrose* being advanced within Cannon-Shot, saw that they were drawn up in Order of Battle, making a good Appearance, and seemingly resolved to give him a warm Reception: But because Night was approaching, and that his Men were too much fatigued with so quick and hard a March, he gave Orders to halt, and in order to make sure of them the next Morning, he ordered the Musketeers to continue skirmishing with the Enemy by the Moon-shine: Which they did the whole Night, both Sides standing to their Arms, with great Impatience waiting the Break of Day; *Argyle* seemed to have a Mind to be then only a Looker-on, for he withdrew from the Camp that very Evening, under Pretence of going to order Ammunition to be speedily brought to his Men, and took Boat upon the Lake, there to wait the Event of the Battle.

AT the Break of Day, which was *Candlemas*, *Montrose* ordered to sound to Arms, and charged at the Head of his Troops with so much Courage, that the *Campbells*, who were on the right, of which Name *Argyle* is the Chief, having given their Fire, were forced to run away, which struck such a Terror into all the rest of the Army, that they took to their Heels all at once. There were many of them that run to the old Castle of *Inverlochy*, and asked Quarters, which was granted them; but the Run-aways were pursued above six Miles, and near seven hundred of them were killed on the Spot. *Montrose* had only three Soldiers wounded, and that by their own Comrades through Inadvertency. There was nothing but the Loss of the brave Sir *Thomas Ogilvie*, who fighting valiantly, received several Wounds, of which he died a few Days after, which abated the Joy of this Victory, which likewise much diminished *Argyle's* Credit among his own Followers, to whom this Day was very fatal; because it broke the Band, wherewith he kept those poor *Highlanders* attached to his Interest.

The Battle of Inverlochy.

1645. *MONTROSE* having given his Troops some Days to refresh themselves, marched towards *Lough-Nefs*, and passing through *Strathbarrick*, *Strathairn*, and *Strathnairn*, he came to *Strath-Spey*, where having learnt that the Covenanters were drawing together at the Town of *Elgin*, in the Shire of *Murray*, he marched straight on to them: But their Spies having given them Notice of his drawing near, they immediately disbanded themselves. However, *Montrose* continued his March, and being come to *Elgin*, the Lord *Gordon*, who had fallen out with *Argyle*, his Uncle, came and offered to join him. He received him with open Arms, and treated him with all the Marks of Friendship imaginable. After *Montrose* had staid some Time there, and invited the Gentry of the Neighbourhood to join him; but seeing that it was with little Success, he thought that the joining of the Lord *Gordon* would rather induce the Northern Shires to follow his Party.

IN Expectation of that, he passed the *Spey*, and entered the Shires of *Barnff* and *Aberdeen*, where having got together what Men he could, he passed the River of *Dee*, and entered the Shire of *Merns* with two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse. Sir *John Hurry*, who commanded there for the Covenanters, having Notice of it, marched out of *Brechen* with six hundred Horse to view *Montrose*, who being incamped in a Place full of Bushes, drew out all his Horse, and made three hundred of his nimblest Musketeers follow them by a hollow Way. *Hurry* having at first seen only the Light Horse, and believing, that they durst not fight him, advanced in order to charge them: But he had no sooner discovered the Musketeers, than he wheeled about, and retreated with full Speed. *Montrose* then taking his Advantage, pursued them so hard, that, ill mounted as his Cavalry were, he made so brisk an Attack upon the Rear-guard, where *Hurry*, like a Man of Courage, was making the Retreat himself, that if Night had not parted them, he had certainly defeated him.

HURRY having passed the River of *Southesk*, retired to *Dundee* at a full Gallop, and *Montrose* having lain that Night at *Fettercarn*, marched the next Day to *Brechen*, where having been given to understand, that for the future he must have to do with experienced Commanders, and that Major General *Bailly* having joined *Hurry*, they were strong in Horse, he betook himself to the high Grounds, and marching along the Hills of *Angus*, he went on towards the River of *Tay*, which he intended to pass, in order to advance towards that of *Forth*. The Enemy having had Notice of this March, followed him with all their Forces. How soon they came in Sight, *Montrose* drew up his Men, and offered them Battle: But having waited them for two Hours, and seeing, that they did not advance one Step so much as to fire a Pistol, he continued his March, and incamped that Night at *Inverwharthy*. The next Day he pursued his Way along the Hills, and went straight to *Eliot*, where having got a more particular Account of the Covenanters Army, which had still followed him by the Valleys below him, he resolved to force them to fight. The more to oblige them to it, he marched down from the Hills, and offered to pass the small River of *Ile*, which was betwixt him and the Enemy, who immediately run to stop him. *Montrose* seeing, that it was impossible to force his Passage, sent a Drummer to offer them the Choice, either to pass themselves, or suffer him to pass, that, like Men of Honour, they might decide their Quarrel by a pitched Battle, and thereby save the Country,

Country, which suffered very much by their Marches, and needless Toil. 1645.

THE Covenanters having refused this Offer, saying, that they would mind their own Interest, he continued his March towards *Dunkel*, with a Design to pass the *Tay*: But being already got near the Banks of it, his Design was balked by a cross Accident, which was, that *Lewis Gordon*, who a little before had left the Covenanters, and, after the Example of his eldest Brother, had sided with *Montrose*, sent him Word, that he had received Orders from the Marquis of *Huntley*, his Father, to return with the Men that had followed him; which occasioned two Thirds of the Soldiers to disband themselves, and return home: For *Huntly* did not willingly allow his Troops to pass the *Grampion Hills*, which were the Bounds of his Government toward the South.

MONTROSE, weakened by this unexpected Desertion, could not pretend to enter the Shires of *Fife* and *Lothian*, which, without Controversy, are the best and richest Countries of all *Scotland*: But was forced to return to the North, where he expected Succour. However, that it might not appear, that he had advanced to the Banks of the *Tay* for nothing, and to keep up the Reputation of his Arms, upon the Report that his Scouts had made him, that the Enemy having learnt that he was marching to *Dunkel*, they had advanced to the Abbey of *Scoon*, in order to pass the River first, he sent his Baggage before him, with the weakest and worst armed of his Men to *Brechen* by the Hills of *Angus*, and keeping with himself but a hundred and fifty Horse, and six hundred choice Musketeers, he was resolved by the Way to take *Dundee*, one of the most dissaffected Towns to the King that was in the Kingdom, and the usual Receptacle of all the Covenanters. He was assured that it would be easily taken, there not being any other Garrison in it but the Inhabitants, who could expect no Relief from the Army, since it had passed the River fourteen Miles above the Town, and, as he believed, had entered the Shire of *Fife*. He likewise hoped, that after this Expedition, he might march to *Brechen*, and join the rest of his Men with the Baggage.

WITH this Resolution, he set out the 4th of *April* between Two and Three of the Clock in the Morning, and about Two in the Afternoon came before the Town; he sent Lieutenant *John Gordon* to summon it to surrender. The Inhabitants, though destitute of a Garrison, kept the Lieutenant, whom they shut up in a Dungeon, and gave no Answer. *Montrose* seeing that, without more ado, advanced to the Barricadoes, which they had made without the Gates, divided his Men into three Bodies, in order to attack the Town at three Places, and commanded them to fall on all at once; which they did with so much Eagerness and Bravery, that the besieged, after a very slender Resistance, were driven away; and their Gates being beat in Pieces, the Soldiers made themselves Masters of the Market-place, and took Possession of their Cannon. At the same time, they set one of the Quarters of the Town on Fire; and 'tis probable, that had not the Allurement of Pillage and Wine allayed the Resentment of the Soldiers, this Town, which is one of the most considerable of the Kingdom, had been reduced to Ashes.

As these Things were thus a doing, the Guards, which *Montrose* had left at the Avenues of the Town, came to acquaint him, that the Enemy, whom, upon a false Report, he believed to be on the other Side of the River,

1645. River, appeared coming with full Speed towards the Town. Their main Body being actually incamped on this Side, they had sent over to *Fife* only a Detachment of their Troops, which they quickly recalled, in order to follow *Montrose* in a Body, after having been informed of his March. He had scarce got his Men drawn out of the Town, many of which were drunk and loaded with Plunder, when the Enemy came within Musket-Shot with three thousand Foot, and between seven and eight hundred Horse. Some advised *Montrose* to save his own Person, his Ruin being inevitable if he waited the Enemy with so few fatigued Men, and not in a Condition to fight. Others were for rushing in desperately upon their Enemies, and selling their Lives as dear as they could. But *Montrose* rejecting both these Advices, the first as cowardly, and the other as rash, commanded every Man to repair to his Colours, and wait till further Orders. Then he ordered those that were most fatigued to file off, and keeping with himself only two hundred choice Musketeers and the Horse, he was resolved to make the Retreat himself, hoping that the Night, which was drawing near, would favour it, and that the Enemy's Horse could do them little Hurt without their Foot, which, not being so well inured to marching as his own, would not be able to overtake them. The Enemy imagining, that he could not escape at this Bout, divided their Horse into two Brigades, in order to charge him in Flank and Rear, and, the more to incourage their Men, cried out, that whoever should bring in *Montrose's* Head should have twenty thousand Pounds Scots. In the mean time *Montrose* having sent to tell the Van-guard to march on in good Order and softly, and he keeping his Rear-guard at close Order, he detached some Musketeers to harass the Enemy. These having knocked down some of their Scouts, the rest advanced very slowly, and gave Time to *Montrose* to get quite clear of them: So that as it was already dark, and that the Enemy pursued them no more, he retreated in good Order, without losing a Man, till he came to the Abbey of *Aberbrothick*, where he halted, to consult what Road to take for joining the rest of his Men and the Baggage, which he had sent to *Brechen*.

He considered, that if the Enemy should hear, that he had marched towards the North, they would leave the Sea-coast, and cross the Country in order to stop his Way. Therefore, without taking any Refreshment, in great haste, by the Favour of the Night, he marched through the Country betwixt the *Tay* and the River of *Southesk*, which he passed three Miles above *Brechen*, and incamped near the Castle of *Careston*, from thence having sent to *Brechen* to cause the rest of his Men and the Baggage to follow, he was told that upon the Alarm of his Retreat from *Dundee*, they had taken another more safe Road, and got to the Hills. But as the Soldiers, who had marched about sixty Miles without eating, began to take some Refreshment, *Montrose's* Scouts came to tell him, that the Enemy's Horse were advancing towards him at a great Pace, with some Foot. *Montrose* being within three Miles of a Place of Safety, decamped forthwith. He could not march so fast but the Enemy's Scouts exchanged some Pistol Shot with his Rear-guard. However, after a light Skirmish, *Montrose* reaching the Mountains, put the Enemy out of Conceit with following him further, and he marched to *Glenesk*. This Retreat may truly be reckoned amongst *Montrose's* most famous Actions, being no less glorious than the greatest of his Battles. In effect, 'tis matter of Astonishment to consider both his Presence of Mind, and his Vigilance and good Conduct upon so unforeseen and dangerous an Occasion; nor is there less Reason to admire the Constancy and Zeal of his Soldiers, who were
three

three Days and two Nights either continually marching or fighting, 1645.
without Rest.

IN the mean time, the King's Arms had not so good Success in *England*, though for a long Time the most part of Things had succeeded to his Majesty's Advantage. The next Day after the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Death, Sir *Henry Gage*, Governor of *Oxford*, having intended to build a Fort at *Cullam-bridge*, his Design was basely discovered, by which Means he fell into an Ambush, where he received a Musket-shot, of which he died two Days after. He was a most accomplished Gentleman, and who had as perfect a Knowledge of the *Belles Lettres*, as Experience in military Affairs. And, indeed, he has left Monuments of his great Learning, as notable in their Kind, as the Trophies of his Valour.

To alleviate a little the Grief which this Loss occasioned, there arrived almost at the same time two Ships richly loaded in Ports that were under the King's Obedience. One of these Ships, called the *Fame of London*, was loaded with the richest Merchandize of the *West Indies*, which amounted to above three hundred thousand Pounds, and by Strefs of Weather, was driven in to the Port of *Dartmouth*. The other, named the *John of London*, mounted with twenty six Pieces of Cannon, belonging to the *East-India* Company, wherein there was sixteen thousand six hundred and sixty six Pounds, thirteen Shillings and four pence in Silver, besides a great deal of rich Merchandize, was carried in to *Bristol* by Captain *Mucknel*, for which Service done the King at a Time, when his Majesty was left destitute of all his Ships, he had the Honour to be the first Knight that the Prince of *Wales* made with his own Hand.

SOON after, the Port of *Weymouth*, which during this War has often changed Masters, was surrendered to the King by Sir *Walter Hastings* and Sir *Lewis Dives*. To ballance that Loss, the Parliament, by Treachery, made themselves Masters of the Town of *Shrewsbury*, which was delivered up to Governor *Wemmes*.

FORTUNE, however, being loth to desert the King's Party, his Arms continued victorious in other Parts. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* defeated a Body of Horse commanded by Colonel *Ross* near *Melton Mowbray* in *Leicestershire*, he likewise caused the Siege of the strong Castle of *Pontfret* in *Yorkshire* to be raised, where the Lord *Fairfax* was soundly banged. About the same Time, Colonel *Roger Molineux* having gone upon a Party with a Detachment of Horse from *Newark*, carried away by Force the Committee that was raising Contribution in *Derbyshire*. And about the end of *February* Sir *William* and Sir *Charles Comptons*, younger Sons of the Earl of *Northampton*, defeated a Body of Horse near *Daventry*, and having joined their eldest Brother, routed another near *Althrop*, in the same County. But Colonel *Long*, Governor of *Wiltshire* had not so good Success; for having attacked *Waller* near the *Devises*, he charged him very briskly with his Regiment of Horse, but the Match being very unequal, he was taken Prisoner, with a Part of his Regiment. Colonel *Goring* soon after was revenged of it in that same Country, and on the 15th of *March*, fought with the same Success near *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*.

IN the mean Time, Prince *Rupert*, who was not idle, relieved the Castle of *Betchton* in *Cheshire*, and defeated Colonel *Massy* at *Ledbury* in *Herefordshire*. On the other hand, *Cromwell*, a most vigilant Man for his Party,

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defeated

1645.

defeated a Part of the King's Horse near *Islip*, of which he took two hundred Prisoners. He likewise forthwith ordered the Castle of *Blechington* to be summoned, which the Governor immediately surrendered. That Governor was carried to *Oxford*, where, by a Sentence of a Court Martial, he was shot. *Cromwell* came not so well off at *Farington*, where the Garrison repulsed him briskly, with the Loss of near two hundred Men, besides the wounded and Prisoners, which came to a much greater Number. The Garrison of *Scarborough* Castle likewise made a gallant Defence against Sir *John Meldrum*, who had besieged it; for having made a furious Sally upon him, he was mortally wounded, and many of his Officers were killed on the Spot.

ON the 7th of *May*, the King marched out of *Oxford* at the Head of his Army, and the same Day, Colonel *Goring* gave *Cromwell* another Brush near *Newbridge*. His Majesty having advanced into *Worcestershire*, the Garrison of *Hawkesly-house* surrendered at Discretion. From thence having marched towards *Chester*, which Sir *William Bruerton* had for a long Time besieged, upon the King's Approach he raised the Siege. From thence his Majesty marched to *Leicester*, which he invested the 30th of the Month, and the next Day the Town, wherein was the Committee of the County, was taken by Storm, after which the Garrisons of the adjacent Castles and inconsiderable Places deserted them. The King had no sooner left *Oxford*, which he had well fortified and provided with all Things necessary for standing out a Siege, than General *Fairfax* besieged it on the 2^d of *June*. But Colonel *Leg*, who was Governor of it, was so vigilant, and defended the Place in such a Manner, that *Fairfax* very soon lost Hopes of succeeding in his Design: For after having beat up some of his Quarters, he made a great Sally with a thousand Men, Horse and Foot, towards *Heddington-hill*, where having beat off the Enemy's Guards, the Musketeers that were in that Post, not being sustained by the Horse, who immediately fled, were cut all in Pieces, or taken.

The Battle of
Naseby.

THIS vigorous Resistance obliged *Fairfax* to raise the Siege, and march after the King, who had entered *Northamptonshire*, where, on the 14th of *June*, was fought that fatal Battle of *Naseby*, which his Majesty lost. His Foot were all cut in Pieces, and his Cannon and Baggage taken. The Enemy found there the King's own Cabinet, wherein there were several Letters from the Queen to him, and Copies of such as his Majesty had written to her, which were indiscreetly printed at *London*, though there were many of them which contained nothing but Compliments and Proofs of the great Friendship that had always been betwixt their Majesties, and as for the rest, there was nothing in them relating to the publick Affairs of the Times.

THE King could never retrieve the Loss of that Day. His Troops dwindled away, and his Affairs still went on in a decaying State, till the Parliament, which had seized upon the King's Authority, and had stript him of that Majesty, which is inseparable from crowned Heads, had triumphed over his Liberty. Three Days after the Battle, the Town of *Leicester* was retaken, and the Castles of *Pontfret* and *Scarborough* were afterwards surrendered to the Parliament. The Town of *Bath* surrendered, and the Castle of *Sherborne*, and the Town of *Bridgewater* were taken by Storm, and some Brigades of Horse of *Goring's* Army, who hitherto had lookt upon it as his Due, to beat the Enemy, were routed at *Langport*, where Sir *John Digby*, a most accomplished and gallant Gentleman,

man, received a Wound, of which he died very soon after. This bad Success not having in the least discouraged the King, he continued his March for relieving *Hereford*, which the Covenanters had besieged for five Weeks with a Part of their Army. Upon his Majesty's Approach they raised the Siege; but this Place, which had defended itself so long against the Parliament's Forces, at last in the Month of *December*, by the Power of Silver, which makes Gaps in Places, where Iron cannot penetrate, fell into their Hands. The other Part of the Covenanter's Army, commanded by Major General *Lefly*, who had kept *Carlisle* blocked up all the preceding Year, met with no Resistance, which occasioned that important Place at last to fall into their Hands.

FAIRFAX continuing his Advantages, besieged *Bristol*, into which Prince *Rupert* had thrown himself. After a Siege of three Weeks, he made himself Master of a Part of the Town by Assault, and the Prince, despairing of Relief, on the 11th of *September* surrendered the rest upon Capitulation; and the same Month the Earl of *Lichfield*, Brother to the Duke of *Lenox* and *Richmond*, with eight hundred Horse, unhappily engaged a more numerous Body of an Army near *Chester*, where that gallant Lord was killed upon the Spot. And at the same Time the Castles of the *Devizes*, *Barkley*, *Sandal*, *Winchester*, *Langford*, *Bolton*, *Beston*, *Belvoir*, and *Latham* surrendered to the Parliament. That of *Shelford* in *Nottinghamshire* was carried by Storm; but Colonel *Stanhope*, who was Governor, defended it till there was not a Man of his Garrison left alive, after which he himself was killed fighting upon the Breach.

BUT above all, the taking of *Basing-House* by Storm was deplorable, after that the Marquis of *Winchester*, who was Lord of it, had defended it so long; besides, as it was there that the Parliament's Troops, upon sundry Occasions, had received many Affronts, so they shewed their Resentment beyond what Men of Honour ought to do; for, after having made themselves Masters of the House, they killed a great many People in cold Blood, crying out, as was every where reported; *Cursed be he that doth the Work of the Lord deceitfully*. As they were leading the old Marquis Prisoner, that good Nobleman said these excellent Words, which are truly worthy of eternal Memory; *There are only three Things that I have always had a particular Value for: The first, to keep a clear Conscience before God: The second, carefully to continue loyal to my King: And the third, to preserve my Honour among Men. I have done them all to the utmost of my Power, let Fortune glory of the rest, if she will.*

IT was thought strange, that the King's Affairs should be thus ruined all at once. Many were of Opinion, that there was either some Weakness in the Council, or that what was resolved upon there, was not vigorously enough put in Execution. In the one, the Eyes of *Argus* are requisite, and for the other, the Hands of *Briareus*. Perhaps, that as private Interest often gets the better of that of the publick, though the last be still the Pretence, the King's Arms were not always led to the Places whither they ought to have been carried, but only to Places wherein some particular Men found their Account. From the Beginning of the *Troubles of Scotland*, it was observed, that whatever Mildness there was in the Person of the Prince, the chief Ministers of State were hot-headed Men, and that that Harmony, which ought to have been among its Parts, was confounded. Although there be but three Estates reckoned in each Kingdom, yet there are four Orders, which, like the four Elements make
up

1645. up the Body of the State. The People is the Earth which brings forth all, and provides for all; but those who govern ought to take good Care, that, by still taking from it, it don't grow barren. The Clergy, like Water, temper the Heat, if it be excessive in some Parts, and it is by the Means of that Ocean, that we have Commerce with Heaven. The Body of Justice is like the Air, which ought to clear the State from bad Humours, and make every Man breath with Liberty and Security in the Condition his Fortune hath placed him. The Nobility and Gentry are the Fire, the Flames of which ought to be dreaded; yet if the Vapours rise not from the Earth, its burning is not much to be feared; for Storms are not bred within their Sphere. There is this Relation betwixt these Bodies, that when there is but one of them discontented, there's no great Fear of Danger; because the Motion of the People is always slow, if they are not spurred on by the Great Men: And on the other hand, these are of no great Weight, and can occasion but little Trouble, if the People be not ready and inclined to rise. The Danger is when the Nobility and Gentry put off declaring themselves till the Populace raise the Storm; to which this Fable may be applied, that *Jupiter* having discovered, that all the other Gods had a Mind to seize upon his Person, he took *Pallas's* Advice, and sent for *Briareus*, that Giant with the hundred Hands, to come quickly to his Assistance. Whereby, no doubt, is meant to shew, of how great Importance it is, above all Things, to Princes to secure the Good-Will and Love of their People.

Now, the People of *England* were the most happy of any that were then under the Cope of Heaven; their Plenty and Ease were envied by all Strangers that travelled in the Kingdom: Which was owing to the Fertility of the Country, and that the Liberty of Commerce, which is the Source from whence all the Riches of a State flow, was free to them with all Nations. But it happened to them as to the Children of *Israel*, who seeing themselves fat, kicked against the Pricks. As for the People of *Scotland*, their only Aim was Religion, and they run into extreme Violences in order to recover the pretended Purity of it, which the first Reformers had established among them, which easily disposed them to Com-motions, and to suffer themselves to be led by the great Men of the Kingdom, who espoused that same Interest. The Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom were Men of greater Ability, and, according to the Judgment of the Ministers of foreign Princes, shewed themselves more cunning, witty, and resolute than those of the neighbouring Kingdom. Not but that there were there many Noblemen of eminent Parts; but, generally speaking, the top Nobility were not Men of such Capacity as those who lived in *Queen Elizabeth's* Time; so that though there were many of them in the Royal Party, yet Affairs did not seem to be managed with that Address and Vigour as they ought to have been. As for *Scotland*, there had not been seen for a long Time so many Noblemen capable both of Counsel and Execution, as at that Juncture. 'Tis true the Covenanters Arms had not great Success there; but that was owing to a more remote Cause: For, in fine, there is a Fatality in all worldly Things, that is to say, that human Prudence is not Mistress of them, and that the Providence of God guides them by secret Ways, and disposes of them as he thinks fit, which being so, all the Fore-sight of Men is short, as well as their Strength weak against the Decrees of Heaven.

MONTROSE having staid some Days at *Glenesk* to refresh his Men, sent the Lord *Gordon* to the North with some Troops, in order to bring back

back those, who against his Will had retired with his younger Brother, and keeping with himself only five hundred Foot and fifty Horse, marched through the Hills of *Angus* to the Shire of *Perth*, that thereby he might oblige *Bailly* and *Hurry* to separate; which succeeded according to his Wish. For the Covenanters having ordered *Hurry* to follow *Gordon* with six hundred Foot and two hundred Horse, *Bailly* settled his head Quarters at *Perth*, as in the Heart of the Kingdom, there to consider what he had to do. *Montrose* had incamped about twelve Miles off, at a Village called *Crief*. *Bailly* having Notice of it, and knowing that a Part of his Troops had marched Northwards, set out in the Dusk of the Evening, and marched towards him in the Night-time, expecting to surprise him, and beat up his Quarters by the Break of Day. But *Montrose's* Spies having advertised him of his March, he immediately put his Men in Order, mounted his Horse to go and meet the Enemy, and having found that they were at least two thousand Foot, and about five hundred Horse, he judged that he could not without Rashness ingage himself in a Battle, and that he would have Difficulty to retreat without Loss. Whereupon he ordered his Foot to march towards the River of *Ern*, which falls into the *Tay* above *Perth*. The Enemy having perceived it, made their Horse advance in order to charge him: But *Montrose*, who was making the Retreat in Person with his own Horse, received them with great Courage, and continued his March in good Order, still skirmishing with the Enemy for three Hours, till his Foot having come to a narrow Part of the River betwixt two Hills, the Enemy left off pursuing him any further.

HE incamped that Night upon the Banks of *Lough-Ern*, whence the River of the same Name takes its Rise, as that of *Tay* from a Lough (Lake) about twenty four Miles long; and 'tis the same with all the Rivers of *Scotland*, which take all their Names from the Loughs from whence they Spring. The next Day he marched to *Balwidder*, where the Earl of *Aboyne* joined him, after having made his Escape out of *Carlisle*, which the Covenanters were then besieging, and brought with him some of his Friends. From thence he advanced to *Lough-Catrinet*, where having Advice that *Hurry* was in Search of the Lord *Gordon*; and lest that experienced Commander should lay an Ambush for that young Lord, he resolved to go to his Assistance, and to take his Advantage of the Separation of the Covenanters Forces, which he was not in a Condition to attack while they were joined. Upon this Resolution he returned to *Balwidder*: From thence marching towards the Head of *Lough-Tay*, and by long Marches passing through the Shires of *Athol* and *Angus*, he passed the *Grampian* Hills through the Valley of *Glenmuick*, and entered a great Way into the Shire of *Mar*, till he came to *Cromar*, where *Gordon* joined him with a thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse. Having happily met with his intimate Friend, for whom he had been in great Pain, he declared, that he longed for nothing so much, as to ingage with *Hurry*. In order to which, he marched in all Haste towards the River of *Spey*, and got within six Miles of *Hurry*, before he had the least Notice of his having passed the *Grampian* Hills. *Hurry*, upon this Alarm, passed the *Spey* in all Haste, and got to *Elgin*, *Montrose* still following him by the Track. Being come there, he learnt that *Hurry* had reached *Forres* in great Haste, and he pursued him fourteen Miles with so much Speed, that the Night overtook *Hurry*, who with great Difficulty got to *Inverness*, where he had appointed the covenanted Troops of all the North Country to rendezvous, without which he durst not venture to fight. *Montrose* having quartered

1645. that Night upon the Lands of *Campbel* of *Calder*, returned the next Day to *Aldern*, where having incamped some Days, he had Advice that *Hurry* had joined the Forces of the Shires of *Murray*, *Sutherland*, and *Caitbness*; and having drawn the old Soldiers out of the Garrison of *Inverness* to divide them amongst that raw Militia, he was turning upon him with three thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse. *Montrose* thinking the Match too unequal, having in all but fifteen hundred Foot, and two hundred and fifty Horse, had a great Mind to shun fighting, if he could by any means retreat: But besides that *Hurry*, on the one Hand, had put it out of his Power to make a safe Retreat, *Bailly*, on the other Hand, having passed the *Grampian* Hills, was in all Haste advancing towards the *Spey* with his Army strong in Horse; which made him resolve, whatever should happen, to give *Hurry* Battle, seeing that his Ruin was inevitable, if he should wait till he had these two Generals to deal with.

The Battle of
Aldern.

THEREFORE betimes the next Morning, which was the 9th of *May*, stedfast in his Resolution, he put himself in a Posture to give *Hurry* a warm Reception, taking what Advantage he could of the Field of Battle. The Village of *Aldern* is situate upon a Height, which covers a Valley hard by, pretty narrow, which rising gently, is bordered with little Hills. *Montrose* drew up his Troops in this Valley, to keep them from being seen by the Enemy. He gave the right Wing, consisting of four hundred Foot, to *Macdonald*, and having drawn them up in a Place fortified with Shrubs and Ditches, he ordered them not to quit that Post, which could not be forced, but to stand their Ground whatever the Event of the Battle should be. He placed the Royal Standard in that Wing, in order to oblige the Enemy to attack it with their best Troops, hoping that they would in vain attempt to take it by Force, in the mean time he would do the best he could with the left Wing, the Horse of which he gave the Command of to the *Gordons*, and he put himself on the Head of his Foot. The Musketeers which he had posted in some Ditches at the Entry of the Village represented his main Body, though in effect he had none, nor a Body of Reserve. The Enemy having perceived the Standard in the right Wing, did not fail to attack it briskly both with their best Horse and Foot; and at the same time detached some Musketeers to begin the Battle with those that *Montrose* had placed at the Entry of the Village. They had the Advantage at the Beginning; for besides that *Macdonald* having quitted his Post, had been put into Disorder, *Hurry's* Musketeers made a better Fire than those of *Montrose*, and as soon as any of them were disabled, their Places were supplied with fresh Men; which *Montrose* could not do with the handful of Men he had. Therefore he resolved to make a brisk Attack with his left Wing at once. As he was forming this Design, one came and whispered him in the Ear, that the right Wing, commanded by *Macdonald*, had been put to the Flight. Fearing then that if that bad News were spread amongst his Troops, it might discourage them, with a wonderful Presence of Mind he said to the *Gordons*, that *Macdonald* with his Wing had cut the Enemy in Pieces, that it was not reasonable that he alone should have all the Glory of so noble a Victory, and that at least they must have their Share in it. Whereupon they all charged with a surprising Eagerness. *Hurry's* Horse did not long bear the fierce Shock of the *Gordons*; for having only fired their Pistols, they gave Ground, and left the Flank open to *Montrose's* Horse. Their Foot, though deserted by the Horse, made a vigorous Resistance; but *Montrose* having attacked them Sword in Hand, he broke and put them all to the Flight. Having succeeded in that according to his Expectation, he

he immediately ran to the right Wing, which had not fought with so good Fortune; for *Macdonald* having more Courage than Conduct, could not keep the advantageous Post that had been given him, being nettled at the reproachful Language which the Enemy gave him, of purpose to draw him out to fight. But he had no sooner ingaged them, than the Enemy's Horse put him into Disorder, and obliged him to return to his Post very fast. He made amends for his rashly quitting it, by a gallant Retreat; for retiring last of all himself, he still made Head against the Enemy's Pike-men, covering his Body with a great Target, which he carried in his left Hand, and with his broad Sword cutting off the Spears of three or four of their Pikes at a Blow.

THE Enemy seeing *Montrose* coming to his Assistance, and their right Wing fled, their Horse of the left Wing presently betook themselves to their Heels; but the Foot, which were old beaten Soldiers fighting gallantly, died almost all in their Ranks. Three thousand of the Enemy were killed on the Spot, amongst which were Colonel *Campbel* of *Lawers*, and Sir *John* and Sir *Gideon Murrays*. *Montrose* lost only one private Man in the left Wing, where he fought in Person, and fourteen in that commanded by *Macdonald*; but there was a much greater Number wounded. Almost all the Enemy's Horse fled in great Confusion through By-ways. *Hurry*, who made the Retreat himself, would have had Difficulty to get off, if *Montrose's* Men had not been alarmed by *Gordon* of who returning from the Pursuit with *Aboyn*, by Inadvertency carried some Standards high, which that Earl had taken from the Enemy; for that made those of his own Party suspect for some time, that it was the Enemy returning to the Charge. Mr. *Napier*, the Lord *Napier's* eldest Son, and Nephew to *Montrose* by his Mother, signalized himself in this Battle, and, by this Proof of his Courage, discovered what might be expected from him in Time coming. *Montrose*, after his usual Manner, treated the Prisoners with great Humanity; and having allowed his Troops some Days to refresh themselves, he marched to *Elgin*, where are still to be seen the sad Ruins of the Cathedral Church of *Murray*, which was of an admirable Structure.

HE was obliged to stay some Time there for looking after his wounded Men, which he did very carefully. From thence having passed the *Spey*, he marched to *Strathbogy*, where *Hurry*, who had rallied his Horse, and joined *Bailly*, came to attack him: But having so few Men, and, besides, all fatigued, to withstand so great a Number of fresh Men, he halted all that Day, and decamping in the Night-time, he marched on in good Order to *Balveny*, and having crossed *Strath-Don* and *Strath-Spey*, got to *Badenoch*, having the Enemy still at his Heels: And though he was not in a Condition to fight, to which they endeavoured to provoke him, yet he had frequent Skirmishes with them in the Night-time, and beat back their advanced Guards to their Quarters, there being only the River between the two Camps. At last losing all Hopes of being able to bring him to fight, all of a sudden they decamped in the Night-time, and retired to *Inverness*.

MONTROSE was very glad to be rid of *Hurry* and *Bailly*; for he had an Account, that the Earl of *Lindsey* had got the Command of the Covenanters Army in Place of *Argyle*, that he had gone over to *Angus* with a new levied Army, and was incamped at the Castle of *Newtile*. This Lord hoping to manage the Covenanters Affairs to better Purpose than

1645. than *Argyle* had done, intended to assist *Bailly* and *Hurry*, if he saw them straitened, and whatever should happen, to hinder *Montrose* from passing the *Forth*, there being nothing that the Covenanters dreaded more, than to have the Seat of the War in *Lothian*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*. But as *Lindsey's* Men were but raw Soldiers, *Montrose* thought it would be easy for him to take them napping, and put them out of Conceit with advancing further.

FOR which end, he decamped from *Badenoch*, and having marched through the Plains of *Mar*, he passed the *Grampian Hills*, and, by long and troublesome Marches, came to the River of *Airly*, within seven Miles of the Place where *Lindsey* was, before he had the least Notice of his March. But here *Montrose* was forced to let slip the Opportunity of fighting him; for the Troops that followed the Lord *Gordon*, left him without saying a Word, and returned to *Strathbogy*, where *Aboyn* had been left sick. This Desertion obliged *Montrose* to alter his Design, and to send Colonel *Nathanael Gordon* after the Deserters, to endeavour to make them change their Resolution: But as that could not be done in so short a Time, and that in the mean while *Bailly* and *Hurry* having left *Inverness*, were come with all their Forces into the Shire of *Aberdeen*, he was forced to return to the North himself. So leaving the River of *Airly*, he passed by *Gleney* into the upper *Mar*, from whence he sent *Macdonald* with a Party, in order to hasten the Levies that were making in the *Highlands*, and having got to *Cromar*, he ordered the Lord *Gordon* to follow his Namesake the Colonel, and by his Authority to oblige all those that had quitted the Service to return to the Army. That brave Lord was as glad upon his receiving that Order, as he had been vexed and displeased with the Defection of his Followers, and he made such Haste, that in a short time he appeared upon the Head of all those Troops, accompanied by his Brother *Aboyn*, who had recovered his Health.

DURING their Absence, *Montrose* had Advice, that *Lindsey* had joined *Bailly* at *Drum*, in order to take Advantage of the Separation of his Troops, and as he was in a Place where he could not intrench himself so well but his Camp might be easily broken through, he marched in all Haste to the Castle of *Kargaf*, and incamped in an advantageous Post, at the Foot of Hills, where he thought the Covenanters would not think it fit to attack him. Although the *Gordons* had come and joined him in this Post, yet he could not quit it to go and meet the Enemy: for *Aboyn* not being well recovered from his Sicknes, relapsed, which obliged him to return, and take a Detachment of Horse to guard him to *Strathbogy*. In the mean time *Lindsey* having taken a thousand good old Soldiers from *Bailly*, and left in their Place as many of his new-raised Militia, returned through *Angus*, and entering the Shire of *Atbol*, which was the Country of the Kingdom that was most in *Montrose's* Interest, he laid it waste. *Bailly* at the same time returned to the North Country, and marched towards *Bogy*, a Castle belonging to the Marquis of *Huntley*, situate upon the Mouth of the *Spey*, and the most stately of all the North of *Scotland*, with a Design to make himself Master of it, or to lay waste the Lands of that Lord and his Friends in its Neighbourhood. *Montrose* having Notice of it, though *Macdonald* had not as yet joined him, resolved to go to the Assistance of *Huntley's* Friends, and, by all Manner of good Offices, to oblige them to join him in that Cause, which was common to them both. Upon this Resolution, he marched directly for *Bogy*, where having had Advice of *Bailly's* March, he followed him by the Track, and after marching about two
Hours,

Hours, he discovered his Scouts: At the same time he detached some Men that knew the Roads of the Country well, in order to take a View of him. These gave an Account that *Bailly's* Foot were drawn up in Order upon a rising Ground about two Miles off, and that his Horse having passed the *Don*, were posted in a narrow Pass, half-way betwixt the two Armies. 1645.

MONTROSE forthwith ordered the few Horse he had, with some Platoons of Musketeers, to charge *Bailly's* Horse, and to view the Pass. After some slight Skirmishes, *Bailly's* Horse repassed the River, and put themselves in a Posture of opposing the Passage of the Royalists: Whereupon *Montrose* advanced with all his Foot, in order to force his Way; but Night coming on, he was obliged to keep them under Arms till the Morning, when seeing that he could not force his Passage, he sent a Trumpet to offer a pitched Battle: But *Bailly* finding himself in so advantageous a Post, thought fit not to accept of it. Whereupon *Montrose* marched to *Pitlurg*, and from thence to the Castle of *Druminnor*, where he staid two Days, in order to oblige *Bailly* to quit his Post, and bring him to a Battle. But *Bailly* hearing that *Macdonald* was in the *Highlands* with a Detachment of *Montrose's* Troops, filed off towards *Strathbogy*, where having Notice of his March, he began then to pursue him. *Montrose* having spied him about Noon, halted upon a rising Ground; but *Bailly* not having a mind to give him that Advantage, turned aside by another Road; after which *Montrose* continued his March to the Village of *Alford*, where he passed the Night under Arms, being but four Miles from *Bailly*.

THE next Morning betimes, which was the 2^d of *July*, he marched out of the Village with a Troop of Horse to get Intelligence of *Bailly*, and having advanced to the Banks of the River of *Don*, he learnt that the Covenanters Army was marching to ford the River about a Mile below *Alford*, with a Design to attack his Rear; because they thought that *Montrose* was flying before them.

UPON this Advice, he left his Troop upon the River-side, and in great Haste returned all alone, in order to take Possession of a Hill above the Village, where he drew up his Men in Order of Battle upon the Declivity of it; so that the Covenanters, who were on the opposite Side, could hardly see the Front-Rank; and there being a Morass-Ground behind him, he was in no Danger of being attacked in the Rear by their Horse. He had scarce put his Troops in Order, when the Horse, which he had left on the River-side, came at a full Gallop to tell him, that the Enemy had passed the River, and that they were advancing towards him in Battle Order. *Montrose* gave the Command of the right Wing to the Lord *Gordon*, to whom he joined Colonel *Nathanael Gordon*, an old experienced Officer; of the left to *Aboyn* and *Rollok*; that of the main Body to *Drummond* of *Balloch*, and *Macdonald* of *Glengary*, to whom he added Major *George Graham*, and of the Body of Reserve, which was quite covered by the Hill, to *Napier*, his Nephew. The Covenanters being drawn up upon a low Ground full of Ditches and Pits, the two Armies stood some time staring at one another; for it was neither safe for the one to charge up the Hill, nor for the other to attack an Army surrounded with Ditches and Marshes. They were very near equal in Foot, having about two thousand each; but *Bailly* was much stronger in Horse; for he had six hundred, and *Montrose* had only two hundred and fifty. However *Montrose*, who knew that it was not fit to delay attacking raw Soldiers, who having never
H h h been

*The Battle of
Alford.*

1645. been in Action, would certainly be frightened being briskly attacked, ordered the right Wing to fall upon the Enemy. The left Wing of the Covenanters, which was strong in Horse, bore the Shock with great Courage, and fought a long Time without giving Ground, though *Gordon* had broken through their first Ranks: But Colonel *Nathanael* having ordered the Platoons of Musketeers, that were mixed with the Horse, to throw down their Muskets, and with their drawn Swords to hamstring the Enemy's Horse, they readily obeyed, and put them into a Consternation. At the same time *Montrose* made the Body of Reserve advance, which appearing thus on a sudden, the Horse of the Covenanters left Wing were so terrified, that they all fled. That of the right, which *Aboyn* had broken through, seeing their left Wing routed and flying, likewise betook themselves to their Heels. The Foot, though deserted by the Horse, still stood their Ground, without asking Quarters, so that they were almost all cut in Pieces.

THE *Gordons* pursuing the Enemy's Horse, were stopt by a fatal Shot, which killed the Marquis of *Huntley's* eldest Son. Besides that gallant and promising Lord, *Montrose* lost none but other two Officers, *Boquilly* and *Milton*; but not one Soldier, unless some *Scots* and *Irish* Soldiers Boys may be reckoned such, which *Montrose*, having so few Horse, had caused to mount upon the Baggage Horses, in order to make the greater Appearance. These were not only Spectators of the Battle, wherein their Masters were so far engaged, but they had a mind to have their Share of the Victory, and rushing in among the thickest of the Enemy, with a Courage far surpassing their Age, some of them were killed upon the Place. What made the Day fatal to the Victorious, was the Death of the Lord *Gordon*; and, truly, they all expressed a great Sense of that Loss, and forgetting all the Advantages of the Victory, they gave Way to Grief, every body with great Reason lamenting the Death of that young Lord, which happened so unfortunately in the Flower of his Age. In this so universal Consternation of the whole Army, *Montrose* appeared every where to encourage his dejected Soldiers. He himself was inconsolable, having lost the dearest Friend he had in the World: However he concealed his Grief, and having caused his Corps to be embalmed, some time after he made it to be interred in the Cathedral Church of *Aberdeen*, the Burying-place of the Family of *Huntley*.

THAT same Afternoon *Montrose* marched to the Castle of *Cluny*, where having rested some time, he then advanced to the Banks of the River of *Dee*; and because many of the *Highlanders* had gone home with the Booty they had got at the Battle of *Alford*, which was fought in their Neighbourhood, and that *Macdonald* was not as yet returned with his new Levies, *Montrose* resolved to incamp at *Craigston*, which is about a Mile and a half from the River, there to wait for all his Men; but especially *Aboyn*, whom he had detached for raising Recruits in the Earldom of *Buchan*.

IN the mean time, the Parliament, which had been adjourned to *July*, met the 8th of that Month at *Stirling*: " They immediately began to take
 " into Consideration the distracted State of the Kingdom, of which the
 " Peace (said they) had been disturbed for some Months by a parcel of
 " rascally *Irish* Fellows, with whom some unnatural *Scotsmen* had joined;
 " and that these Traitors had had great Success in their criminal Designs,
 " because they had not met with so vigorous an Opposition as ought to
 " have been made, there not having been as yet but a few weak Regi-
 " ments,

ments, which had been drawn out of the Militia, to make Head against them: whereas the Nobility and Gentry, with all their Followers, ought to have met and fallen upon them at once. Therefore the Parliament considering, that by the Blessing, which God had visibly given to their Arms, and to those of their Brethren in *England*, having nothing to fear from without the Kingdom, they were resolved seriously to apply themselves to suppress the Rebellion within." 1645.

TOWARDS the attaining of which, they ordained, that several Troops of Horse, and Companies of Foot be now raised in all the Shires: That all the Nobility and Gentry take up Arms, and bring with them the greatest Number of Men they possibly could, in order to meet at the Rendezvous appointed by the Parliament, all upon Pain of Treason: To which they added, that the Foot should have Provision for eight Days, and the Horse for forty. Moreover they prohibited all Persons of what Condition soever to go out of the Kingdom without a Pass from the Committee of Parliament, upon Pain of Confiscation of all their moveable Goods; and all Masters of Ships to carry any Person beyond Sea upon the same Pain, without the Committee's Pass. Then they renewed the Commissions given before for raising Money to subsist their Army, after which they adjourned themselves to the 24th of the same Month of *July*.

MONTROSE having rested some Days at *Craigston*, during which Time the Recruiting went but slowly on, and unwilling to continue there any longer doing nothing, sent to *Aboyn*, who was come to *Aberdeen*, desiring him as soon as possible to pass the *Dee*, and come to him at *Fordon*, a Chapel, in the Shire of *Kincardin*, famous for being the Burying-place of *S. Palladius*, who, in the Year 429 was sent to *Scotland* by Pope *Celestin*, in order to oppose the Doctrine of *Pelagius*, which was spread over all that Kingdom. The proud Broacher of that learned Heresy, as *S. Jerom* calls it, was not a *Scotsman*, as many think that holy Doctor believed him to be; but 'tis for want of having well considered his Words: For he distinguisheth betwixt *Pluto*, who acted the Mute, and *Cerberus*, who barks. By the one he means *Pelagius*, who wrote nothing, or very little; and by the other *Celestinus*, who wrote a great deal, and whom he calls a *Scotsman*, that is to say, an *Irishman*, according to the manner of speaking at that Time. For of old *Ireland* was called *Scotland*, and the *Scotland* of now a-days *Albany*: In former Times *Ireland* was likewise called *Great-Scotland*, and *Little-Britain*. As for *Pelagius* he was a *Welshman*. *S. Prosper* calls him, *Æquoreum Britannum*, alluding either to the Island of *Great-Britain*, or to his Name, which, in the *Welsh* or *Low British* Language, was probably *Morgan*, that is to say, *Maritime*. According to the old *English* Historians, he was Abbot of that famous Abbey of *Bangor*, wherein above twelve hundred Monks lived by their own handy Work.

ABOYN went immediately and joined *Montrose* at *Fordon*, but his Retinue being very small, *Montrose* sent him back again to finish the Levies, and conjured him to use his utmost Diligence. In the mean while, he entered the Shire of *Angus*, where he met *Inchbraky* at the Head of the *Atholmen*, and *Macdonald* with a good Number of *Highlanders*, with whom had joined *Mackclean*, a powerful Man in the *Highlands*, with seven hundred Men, and *Glengary*, with as many; the Clans of *Mackgregor* and *Macknab*, with a good Number of that of the *Farquharsons*, of the Shire of *Mar*, and some others of *Badenoch*, all which joined *Montrose* about the same time.

MONTROSE

1645. *MONTROSE* having received so considerable a Reinforcement, resolved to march into the Heart of the Kingdom, as well to hinder the Levies that were making in the Shire of *Fife*, and in the Country on this Side of the *Forth*, as to break up the Parliament that was Sitting at *Pertb*. What made this Undertaking very difficult, was his Weakness in Horse; insomuch that he could scarce venture to go down to the *Low Country*; but hoping, that the Earls of *Airly* and *Aboyne* would soon bring him a Body of Horse, he passed the *Tay* at *Dunkel*, and having incamped in the Wood of *Methuen*, he put the Parliament at *Pertb* in a terrible Fright.

THE Covenanters Foot were incamped on this Side of the River of *Erne*, and their Horse near the Town for the Security of the Parliament. How soon they had discovered *Montrose's* Scouts, they galloped to the Town in a great Hurry, where they told, that *Montrose* was close at their Heels with all his Forces, with a Design to take it, though that was a Body of four hundred Horse, and that *Montrose* had not above a hundred. The next Day, the more to frighten the Town, he caused a hundred Musketeers to be mounted upon Baggage-Horses, and appeared before the Gates in very good Order. The Covenanters believing that he was much stronger in Horse than he was, did not offer to sally out upon him; but stood upon their Guard: Whereupon *Montrose* marched towards *Duplin*, and made Incurfions all along the River of *Erne*, where he beat up some of the Enemy's Quarters, who fearing that he would pass the *Forth*, assembled all their Troops, and incamped at *Newtown*, upon the Road to *Stirling*. Both Armies continued incamped for several Days, the Covenanters expecting their Recruits from *Fife*, *Lothian*, and the Western Shires of the Kingdom, and *Montrose* his from the North, which he sent to hasten, lest he should lose so fair an Opportunity of beating the Covenanters. But they at last having understood, that the Body of Horse, which he made appear, was nothing but a Feint, they marched to attack him. They were about four thousand Men stronger than he, which obliged him quickly to leave the Plain, and get to an advantageous Post in the Mountains, whither the Covenanters could not pursue him. For which end, he sent away his Baggage privately, and drew up his Men in Order of Battle, still making as if he had a mind to wait the Enemy, above all placing strong Guards at the Avenues of the Wood of *Methuen*, till his Baggage was in a Place of Safety. All this being done, he ordered the Troops to retire in good Order, and to march close, making the Retreat himself with the Horse, and some choice Musketeers. The Covenanters, who expected to fight, perceiving that he was retreating, advanced in Order to charge him briskly. *Montrose* having gained the narrow Passes, repulsed them without Loss. This fine Retreat provoked the Covenanters the more, who thought that their Honour was at Stake in not pursuing the Royalists, and having lost so fair an Opportunity of beating them, they detached three hundred of their best Horse, who advanced with great Fury: *Montrose* immediately detached twenty choice Fusileers from amongst the *Highlanders*, who being all good Marks-men, took their Aim so well, that they knocked down all those that were on the Head of that Brigade. The rest seeing that, without any more ado, wheeled about, and vented their Fury upon some poor *Irish* Women, who were following their Husbands. As soon as they had joined their main Body, the whole Army incamped at *Methuen*. *Montrose* having gained an advantageous Post, and not to be come at by the Horse, at little *Dunkel*, he found that Place convenient for

for receiving the Recruits, which *Aboyn* was bringing him from the North, and whom he was expecting with great Impatience.

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IN the mean time, the Parliament, which was Sitting in *Pertb*, confirmed the Directory for divine Service, which the King had prohibited by his Proclamation of the 5th of *November*. Then they set a great Fine upon all Blasphemers, Drunkards, and all such as turned holy Things into Ridicule; because, said they, that having broken the Covenant in that Article, which obliges every one of them seriously to reform their Lives, they had drawn down the Judgment of God upon the Kingdom. Besides, they ordained that all the Fines should be employed in pious Works; after which turning their Thoughts to what concerned the War, they declared, that all Deserters from the Army, of whatever Quality or Condition they might be, should be treated as Malignants; that is to say, as Persons disaffected to Religion and the State. They likewise ordained to be levied the fourth Part of the Rents of all the Nobility and Gentry, and of all such as had Fiefs, who should not appear at the Rendezvous appointed by the Parliament the 9th of *July* that same Year, or who had not furnished the Number of Horses that had been ordered them by the same Parliament; and that the said fourth Part of their Rents should be employed in making new Levies, and Provision of Arms and Ammunition. They likewise ordained, that all those who should side with the Rebels (for such they called those who followed *Montrose*) should be declared incapable of possessing any Lands, or injoying any other Sort of Estate of what Nature soever; or even to succeed to Dignities, though hereditary in the Families: Besides, that all those, who in any manner whatsoever had been engaged in that Party, should be proceeded against with the same Rigour, if they did not quit it before the 15th of *September* next, and if, after having appeared before the Committee of Parliament, they did not submit to ecclesiastical Censures: But if they returned with that submissive Mind before the Day prescribed them, their Crime should be pardoned. However they declared unworthy of that Pardon *James Graham*, formerly Earl of *Montrose*, *James Ogilvie* and *James Gordon*, the one formerly Earl of *Airly*, and the other of *Aboyn*, *Mackdonald*, the *Grahams* of *Inchbraky* and *Gortby*, *Sir William Rollok*, and Colonel *Nathanael Gordon*. At last the Parliament having raised the Value of the Money, and made many other Regulations concerning the subsisting of their Troops, was adjourned to the 26th of *November* following.

MONTROSE was sadly vexed, that he should be obliged to part without fighting; and the spending of so much Time in making Recruits in the North likewise gave him a great deal of Uneasiness. But at last, after having waited a long Time at *Little Dunkel*, where every Day seemed as long to him as a whole Month, *Aboyn* and Colonel *Gordon* arrived with two hundred Horse, and about twelve hundred Foot, which revived *Montrose*, though that Number was much less than what he had expected, but these brave Gentlemen supplied the Number by the Greatness of their Courage.

THE Earl of *Airly* likewise came there on the Head of fourscore Gentlemen, well mounted, and most of them of the Name of *Ogilvie*. *Montrose* had no sooner got this Reinforcement, than he resolved, without Loss of Time, to go in quest of the Enemy, and having advanced to *Logy-Amond*, about three Miles only from the Covenanters Camp, he quartered his Foot there; and having had Advice, that a Part of their Troops

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had deserted them, about the Evening he advanced with the Horse towards their Camp, in order to view them; but they kept so close that he could not well be a Judge of their Number. It seemed to him only, that they had a Design to march off in the Night-time. But having again mounted his Horse the next Morning by Break of Day to get Intelligence of them, he found, that they had decamped in the Night-time, and passed the Bridge of *Erne* in great Confusion; whereupon he made all his Troops advance, and having marched after the Enemy for a long Time, he passed the River six Miles above the Bridge, and incamped that Night upon the River-side.

HE had a great Mind to fight that Army before it should be reinforced with the Troops that were raising in the Shire of *Fife*, which was the Shire of all the Kingdom most in their Interest. 'Tis a *Peninsule* between the Rivers of *Tay* and *Forth* extreamly populous. The Entry to it from the West is by a narrow Passage, where the two Armies then were. *Montrose* having drawn up his Men in Order of Battle, offered to fight the Enemy, who were so advantagiously posted, that he could neither go to them, nor draw them out of their Camp. But at last, after having expected them two whole Days, without their having made the least Motion, he marched his Men in Battle-Order to *Kinross*, with a Resolution, if he could, to advance further into the Shire, as well to put a Stop to the Recruits that were raising every where for the Covenanters Army, as to oblige them to quit their Post, and advance to the Assistance of their Friends. Which they presently did; but instead of following *Montrose*, they took their Rout towards the *Tay*, and in great Haste marched to the East Part of the Shire, that the new Levies might join them without running the Risk of meeting him. But at the same time having sent out several small Parties, Sir *William Rollok* fell in with two hundred Men, and though he had but twelve Horse with him, he killed some of them, took several Prisoners, and obliged the rest to fly. 'Tis true they were but new raised Men, for the most part bred up to the Sea, or Commerce, and who had not been trained up in the Wars.

ROLLOK and Colonel *Gordon* having assured *Montrose*, that the whole Shire was up in Arms, and that the Enemy had got a considerable Reinforcement both of Horse and Foot, he did not think it safe rashly to engage with so great a Number of Men, and so much the less, that he was in a Country, where the Royal Party was extreamly hated. But, besides, having been well informed, that the Covenanters were making Levies every where on the South of the *Forth*, he resolved to pass that River, thinking that the Militia of *Fife* seeing him once out of their Shire, would be unwilling to follow him any further, and would retire to their own Houses; and, that on the other Side, he might either gain over to himself, or at least disperse the Troops, which the Earls of *Cassils* and *Eglinton* were raising in the West Country, with those that the Earl of *Laurek* was drawing together upon the Banks of the *Clyd*.

The End of the Fifth BOOK.

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
T R O U B L E S
O F
G R E A T - B R I T A I N .

B O O K VI.

THE River of *Forth* takes its Rise in the Earldom of *Menteth*, near the great *Lough-Loumond*, in which there are thirty Islands. It glides along by the Foot of the Castle of *Stirling*, which is truly Royal, and one of the most stately Buildings in *Great-Britain*, where it meets the Tide, and in pleasant Windings runs through the Carse * of *Stirling*, which is one of the most fertile Valleys of the Kingdom. It has formerly been all covered with the Sea; for Anchors have been found near the Town of *Falkirk*, which is situate upon rising Ground, and now four Miles from the Sea. There is a Tradition in the Country, that the Sea retired, and left this Valley dry, at the same time that some Islands of *Holland* were over-flowed near that of *Walkeren*, from whence one sees a frightful Sight of Steeples of Churches, which still appear above Water. At each Tide in the *Forth*, the Sea flows by the Rivulets and Canals of this Valley to *Airth*, *Salmon-net*, *Grange*, and to other Places, where the Ground is very muddy; so that when the Weather is fair, the low Meadows are watered gently, and likewise fattened: But in stormy Weather, or when the Wind blows from the North-East, the Sea makes terrible Havock there, breaks down the Sluices, the Banks, the Fences of Pales, and even carries away the Cattle, as it happened in the Time of that great Storm,

1645.

*A Description
of the River of
Forth.
* Valley.*

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Storm, which was the Fore-runner of King *James's* Death. The River is above sixty Miles long, reckoning from its Source to *S. Abb's* Head. From the Port of *Leith* to the *Fife-side*, 'tis seven Miles broad, and still grows broader towards its Mouth. There are a great many Islands in it, the chief of which are *Garvy*, near the *Queen's Ferry*, and that of *S. Columb*, commonly called *S. Come*, where, when the Kingdom was Catholick, there was a fine Collegiate Church of Canons regular. The Abbey of *Holy-Rood House* was likewise of that Order, and the greatest Ornament that *Scotland* owes to that Order, was *Richard*, commonly called of *S. Victor*, who is interred in the Church of that Saint, situate in the Suburbs of *Paris*. The *English* having once plundered the said Collegiate Church, they all perished in Sight of the Island on account of that Sacrilege. Next to this holy Island is that of *Keith*, over-against the Port of *Leith*, where there is nothing but an old Fort, half-ruined. Horses are sent thither to graze, and perhaps 'tis because of that Custom that the *French* called it the *Isle of Horses*, when *Monsieur d'Esse* took it from the *English* in the Time of *Henry VIII*. The Island of *May*, where there is a Light-house for the Conveniency of Ships entering the River in the Night-time, is towards its Mouth on the *Fife-side*: But what is yet more remarkable, is the small Island of the *Bass*, on the *Lothian-side*. 'Tis exactly round, and rising to a great Height out of the Sea, there is no getting up to it but by a little Stair hewn out of the Rock: It has an excellent Spring of fresh Water in the middle, though it be all surrounded with salt Water forty Fathom deep. There is a certain Sort of Fowl, which the Inhabitants of the Country call *Solan-Geese*, which build their Nests in this Island. None of them are found any where else, except in another little Island upon the Coast of *Galloway*: And it is from that probably, that they are called *Solan*, by Corruption of the Word *Insulani*. When they return in the Spring-time, from whence no body knows, they fly about the Island for two or three Days before they sit down upon it, as it were in order to view it, and discover the most proper Places for building their Nests. Then it is delightful to see this Island, which appears to be surrounded with a white Cloud. They eat nothing but what they fish in the Sea, and they are exceeding tender and fat. 'Tis likewise very strange that when they are out of Sight of the Sea, they lose the Use of their Wings, running up and down with extream Swiftneſs in order to find out that Element. The Seamen often meet them as they return from Fishing, and though it be sometimes very far from the Shore, and in thick Fogs, yet looking to their Compass to see what Course they are taking, they find that the foremost, that flies at the Head of the rest, as the wild Geese do, directs his Flight as straight to this Island, as if they saw it. This Ingenuity of Animals is called Instinct, which is a Term, among many others, that Men have invented in order to cloke their Ignorance.

NOTHING more beautiful can be seen than the two Coasts of *Fife* and *Lothian*. They do not yield in Fertility to the best Country in *England*, and they contain a great Number of Towns and Ports, some whereof are capable to hold a hundred Ships sheltered from all Winds. 'Tis on these two Coasts that the Sea-Coal is chiefly dug out, though it is to be found in other Parts of these Shires; but very little on the North Side of the *Tay*. The Coal that is got on the Banks of the *Forth*, proves very convenient for making White Salt with Fire, which is very good to eat with Meat, or to powder Beef; but it has not Strength enough for Salting that which is designed to be kept, without mixing *French* Salt with it. 'Tis very strange that though the Water be equally salt in the Places where this Salt

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is made, yet in one Place, that which the Salt-makers call the *Broth*, shall be good for making Salt, and two Miles from that, it shall be good for nothing. 1645.

'Tis at the Town of *Dumbar*, twelve Miles below *Leith*, upon the same River, that the great Herring-fishing is. It begins the first of *August*, and continues about three Weeks: But in that Time there is such a prodigious Quantity taken, that it is almost incredible. However, these are Herrings that are ready to spawn, so that they are nothing near so good, as those which are taken a little before at *Dumbarton* and *Air*, in the Western Sea; nor even as those which the *Dutch* fish off the Mouth of this River, without Sight of Land however: For they are prohibited to come nearer, and besides they pay a Tribute to the King for the Liberty of Fishing there. I thought that this little Digression would not be disagreeable to the Reader: But let us resume our History.

MONTROSE then having resolved to pass this beautiful and rich River of *Forth*, he marched from *Kinross*, and incamped about three Miles from *Stirling*. The next Day having sent away his Foot before him, he followed them with the Horse, which he kept still in the Rear, suspecting that the Enemy was pursuing him. Nor was he deceived in that Suspicion; for some Spies that he had left behind, brought Word, that *Bailly* was advancing with a powerful Army; and soon after his Scouts began to appear. One of the foremost having been taken Prisoner, and brought to *Montrose*, confessed to him frankly, that in his Opinion the Covenanters were resolved to pursue him the whole Night, in order to bring him to a Battle as soon as possible, before the Troops of *Fife*, which by no Means would pass the *Forth*, should leave them. Whereupon *Montrose* having encouraged his Men to continue their March, left the Town of *Stirling* on his left Hand, where there was a strong Garrison, and passed the River that same Night about four Miles above the Town. By Break of Day he was got six Miles on this Side of *Stirling*, where having halted, he understood, that the Covenanters had not passed the River the Night before; but that they had incamped about three Miles from *Stirling* on the other Side. Nevertheless *Montrose* still marching on till he came to *Kilfyth*, where he incamped, and ordered his Troops to be in a Readiness either to fight or march as Occasion should offer. In the mean Time, the Covenanters taking a shorter and more easy Way, passed the River at the Bridge of *Stirling*, and incamped about three Miles from *Kilfyth*.

DURING the March of the two Armies, the Earl of *Lanrik* having got together a thousand Foot, and about five hundred Horse, was incamped twelve Miles from *Kilfyth*; and on the other Hand the Earls of *Glen-carn*, *Cassils*, and *Eglington*, were hastening the Levies in the Western Shires, which were going on the more easily, that that Country had not as yet felt any of the Inconveniencies that attend War. Therefore *Montrose* resolved to fight *Bailly*; for though he was much stronger than he, and that his Army consisted of six thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, *Montrose* having only four thousand five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse; yet he considered that the Match would be still more unequal, if he should wait till these Earls joined him with their Forces; in which case he would be forced, with the Danger of losing the Reputation which he had formerly gained, to betake himself to the Mountains. On the other hand, the Covenanters thinking that *Montrose* had passed the

1645. *Forth* more out of Fear than Design, their chief Aim was to deprive him of all Hopes of a Retreat. In order to compass that, by Break of Day, which was the 15th of *August*, having drawn up their Army, they began to march directly to the Royalists; which *Montrose* having perceived, and sensible that the good or bad Success of the King's Affairs in *Scotland* depended upon that Day, he forgot nothing that a great General could do for encouraging his Soldiers. He ordered them all, as well the Horse as the Foot, to throw off their Doublets, and every Man turning up his Shirt-Sleeves, by that Resolution to strike Terror into the Enemy, and let them know that they were resolved either to conquer or die. In the Field of Battle there were some Cottages and Gardens adjoining them, *Montrose* drawing up his Men, posted some Musketeers there; but before he had done putting the rest of his Men in Order of Battle, the Covenanters charged those Musketeers very smartly, in order to drive them out of that Post; but they received the Enemy without giving Ground; and after this first Heat was a little cooled, they fell upon them, put them to the Flight, and laid some of them dead upon the Spot, which so heartened the *Highlanders*, whereof there were about a thousand in *Montrose's* advanced Guard, that without waiting the General's Orders, they run desperately up a little Hill within Pistol-Shot of the Covenanters, and exposed themselves to be cut in Pieces, if the Enemy's Horse had surrounded them. But their advanced Guard waiting for that of the Rear, which was advancing but slowly, *Montrose* had Time to relieve these rash Men. For as the Covenanters had caused three Troops of Horse, followed by two thousand Foot, to advance, in order to attack them, he ordered the brave Earl of *Airly* to go to their Assistance with his Brigade, which he did with so great Courage, that after a sharp Ingagement, his Horse, which consisted for the most part of Gentlemen of his own Name of *Ogilvie*, routed the Enemy's Horse, and made them fall foul upon their Foot. This Advantage continued to animate *Montrose's* Men so much, that with a great Shout they rushed in amongst the Enemy, and charged them with so much Fury, that their Horse having given Ground, the Foot threw down their Arms, and fled. The Victorious pursued them hotly for fourteen Miles, and made so great a Slaughter, that above four thousand of them lay dead upon the Place, and all their Cannon and Baggage were taken, besides a great Number of Prisoners; among which were Sir *William Murray* of *Blebo*, *James Balfour* of *Ferny*, Brother to the Lord *Burley*, and Lieutenant Colonels *Dice* and *Walace*. *Montrose* lost only six Men, three of which were *Ogilvies*, who paved the Way to this great Victory, which was a great Check to the Covenant, and struck Terror into the Covenanters, the chief Men whereof, that were at this bloody Battle, either fled to *Stirling*, or got aboard of Ships that were lying at Anchor, nor did they think themselves safe till they were in the open Sea.

The Battle of
Kilfyth.

AFTER this Victory, the Face of Affairs began quickly to alter over all the Kingdom. The Heads of the Covenanters fled in a Hurry, some to *Carlisle*, others to *Berwick* and *Newcastle*, and even some, to be further off, retired to *Holland* and *Ireland*. On the other hand, the Royalists began then to take Courage, and to declare openly for *Montrose*. And even many of the Covenanters forsaking their Party, came and offered their Service to him; and as the Minds of Men are naturally changeable, and always comply with the Times, they expressed as much Hatred against those, whom they had still followed, and had but just left, as Esteem for *Montrose*, whom before they so much abhorred. Some Shires likewise, and some particular Towns sent Deputies to him, to assure him of their Submission,

mission, and to offer him Men and Ammunition. At last some of the Nobility came and joined him, highly extolling the great Service he had done the King, though some of them did it through Diffimulation, and in order to deceive him. 1645.

THUS did the King's Affairs go on so successfully, that *Montrose* having left behind him all the North Country in Submission, and, by this last Defeat of the Covenanters, opened a Passage into the South, there were only the Earls of *Cassils* and *Eglington*, with some other Lords of the West Country, who were persuading the People to rise up in Arms; and in a tumultuary Way were raising Recruits for making up a new Body of an Army, with the broken Remains that had escaped from the Battle of *Kilsyth*. Therefore, the next Day after the Battle, *Montrose* marched to the Banks of the *Clyde*, from whence he could conveniently dispatch the necessary Orders to the South and West; and at the same time, he entered the City of *Glasgow*, where he was received with the Acclamations of all the Citizens, from whom he received the Oath of Fidelity; and upon Pain of Death forbid the Soldiers to commit any Insolence there. After having staid only one Day in that City, he left it, and marched to *Bothwel*, six Miles from thence, where he incamped: And because his Camp was so near the City, he gave Power to the Magistrates to punish, according to the Rigour of the Laws, such Soldiers as should leave the Camp, and offer Violence to any Person whatsoever.

MONTROSE continued several Days incamped at *Bothwel*, where he treated with the Deputies of the Towns and Shires that had submitted, and whither a great many Lords and Gentlemen came to offer him their Service. The Principal of which was the Marquis of *Dowglas*, Chief of that illustrious Family, which is so well known in *France*, and where the late Colonel of that Name hath by his Valour very recently revived the Memory of that of his Ancestors. They have been Dukes of *Touraine*, and in great Esteem with the Kings of *France*, *Charles VI.* and *VII.*, whom they served with so great Fidelity and Honour, that those great Princes thought them worthy of being honoured with the first Dignities of the Kingdom. At all great Solemnities in *Scotland* the Marquis of *Dowglas* carries the Crown: And it belongs to him to lead the Van of the King's Army, whence it comes, that they have for Devise, *Jamais arriere*. As this Family has produced Heroes, so has it Heroines. For of this Family was that truly noble Lady, who at the Death of King *James I.* did an Action surpassing the usual Fortitude and Resolution of her Sex. As the Lords, who had conspired against that excellent Prince, had been introduced into his Anti-chamber by a Traitor, who had taken away the Bar of the Door, which shut the Chamber, so that it was only shut with a Latch, and might have been broke open with the Stroke of a Foot: While the Conspirators were at a Stand, whether they should make Use of Force, or wait till some body should go in or come out; *Walter Straiton*, a Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber, came out, who, upon seeing those cursed Wretches with Daggers in their Hands, crying out, they dispatched him: Which this Lady seeing, with incredible Swiftnes she run to shut the Door; and not finding the Bar, she thrust her Arm into the Hole in Place of it; but she was immediately thrown down and her Arm broken to Pieces: At last the bloody Wretches rushing into the Chamber, the matchless Queen *Joan*, of the House of *Somerfet*, imbraced the King so closely, that she received many Wounds before they could touch the sacred Person of their Sovereign.

WITH

1645.

WITH the Marquis of *Dowglas* came the Earls of *Linlithgow*, *Anandale*, and *Hertfield*; the Lords *Seaton*, *Drummond*, *Fleming*, *Maderty*, *Carnegy*, and *Johnston*, *Hamilton* of *Orbeston*, *Charters* of *Hempfield*, *Towers* of *Inverleith*, *Stuart* of *Rosyth*, and *Dalzel*, Brother to the Earl of *Carnwarth*. It was at *Bothwel* that Sir *Robert Spotswood* delivered to *Montrose* the King's Commission from *Hereford* to be Commander in Chief, and Generalissimo of his Armies in *Scotland*. That Commission was very ample, and gave him full Power to fortify or dismantle whatever Places he thought fit; to raise Troops over all the Kingdom; and to make the Shires contribute towards their Subsistence; to treat with the Covenanters, and even to make Knights; in a Word, the Commission gave him full Power of Vice-Roy in *Scotland*.

ALL these Advantages did not make him forget the Prisoners, which the Covenanters kept in the Castle and Prisons of *Edinburgh*, whom, before all Things, he had a mind to set at Liberty. For that end, he sent *Naiper*, his Nephew, and Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon* with some Troops of Horse, who halted about four Miles from the City; as well because the Plague was then raging in it, as because *Montrose's* Soldiers were extremely incensed against the Citizens, who, above all others, had contributed most to the Civil War. As soon as the News of their Approach was known in the City, the Magistrates sent to them, begging, that they would have Compassion of the deplorable State to which they were reduced, and to take them under *Montrose's* Protection. *Naiper* promised to do them what Service lay in his Power for obtaining that Favour of him, provided they would bring him the Prisoners which they had, and send some Delegates to treat with his Uncle, who without doubt would make them feel the Effects of the King's Clemency, as other Towns had done that had implored his Pardon. The Messengers with great Joy returned with this Answer to the City, which was already trembling for fear, and in an Instant the Magistrates caused to be set at Liberty the Earl of *Crawford* and the Lord *Ogilvie*, this last having fallen into the Enemy's Hands as he was going to the King, and sent them to *Montrose* along with their Delegates. *Naiper* returned with them, and in passing through *Linlithgow* he released his Father, the Lord *Naiper*, with his Wife, a Daughter of the Earl of *Mar*, his Brother-in-Law *Stirling* of *Keir*, a very gallant Man, and two of his Sisters, who had been all thrown into Prison, when he espoused the King's Cause along with *Montrose*. When they arrived at the Camp, *Montrose* knew not what Reception to give these poor Lords, to express the Sense he had of the bad Usage they had met with, only for having been faithful to the King. He immediately gave Audience to the Delegates of the City of *Edinburgh*. The Substance of their Speech was; "That the Council and People of the City submitted to him; that they promised Fidelity and Submission to the King; and that though the Pestilence had almost dispeopled their City, yet they should not fail to contribute towards the Levies which he should have a mind to make elsewhere; but that they begged of him to implore the King's Clemency in their Favour, and to represent to him the State in which their poor City was, which would touch his Majesty, and induce him to take Compassion of them." He required nothing of them, except, "That they would keep faithful to the King, and quit the Party of those that were in Arms against his Service, as well within as without the Kingdom; that they would deliver up the Castle to his Majesty's Officers, and if they had as yet any Prisoners in the said Castle, or elsewhere, that, upon their Return,

“Return, they would set them at Liberty.” The Prisoners, indeed, were released, as they had promised; but the Castle was not delivered up, nor did the City ever quit the Interest of the Covenanters, who some time after made those Magistrates pay a great Fine, for having treated with *Montrose*; and they served some Country-Gentlemen in the same manner, only for having desired Safe-guards and Protection of *Montrose*, in order to be freed from Pillage.

WHILE these Things were a doing at *Edinburgh*, *Montrose* sent *Mackdonald*, and *Drummond of Balloch*, a most daring Man, with a Detachment into the Western Shires, to reduce the Militia which *Eglington* and *Cassils* had raised; but they did not wait their coming, and disappeared upon their Approach, which, however, had a better Effect: For the Towns of *Air* and *Irvine*, with many Gentlemen of those Shires submitted, and in a handsome Manner offered their Service to *Montrose*, who did not expect so ready a Submission from them.

AT the same time, *Montrose* began to frame his Designs upon the Southern Parts of the Kingdom, and sent to the Earls of *Hume*, *Roxborough*, and *Traquaire*, who were very powerful on the Borders, to invite them to come and give Proofs of their Zeal and Affection for the King's Service, which they were in a particular Manner obliged to do. They made him Answer, “That they were all ready to serve in Person, and to join him with their Friends and Vassals. But because his Presence would encourage not only all such as depended upon them, but would likewise oblige the Militia of the Country to rise, they begged of him to advance towards the Borders, where they would do their utmost to hasten the Levies.” *Montrose* having drawn this Answer from these Noblemen, he sent the Marquis of *Dowglas* and the Lord *Ogilvie* into the Shires of *Annandale* and *Nithsdale*, with Orders to join the Earls of *Annandale* and *Hartfield*, and there to raise what Horse they could, with which they were afterwards to march and join the aforesaid three Earls, who had just now assured him, that they would use the same Diligence on their Part.

IN a very short time, *Dowglas* made considerable Levies, and, according to his Orders, advanced to *Galasheels*, that he might give an Opportunity to the Noblemen on the South Borders to take the Field. They not only sent Word to *Dowglas* but to *Montrose* himself, that his Presence was absolutely necessary. *Montrose* thinking that *Dowglas* being there was sufficient, he did not decamp from *Bothwell* till he had received the King's Orders, who wrote to him from *Oxford*, ordering him to advance towards the *Tweed*, and to join *Roxborough* and *Traquaire*, whom he would find faithful and well affected to his Service; and that if Lieutenant General *Lesly*, who commanded the Horse of the Scots Army that was in *England*, should advance towards the Borders with a Design to pass that River, he would cause a Relief of Horse to be kept in Readiness, which should have Orders to join and obey him. Whereupon *Montrose*, without any more ado, resolved to go whither the King called him.

As he was making ready to decamp, the *Highlanders*, who were under the Conduct of *Mackdonald*, came to him, and desired Liberty to go home to gather their Harvest, seeing there was no Body of an Army that appeared for the Covenanters. They faithfully promised to return to the Army in six Weeks Time, and to bring with them what Recruits they

1645 could make in the *Highlands*. *Montrose* not being able to detain them, because they followed him only as Volunteers, and without receiving any Pay, gave them Leave, and with Expressions both obliging and full of Esteem for their Valour, conjured them to be as good as their Word, and to continue firm in the Resolution they had taken for the King's Service. Thus went they away loaded with Booty to the Number of three thousand Men, under the Conduct of *Mackdonald*, whom *Montrose* had pitched upon to be their Leader. *Mackdonald*, who had expressed too much Fondness for that Imployment, not content with taking the *Highlanders* along with him; but he likewise took a hundred and twenty of the best *Irishmen*, under Pretence of a Guard for his Person.

MONTROSE having decamped from *Bothwel*, marched to *Calder*, where he received another Displeasure much more sensible, than that which *Mackdonald's* Departure had occasioned him: Which was, that all the North Country Troops, shutting their Ears to the Intreaties which he made them, to add to the so many Victories they had gained, the compleat Conquest of the whole Kingdom, on the contray repassed the *Forth*, and retired to their own Houses. Those who were the most obstinately bent on this Retreat, would fain have had it believed, that they had done all that could be expected of them, and that if there yet remained any Thing to be done, it was reasonable that the Southern Shires should have their Share of the Fatigue. *Montrose* would not make Use of his Authority, lest it should breed Disorder in the whole Army; besides, that he might not lose them altogether, he was fain to pretend, that he consented to their Departure, though it was very grievous to him. The same Troops, in retiring, made yet another false Step, which was to suffer the *Earl-Marshal* of the Kingdom, and the Viscount of *Arbuthnot*, to go upon their Parole, before they had taken Possession of the Castle of *Dunoter*, belonging to the *Marshal*, which is one of the most considerable Forts of the Kingdom. This Castle looks like a little Town, situate upon a Promontory in the Sea; all the Buildings have Vaults hewn out of the Rock, and there is no Access to it but by the narrow Neck of a Rock, on Foot, and besides, with great Difficulty. So that this Place would have been a safe Retreat for *Montrose*, in Case of Necessity.

FROM *Calder* continuing his March with the small Remains of his Army, he passed pretty near the City of *Edinburgh*, in the Shire of *Lothian*, and came to *Galasbeels*, where he found, that the most Part of the Troops that *Dowglas* had newly raised, had disbanded themselves, notwithstanding all the Pains which that Lord, and others that had joined him, had taken to keep them. But to make up that Loss, the Earl of *Traquaire* came to him, and with great Zeal and many Demonstrations of Affection for his Person and the Prosperity of his Arms, offered his Service. He likewise sent him his Son, the Lord *Linton*, at the Head of a fine Troop of Horse. *Montrose* longed now to see *Roxborough* and *Hume*, of whom he had had no Tidings; but as he was upon his March towards them, he had Intelligence, that Lieutenant General *Lesly*, who had advanced as far as *Berwick*, had made them Prisoners. That News surprised him, but he was yet much more astonished, that he had not heard of *Lesly's* having passed the *Tweed*: That confirmed the Mistrust he had always had before he left *Bothwel*; and as he found that the Effects were not answerable to the Promises which some Persons had made him, he began to be afraid, that, in Place of the Relief which he had been made to expect, an Ambush had been laid for him. Therefore, not seeing that Body of
Horse

Horse which was to have appeared upon the Borders for the King's Service, he resolved to march into the Shires of *Anandale, Nithsdale*, and *Air*, there to stir up the Nobility and Gentry that chearfully had offered to mount a Horse-back. For though he had no certain Account of *Lesly*, he judged, that his chief Strength was in Horse, and for that Reason it was his Business to shun the plain Country as much as possible. 1645.

HAVING taken this Resolution, he left *Kelso*, and marched to *Jedburgh*, where he took up his Quarters. From thence he marched to *Selkirk*, and having lodged his Horse in the Town, and his Foot in a Wood close by, he convened the Officers of the Horse, and recommended to them above all Things not to trust to their Spies, because they were in a disaffected Country; but the whole Night to send out Parties for Intelligence, and to be the more vigilant, that he himself must write to the King, and dispatch an Express to his Majesty before Break of Day. The Officers at that Instant posted Centries on Horse-back, and punctually followed his Orders. The Night passed without having discovered any Thing, and at the Break of Day, mounting their Horses again, they assured *Montrose*, that there was not an Enemy within ten Miles round: Soon after, however, they had Intelligence, though too late, that the Enemy had been the whole Night under Arms within less than four Miles of *Selkirk*. It was a Misfortune rather than any Negligence of the Officers, that kept them from seeing the Enemy. 'Tis now that *Montrose*, after so much Prosperity, must go through some cross Fortune, and, by one fatal Day, learn, that the Fortune of War is uncertain, and that Victory does not always attend the Valour of the Combatants, nor the Goodness of the Cause.

THE same Day that *Montrose* marched to *Jedburgh*, *Lesly* reviewed his Troops upon *Glades-moor*, and there held a Council of War with the chief of the Covenanters. It was therein resolved, that *Lesly* should march to the *Forth*, in order to stop *Montrose's* Way, and force him to fight before he could be relieved from the North Country. But having given Orders for that March, he received a Letter which immediately made him alter his Design; for he was informed, that *Montrose* had but five hundred Foot, the most Part *Irish*, with some Troops of new raised Horse; so that if he quickly imbraced the Opportunity that offered, he might easily surprise *Montrose*, and cut him in Pieces. Whereupon *Lesly* wheeling to the left, followed him by the Track with four thousand Horse, and in the Night-time came within four Miles of him, before he had the least Notice of his March.

THERE was a Fog that Morning, the 13th of *September*, which favoured *Lesly's* Design; so that he began to appear about half a Mile only from *Selkirk*, when the Centries, posted at the Avenues, gave the Alarm. *Montrose* quickly mounted the first Horse that he met, and run to the Place where the Troops had been appointed to convene that Morning, in order to march; but he found all in Confusion: For the most part of the Horse-men being but raw Soldiers, had dispersed themselves, some one Way, some another, to feed their Horses; and, at the first Sound of the Trumpet, having taken the Alarm, they fled: About a hundred and twenty Gentlemen only instantly mounted their Horses, and posted themselves upon the right Wing of the Foot, of which there were only five hundred, the rest being taken up with the Baggage. What added much to the Misfortune of this fatal Day for *Montrose*, was, that the Lord *Linton* had retired the Night before, and that the best Officers had gone out of the

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The Battle of
Philiphaugh.

the Camp, not dreaming of the Approach of the Enemy, who advancing at a full Trot, gave *Montrose* no Time to think of what he was to do. The Enemy, encouraged with the Hopes of a certain Victory, with great Fury attacked the right Wing of the Royalists, who having bravely repulsed them twice, they could not be revenged of the Affront, till after they had broken the left Wing that had no Horse to sustain it. *Lesly* himself, at the Head of two thousand Horse, fell upon the right Wing, who seeing that they were hemmed in by the other half of his Troops, and their Ruin inevitable, if they should obstinately continue to fight, the Horse gave Way, and almost all of them escaped; but the Foot having made a long and vigorous Resistance, threw down their Arms, and asked Quarters, which was granted them; however *Lesly* went back from his Word, and contrary to his Honour, caused them to be cut in Pieces.

THE Covenanters fell immediately a plundering the Baggage, and did not pursue those that fled from the Field of Battle, who were about two hundred and fifty. The Colours did not fall into the Enemy's Hands; for there being but one amongst the Foot, which an *Irish* Soldier, who carried it, tore off from the Staff, and putting it about him by Way of Scarf, with his drawn Sword made his Way through a Squadron of Horse, and carried his Colours to *Montrose*, who took him into his own Life-Guards, and allowed him always to carry that glorious Mark of his Valour and Fidelity. *William Hay*, Brother to the Earl of *Kinowl*, who carried the Standard, and who had been severely wounded at the Battle of *Alford*, did the same; and having kept himself hid in *England*, till the Banks of the *Tweed* were quiet, he returned to the Kingdom, accompanied by Captain *Robert Towers*, and brought his Standard to *Montrose* in the North.

IT was a Sight as melancholy as new to *Montrose*, to see his Troops fly before their Enemies, and, indeed, this Misfortune occasioned sundry Impulses in his Mind, which had like to have undone him. However having quickly come to himself again, and surmounted all the Troubles, which the first Motions are wont to raise in an afflicted Mind, and considered that he might soon repair the Loss of that Day, the *Highlanders* and the Troops of the North Country being still intire, in Places where the Covenanters durst not stir, he rallied about thirty Horse, and putting himself at their Head with the Marquis of *Dowglas* and Sir *John Dalziel*, he charged a Body of Horse, who were taken up with plundering the Baggage, breaking though every where, and always knocking down some. But as some of the most daring began to pursue him, he turned upon them, fought them, and took one *Bruce*, a Captain of Horse, and two Cornets Prisoners, whom he soon after very courteously sent back.

THE Covenanters did not treat those whom they had taken from him so kindly. Sir *John Hay*, whom the King in the Year 1637 had caused to be elected Provost of *Edinburgh*, in order to suppress the Tumults of that City, where he had great Interest, was put in the Castle of *Dumbar-ton*, and was not set at Liberty till he paid a Ransom; but it cost many others their Lives, being treated as guilty of High Treason.

MONTROSE having thus got out of a troublesome Affair, marched to *Peebles*, where many of his Soldiers that had taken the same Road, came and joined him. The next Day he happily met with the Earls of *Crawford* and *Airly*, who had escaped by another Road. But though he was no more in Danger of being pursued by the Enemy, yet he made what
Haste

HASTE he could to get into the Shire of *Athol*, that having raised some Men there, he might enter into the North Country. For that end, having passed the *Forth* and *Erne*, he marched through the Shire of *Perth* by the Foot of the Hills, and got into that of *Athol*. From thence he sent *Douglas* and *Airly* into the Shire of *Angus*, and the Lord *Areskin* into that of *Mar*, there to raise as many of their Friends and Vassals as they possibly could. 1645.

HE likewise sent Sir *John Dalziel* to the Lord *Carnegy* for the same Purpose; and he wrote to the Earl of *Aboyn* and *Mackdonald* to hold themselves ready. In the mean time his Friends in *Athol* having given him four hundred Foot to accompany him into the North, till the Harvest should be got in, when the whole Shire should rise upon his Return, he heard a Report, that the Covenanters having treated his Soldiers, not as Prisoners of War, but like publick Robbers, were preparing to try some Men of Quality of his Party that had fallen into their Hands. That News grieved him exceedingly, and as he had nothing so much at Heart as to run all Hazards for delivering his Followers from Danger, he resolved to follow in Person those whom he had sent before him, that by his Presence he might encourage his Friends. Therefore without any more Delay, he left *Athol*, and having crossed the *Grampian Hills*, he got into the Shire of *Mar*, in order to meet with *Aboyn*.

HIS Design was, that as soon as that Earl and *Mackdonald* should come there, to march back, and joining the Levies which *Airly* and *Areskin* were making, to draw what Men he could out of the Shire of *Athol*, and from thence to march directly to the *Forth*, in order to meet the Relief of Horse which the King was sending him from *England*, and likewise to intimidate the Covenanters, and, as much as was possible, to hinder them from proceeding criminally against their Prisoners of War. And indeed, the News they had of the Preparations that were making in the North, made them put a Stop to the Trials, which they were about to begin.

WHILE these Things were a doing, the Marquis of *Huntly* returned home, and was resolved to command the Forces of the North in Person. Many of his Friends advised him not to undertake any Thing without *Montrose's* Consent, whom the King had declared Generalissimo of his Armies in *Scotland*, and which he had hitherto commanded with admirable Success. But *Huntly*, notwithstanding his Affection for the King's Service, could not be persuaded to it, till he should see the King's Orders, still persisting in his Resolution of commanding alone all such as depended upon him in the North, where he was the King's Lieutenant, which he hoped to perform so advantageously for the Good of his Service, that he made no doubt, but he would be able to give a good Account of it to his Majesty. However, *Aboyn*, who had plighted his Faith to *Montrose*, came and joined him at the Castle of *Drumminnor*, with two hundred and fifty Foot, and three hundred Horse, well accoutred, and resolved to follow him whithersoever he should go. Sir *Lewis Gordon*, his Brother, was likewise to join him with a great many more. *Montrose* having highly commended *Aboyn's* Fidelity, pursued his Design without Loss of Time, hoping to find on the Way the Levies of his Friends all ready, and in a Fortnight, at the farthest, to pass the *Forth* with a considerable Body of an Army, which would still strike Terror into the Covenanters.

1645.

HOWEVER, Things did not succeed according to *Montrose's* Expectation; for the very second Day of the March Sir *Lewis Gordon*, who had brought him a fine Troop of Horse, the Command of which he had given to the Earl of *Crawford*, turned aside, as if he intended to view the Country, leaving *Crawford*, whose Command, perhaps, was uneasy to him. Soon after, *Aboyn* having received an express Order from his Father to return in all Haste, because some Troops of the Covenanters were come into the low Parts of *Mar*, he sought Leave of *Montrose* to return, who answered him; "That the Covenanters, indeed, had some Troops of Horse near *Aberdeen*, but they durst attempt nothing. That as soon as they should have the News of his March, they would draw all their Forces to the *Low Country*, where they would stand in need of all their Troops. That it would be an Advantage to *Huntly* to have the War carried into the Enemy's Country, far from his Lands. That the Relief of Horse, which he expected from *England*, could not join him, if he did not pass the *Forth*; and lastly, that the Prisoners of War, some of which were *Huntly's* Relations, would be cruelly put to Death, if they were not quickly relieved." *Aboyn* opposed nothing to so many good Reasons, but the positive Command of his Father, who was ill, and he desired, that some Body might be sent to inform him of the State of Affairs, and to prevail with him to allow his Troops to march to the South, where the King's Service called them. *Montrose* approved of that Proposal, and sent to him *Alexander Irvine*, younger of *Drum*, *Huntly's* Son-in-Law, with the Lord *Rae*, who was one of his intimate Friends. They both lay under Obligations to *Montrose* for their newly recovered Liberties, and expressed a great deal of Gratitude on that account, particularly *Drum*, who never left him. That young Gentleman being returned with Letters from his Father-in-Law, who did not sufficiently explain himself upon what was proposed to him, *Aboyn* begged of *Montrose* to give him Liberty for a few Days only, that he might go and endeavour to soften his Father's Temper, expressing a great deal of Grief to see himself obliged to leave him at that Juncture. *Montrose*, not able to better himself, granted his Desire, and immediately marched over the Hills of *Mar* into *Athol*, and from thence, after having been reinforced by some Troops, into the Shire of *Perth*. After he had been some Days there, *Thomas Ogilvie* of *Powry*, and Captain *Robert Nisbet*, whom the King had dispatched to him, came by different Ways, and brought him Orders from his Majesty to advance, if possible, to the Borders near *Carlisle*, where the Lord *Digby* should join him with a Body of Horse. *Montrose*, who desired no better, obliged them to go and impart the King's Orders to *Huntly* and *Aboyn*, to the end that they might hasten their Troops, without which it was impossible for him to follow his Majesty's Orders.

IN the mean time, the Covenanters having understood, that *Montrose* had been three Weeks in the Shire of *Perth*, without having News of the North Country Troops, and that *Huntly* had no Mind to join him, they went on in the Trial of the Prisoners of War, and beginning with these three brave Gentlemen Sir *William Rollok*, *Alexander Ogilvie*, eldest Son to *John Ogilvie* of *Innequbarity*, and Sir *Philip Nisbet*, they were all three beheaded, and two *Irish* Colonels of great Worth, to wit, *O-Chaen* and *Laghlin* were hanged for having followed *Montrose*, which the Covenanters had declared to be High Treason. They would have served the rest the same Way, if *Montrose*, upon hearing the cruel Fate of these Gentlemen, had not quickly passed the *Forth*, and marched into the Duchy of *Lenox*

near

near the City of *Glasgow*, where the Chief of the Covenanters were met. He had only three hundred Horse, and twelve hundred Foot; but, indeed, they were old beaten Soldiers, with whom he daily made Inroads to the very Gates of the City, though there were three thousand Horse for guarding it, and that Meeting of the Covenanters.

1645.

THE Winter was already pretty far advanced, and it was as sharp that Year in *Scotland*, as that of the Year before had been mild; and *Montrose* saw no Appearance of *Aboyn's* coming, nor did *Mackdonald*, who was very near the Places where he had staid six Weeks, answer the Hopes that he had entertained of him, nor perform what he had promised. Besides, he had heard, that *Digby* had been repulsed by Sir *John Brown*. Therefore he marched out of *Lenox* the 2^d of *November*, and having crossed the Hills of *Monteth*, all covered with Snow, he passed the *Erne* and the *Tay*, and entered the Shire of *Athol*, where having met *Ogilvie* of *Powry* and Captain *Nisbet*, who were returning from *Strathbogy*, and who had nothing but disagreeable News to tell him of *Huntly*, no more than *Dalziel*, whom he had sent after them, in order to appoint a Meeting with that Marquis, who still pretended, that he had not seen the King's Orders.

AT last *Montrose*, that he might leave no Stone unturned, in order to prevail with *Huntly*, set out in the Month of *December*, and surmounting the Rigour of the Season, and the Ruggedness of the Ways, which were nothing but Ice and Snow, he marched into the North Country. After he had quartered his Troops, he mounted a Horse-back, and, with a very small Retinue, went directly to *Strathbogy*, where being told, that *Huntly* was but just gone to *Bogy*, he followed him, without being discouraged by *Huntly's* Backwardness to have an Interview with him; and the next Morning by Break of Day came to that Castle before *Huntly* was got up. *Montrose* taking no Notice of what had passed, discoursed with him calmly about the State of the Kingdom, and what Methods they should take for restoring Peace and the King's Authority. At last, it was concluded, that they must begin with the Siege of *Inverness*, where, indeed, the Covenanters had a strong Garrison; but small Store of Provisions and Ammunition. They agreed then betwixt themselves, that *Huntly* should besiege it on this Side of the River, and *Montrose* on the other Side, hoping to take it, before it could be relieved by Sea, which the Covenanters would not attempt in such stormy Weather. *Aboyn* and *Lewis*, his Brother, expressed a great deal of Joy upon this Conference, as did all the rest of that noble Family, who sought no better than to be in Action, in order to give Proofs of their Valour and Affection to the King's Service.

MONTROSE very chearfully returned to his Troops, with which he passed the *Spey*, and marched straight towards *Inverness*. But while he was waiting till *Huntly* should take the Field, and that the Weather should be more mild, having had Advice, that the *Campbells* and their Friends were got together, to the Number of fifteen hundred Men, in the adjacent Parts of the Shire of *Argyle*; and that they threatened the Country of *Athol*, he detached *Graham* of *Inchbraky*, and *Drummond* of *Balloch* with a Party to go to its Assistance. The Enemy had already burnt an Island in *Lough-Torchet*, and besieged the Castle of *Glenample*. But as soon as they heard, that seven hundred *Athol-men*, under the Command of *Inchbraky* and *Balloch*, were on their March, they very quickly raised the Siege, and retired to the Earldom of *Menteth*. The Royalists having pursued them, found that they had posted themselves near the Castle of

1646.

Calender,

1646.

Calender, with a Design to stand their Ground. For having taken Possession of a Ford of the little River of *Teth*, they had drawn up behind the Banks of the Water, which were high, and from whence they could, under Shelter, fire upon the Royalists, if they should offer to pass the Ford. In the mean time, *Inchbraky* having left a hundred Men to guard the Ford, lest the Enemy, repassing the River, should attack him in the Rear, while he was looking out for another Ford, he advanced to the Castle, in order to pass the River under Cover of the Horse. The Enemy perceiving that, immediately made their Retreat, and the hundred Men that were watching them, began to pursue them. These having engaged them, gave *Inchbraky* Time to come up, and give them a total Defeat. Above five hundred were killed on the Place, and the rest betaking themselves to their Heels, could not be pursued by the Royalists, who that Morning, which was the 13th of *February*, had marched ten long Miles, through rugged and uneasy Ways. This Expedition having succeeded according to their Wish, they returned to *Montrose*.

WHILE these Things were a doing in the North, the Convention of Estates, which had met at *S. Andrews* about the end of *November* of the preceding Year, were busy in trying for their Lives the Lord *Ogilvie*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Airly*, Sir *Robert Spotswood*, *William Murray*, Brother to the Earl of *Tillibardin*, and *Andrew Guthrie*, a very handsome Gentleman and an excellent Soldier, all Prisoners of War, who had been brought before them. There were some Preachers then, who stirred up the People to demand, that these illustrious Gentlemen should be sacrificed to the Ghosts of those who had died in the Defence of the Covenant, otherwise the Wrath of God, which was kindled against the Kingdom, would not be appeased. After they had been sentenced to die, the Lord *Ogilvie* pretending to be sick, got so much Favour as to have his Wife, his Mother and Sisters allowed to visit him for the last Time in Prison. These Ladies having entered his Chamber, the Guards shewed them some Respect, and went out of the Room; and the young Lord taking Advantage of the Opportunity, without Loss of Time, put on his Sister's Gown, who was very like him. In the mean time, she threw herself into her Brother's Bed, and put his Night-Cap upon her Head. They acted their Parts exceeding well, for after having several Times imbraced one another, in Appearance, they bid Farewel for ever to one another with abundance of Tears. The Guards having come in again with Lights to reconduct them, *Ogilvie* went out with the Company without being discovered: He was no sooner got out, than he mounted a good Horse, and with two Friends got to a Place of Safety before Break of Day. As soon as the News of this Escape was carried to the Convention of Estates, Rage so transported some of them, that they had a Mind to be revenged upon the generous Ladies; but the Earls of *Laurek* and *Lindsey* maintained, that it was an Action of natural Affection, worthy to be transmitted to Posterity; so far were they from suffering them to be in the least troubled on that account.

OGILVIE's Escape made the Convention hasten the Execution of the Sentence against those that were left. They all suffered Death with an admirable Resolution, highly comforting themselves, that it was glorious to them, and that they should live for ever in the Remembrance of all good Men. *William Murray*, who was not full nineteen Years old, raised the People's Compassion; and staring Death boldly in the Face;

William Murray's Speech.

“ My Friends, said he, the Family of *Tillibardin* acquires abundance of
“ Reputation.”

“ Reputation this Day, since a young Man, who has the Honour to be
 “ of their Blood, suffers Death chearfully for the Father of his native
 “ Country, who has loaded our Family with his Favours and Benefits.
 “ Let not my very honoured Mother, my dear Sisters, all my Relations
 “ and Friends be in the least grieved that I have lived so short a while,
 “ since my Life is crowned with so glorious a Death.”

THE People were above all struck with Astonishment to see Sir Robert Spotfwood mount the fatal Scaffold, whom they had before seen preside in the Court of Sessions with so great Ability and Honour. He appeared with the same Gravity and Majesty that had ever shined in his Countenance. He was a Man of great Virtue and excellent Learning. Envy itself had never found Fault with his blameless Life, nor could reproach him with the least Thing in the Exercise of his Office, which he had always performed with so much Integrity, that he was become the perfect Model of a good Magistrate.

As he had begun to speak to the People, a Minister of the Place, Robert Blair, knowing that the last Words of this great Man would make Impression upon the Minds of the Spectators, caused the Provost (Mayor) of the City to put him to Silence. But Sir Robert well foreseeing, that he would be so treated, had put in Writing what he had purposed to speak to the People; so that finding himself interrupted, he threw amongst the Croud his Paper, which contained the following Words.

“ YE will expect something from me of the Cause, for which I am
 “ brought hither at this Time to suffer in this kind; which I am bound
 “ to do for clearing the Integrity of my own Proceedings, vindicating his
 “ Majesty’s just and pious Intentions, and withal, to vindicate you that
 “ are misled in Ignorance, and made to believe that you are tied in Con-
 “ science to set forward this unnatural Rebellion, masked under the Co-
 “ vert and Pretext of propagating Religion, and maintaining of the pub-
 “ lick Liberties. You have perceived by the last Fact * that is gone be-
 “ fore, that I stand here adjudged to die by this pretended Parliament,
 “ as a Traitor to the Estates, and an Enemy to my native Country. This
 “ is a Treason unheard of before in this Kingdom, against the Estates, a
 “ Thing of late Creation, which I believe there be some would have e-
 “ rected in Opposition to the just and lawful Authority of the King, un-
 “ der which we and our Predecessors have been so many hundreds of
 “ Years governed. To come to my treasonable Demeanour (as they e-
 “ steem it) the main one is, That I did docket † and bring down a Com-
 “ mission of Lieutenancy from his Majesty, to the Lord Marquis of Mon-
 “ trose, with a Proclamation for indicting ‖ a Parliament by the King’s Au-
 “ thority, wherein the said Lord Marquis was to be Commissioner. Not to
 “ excuse my self upon the Necessity laid upon me to obey his Majesty’s
 “ Command in a Business of that Nature, in regard of the Charge I had
 “ about him, I cannot so far betray my own Conscience, as to keep up
 “ from you my Judgment of the Thing itself, seeing it may tend to the
 “ justifying of the King’s Part, and your better Information; for Lack
 “ whereof, I know many are intangled in this Rebellion unwittingly:
 “ And who knoweth, but God in his merciful Providence hath brought
 “ us hither, to be Instruments of freeing you from the manifold Delusi-
 “ ons that are made use of to ensnare you. I say then, it was just and
 “ necessary to his Majesty to grant such Commissions, and by Consequence
 “ an Act of Duty in me, to perform what he was pleased to command
 “ me.”

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Sir Robert Spotfwood's dying Speech.

* The tearing of his Coat of Arms. A Brand of Infamy for Treason in Scotland.

† Sign, as Secretary of State.
‖ Calling.

1646.

Return.

“ me. It is known well enough what Contentment his Majesty gave to
 “ this Kingdom at his last being here both in the Affairs of Church and
 “ Policy; notwithstanding whereof the World seeth what Meeting * he
 “ hath gotten from us. When the Rebellion burst forth in *England*, all
 “ that he desired of us, was only to stand neutral, and not to meddle
 “ between him and his Subjects there: Of which moderate Desire of his,
 “ little Reckoning was made; but on the contrary, at the Request of
 “ these Rebels, by the Power of their Faction amongst us, an Army was
 “ raised and sent to *England*, to assist them against our own native King.
 “ His Majesty being reduced to this Extremity, what Expedient could he
 “ find so fair and easy, as to make use of the Help of such of his loyal
 “ Subjects here, as he knew had such an unparalleled Disloyalty in Hor-
 “ ror and Detestation? Amongst whom that matchless Mirrour of all
 “ true Worth and Nobility, the Lord Marquis of *Montrose* having offered
 “ himself, it pleased his Majesty to give him a Subaltern Commission at
 “ first: Which he having executed with such unheard of Success, that
 “ his Memory shall be had in Honour for it in all Ages; his Majesty for
 “ the better furthering of his own Service, and to countenance and in-
 “ courage him the more in it, gave him an absolute One, and indepen-
 “ dent afterwards, which is that I delivered into his Hands by his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Command. Herewithal his Majesty pitying the Misery of this
 “ poor Kingdom, occasioned by the rebellious Stubbornness of a few fa-
 “ ctious Spirits, thought fit to give Power to the said Lord Marquis to
 “ call a Parliament in his Majesty’s Name, to try if by that Means, a
 “ Remedy might be found against the present Evils, and to have all his
 “ Subjects of this Kingdom reduced by one means or other under his O-
 “ bedience. In all this I see not what can be justly charged upon his Ma-
 “ jesty, or upon me as his Servant, who have done nothing against any
 “ authorized Law of the Kingdom, but have served him faithfully, unto
 “ whom by Trust and natural Allegiance I am so much bound.

“ WHEREAS I am declared an Enemy to my native Country, God be
 “ so propitious to me, as my Thoughts towards it have been always pub-
 “ lick, and tending to the Good and Honour thereof. I do profess, since
 “ the first Time I had the Honour of that noble Marquis his Acquaintance,
 “ I have been a Favourer of his Designs, knowing them to be both loyal
 “ and honourable: Beside that I knew his Affection towards his Country
 “ to be eminent in this especially, that he did ever show himself passio-
 “ nate to vindicate the Honour of this Kingdom, which suffereth every
 “ where, by this strange Combination of theirs with the Rebels of an-
 “ other Kingdom against their own Prince; wherein I concurred in Judg-
 “ ment with him, and thought there was no other Way to do it, but by
 “ setting up a Party of true and loyal-hearted *Scotsmen* for his Majesty,
 “ whereby it might be seen that it is not a national Defection, but only
 “ stirred up by a Faction therein, who for their own Ends have disho-
 “ noured their native Kingdom, and disturbed the Peace thereof. In en-
 “ terprising and prosecuting of which heroical Design, God hath so fa-
 “ voured that noble Lord, that he hath righted our Country in the Opi-
 “ nion of all the World, and discovered where the Rottenness lyeth.

“ THUS far I am content to be accounted a Traitor in their Opi-
 “ nion that have condemned me, being fully assured that God the righ-
 “ teous Judge of all, who knoweth the Uprightness and Integrity of my
 “ Intentions, will impute no Fault to me in this kind; since to my Know-
 “ ledge I have carried myself according to the Direction of his Word,
 “ and

“ and the Practice of all good Christians before these miserable Times
 “ we are fallen into. My Exhortation therefore (which coming from
 “ one at the Point I am at, will, I hope, have some Weight) shall be
 “ this unto you; that you will break off your Sins by Repentance, and
 “ above all, free your selves of the Master Sin of Rebellion that reigneth
 “ in this Land: Whereunto most part are either forced, or drawn una-
 “ wares, chiefly at the Instigation of those who should direct you in the
 “ Way of Truth. It cannot but be a great Judgment upon a Land,
 “ when God’s singular Mercies towards it are so little valued. He hath
 “ not given us a King in his Wrath, but one who for Piety, Bounty, and all
 “ Virtues both christian and moral, may be a Pattern to all Princes besides.
 “ How thankful we are to God for so great a Blessing, our Respect to-
 “ wards him manifesteth. Yet I fear there is a greater Judgment than
 “ this upon it, which occasioneth all the Mischiefs that afflict this poor
 “ Land, such as was sent upon *Abab*: God hath put a lying Spirit in the
 “ Mouths of most part of your Prophets, who, instead of the Doctrine
 “ of Salvation, labour to draw your Hearts unto the Condemnation of
 “ *Core*. God Almighty look upon the poor miserable Church and King-
 “ dom, and relieve you out of the intolerable Servitude you lye under,
 “ which I do heartily wish for in your Behalf. So let me have the As-
 “ sistance of your Prayers, that God would be pleased to pardon all my
 “ Sins in Jesus Christ, and gather my Soul with the Saints and Mar-
 “ tyrs that are gone to their Rest before. So I bid the World and you
 “ farewell.

THE Day before his Death he wrote the following Letter to *Montrose*
 from the Castle of *S. Andrews*.

My LORD,

“ I BEG you will be pleased to accept of this last Tribute of my Re-
 “ spect for your Lordship. I am condemned to die for being faith-
 “ ful to the King, and because I have shown an inviolable Respect for
 “ your Lordship’s Person: That whatever the Estates might pretend, I
 “ believe my taking Part with your Lordship, was the only Motive which
 “ made them determine my Destruction, and I hope by my Death I
 “ shall contribute more to his Majesty’s Service, than I could have done,
 “ had it pleased the Sovereign Providence to have prolonged my Life. I
 “ intreat your Lordship to notice one Thing I find necessary for the
 “ King’s Service, which is to continue your Gentleness and Moderation of
 “ Conduct, and not to imitate the barbarous Inhumanity of our Enemies,
 “ who give your Lordship but too great Cause to follow their Example.
 “ And as a Mark that my Services have not been disagreeable to your
 “ Lordship, I conjure you to take under your Protection my poor Orphans,
 “ and my Brother’s afflicted Family. And when it shall please God to
 “ restore the King to his former Authority, remember to get them Ac-
 “ cess to his Person. So since we must part, as I have always lived, I
 “ die

My LORD,

Your most humble and faithful Servant,

RO. SPOTSWOOD.

THE

1646.

THE Convention of Estates, in this Session, which was held in *S. Andrews*, and which they reckoned the fifth from the first Meeting of Triennial Parliaments (for that which met in the Month of *June* 1644. was accounted current since that Time in all the other Sessions) ordained that every fourth Man in all the Shires should be listed and armed for the Service of the Kingdom, and that the Muster-Masters should form them into Companies to be ready to march upon the first Occasion. They likewise ordained, that good Garrisons should be put in all the Places that were most exposed to the Incursions of the Royalists, as in the Town of *Inverness* a thousand Foot, and two Troops of Horse; in *Aberdeen* as many; in *Montrose* two hundred Foot; in *Dundee* four Hundred; in *Perth* as many; in the Town and Castle of *Stirling* three hundred Foot, and a hundred Horse; in *Glasgow* eight hundred Foot, and a hundred Horse; in *Dumbarton* two hundred Foot. Besides these Garrisons they appointed an Army of six thousand Foot, and sixteen hundred Horse, with eight hundred Dragoons to be kept in the Field, and that the Committee of Estates should make a Fund for the Subsistence of these Troops, which should be taken out of the forfeited Estates of such as had been declared Rebels and out-lawed.

IN the same Session it was likewise decreed, that, according to the Act of the Year 1641 which deprives the Non-Covenanters of their Right of Patronage, all the Benefices that were in the Presentation of such as had not signed the League and Covenant betwixt the two Nations, or that were excommunicated and declared Rebels, should be filled up by the Presbyteries. It was likewise ordained, that a Committee should be appointed to take an Account of such as had sustained considerable Losses by the War, in order to their being indemnified. At last the Convention was adjourned to the Month of *November* following, after having prohibited all Sorts of Persons to print, or cause to be printed any Books concerning Religion, without the Permission of the General Assembly or their Commissioners; or any other upon what Subject soever, without Permission from the supreme Courts or their Clerks, without Prejudice nevertheless to the Power of Keepers of the Registers of causing to be printed the Acts of the Convention of Estates.

THE melancholy News of the Cruelty exercised against *Montrose's* best Friends being brought him, though he was grieved to the very Heart, yet he could not be prevailed upon, by those who had advised him, to use after the same Manner several Persons of Quality that he had taken from the Covenanters. They represented to him with a great deal of Warmth, that at least he ought to make use of the Law of Retaliation, and that it was unjust to suffer Men, who had so well deserved of the King, of the Country, and of himself, to be thus murdered, contrary to plighted Faith, and the Law of Nations; while their Prisoners suffered no other Inconveniency but that of being Prisoners, and passed their Time as if they were amongst their best Friends. That of Necessity he must alter his Measures, in order to put a Stop to the Cruelty of his Enemies, and to put Spirit into his dejected Soldiers. *Montrose* having approved, nay even commended their just Resentments, answered them; "That it was, " truly, reasonable to revenge the Death of those faithful Subjects; but " yet like Men of Honour and Soldiers. That to bring Enemies to Reason with the Sword, was acting with a good Grace; but to imitate " their unworthy Actions, was dishonourable. That if they would seri-

ously

“ ously reflect, without Passion, upon what they had proposed, they 1646.
 “ themselves would not think it reasonable, that the Prisoners which they
 “ had, not being accessory to the Crime of those of their Party, should
 “ suffer the Punishment of it. That the Promise they had given them
 “ ought to be inviolable, and that they were, by all means, bound to keep
 “ it. That it would be very absurd if they themselves should do that,
 “ which with so much Reason they blamed in their Enemies. That
 “ the Time would come when God would require that Blood at their
 “ Hands: And that, in the mean time, though the Covenanters should
 “ set a Price upon his Head, that they should suborn Assassins; and that,
 “ according to their usual Custom, they should, with Impunity, break
 “ their Faith, yet they should never oblige him to contend with them
 “ for any Thing but the Honour and Glory of virtuous Actions.”

IN the mean time, *Huntley* having passed the *Spey*, marched with his Troops into the Shire of *Murray*, where he took some Castles: But while he was obstinately besieging that of *Letham*, the Covenanters threw a Supply of all Necessaries into *Inverness*, and, at the same time, sent Major General *Middleton*, with six hundred Horse, and eight hundred Foot, into the North. *Montrose* having had Intelligence that he was advanced as far as *Aberdeen*, sent Colonel *William Stuart* to *Huntley*, to put him in Mind of what had been agreed betwixt them concerning the Siege of *Inverness*, which would be the more easy that the Earl of *Seaforth* and the Lord *Rae*, with many others, were ready to take Part with them; or if he thought it fit, he should march and join him, in order to fight *Middleton*, who was marching to lay waste his Lands: But *Huntley*, who had a Mind to have the Glory of that Action to himself, did not quit his Post. *Montrose* considering of what Importance the taking of *Inverness* was to the King's Service, resolved to undertake it with what Troops he had.

INVERNESS is one of the finest Ports in the North of *Scotland*. The Town is situate upon the Mouth of the River of *Ness*, which riseth out of a Lake of the same Name, the Water whereof is so warm in the Height of Winter, that Snow-balls and Pieces of Ice that are thrown into it, melt immediately. *Montrose* having taken up his Quarters, detached three Troops of Horse to the Banks of the *Spey*, in order to observe *Middleton's* Motion, if he should come to relieve the Town: For though *Huntley* was between them, the Misunderstanding that was betwixt them, made *Montrose* mistrust him, and stand upon his Guard. Whether *Montrose's* Horse were betrayed by the Country-People, or that they had been too negligent in guarding the Fords of the River, *Middleton* passed it, and was got a great Way into *Murray* before they had any account of him; so that *Middleton* was already within Cannon-Shot of *Montrose's* Camp, when the three Troops of Horse came to give him Notice of his March. But *Montrose*, who by good Luck had heard of it from other Hands, had drawn off his Troops from before the Town, and had passed the *Ness*; and perceiving that *Middleton* was very strong in Horse, he marched towards the Hills. *Middleton* followed him at the Heels, and made a vigorous Attack upon his Rear-guard, who having stood their Ground, received the Charge with great Courage. The Loss was almost equal on both Sides. At last *Montrose* having got into Places of difficult Access for *Middleton's* Horse, he retired into the Shire of *Ross*, and from thence marching along the Side of *Lough-Ness*, went and incamped on the Banks of the *Spey*.

1646.

IN the mean while, *Huntley* took the City of *Aberdeen* from the Covenanters, where they had a Garrison of five hundred Men. There were some Disorders committed at first, but *Huntly* having entered the City, made all quiet, and saved the unhappy Citizens from the bad Usage which they feared from their new Guests.

JUST as *Montrose* had resolved to make use of the Authority that the King had put into his Hands, and was about to compel by Force the Militia of the North Country to take part with him, and by the Severity of his Arms to bring to Reason those that had not yielded to his Intreaties, nor the frequent Sollicitations he had made them to come and join him; he received Letters from the King, which obliged him to be quite of another Mind, and put him under the fatal Necessity of laying down Arms. The cause proceeded from the bad Success, and deplorable State of the King's Affairs in *England*, which must be traced a little higher.

WE have already told, that after the Battle of *Naseby*, which the King lost the 14th of *June* 1645, his Majesty could never recover that Loss, and that ever since, it seemed that Fortune deserting his Interest, had a Mind all of a sudden to go over to the Parliament, and intirely ruin his Affairs in *England*: For though the Royalists had the Advantage in some small Rencounters, and that the Lord *Bellasis*, Governor of *Newark*, made frequent Incursions with some Success; and that though he was besieged by the Army of the *Scots* Covenanters, and by a Body of the Parliament's Army, commanded by Major General *Pointz*, he made frequent Sallies upon the Besiegers; and, in a Word, did all that a true Man of Honour and a great Soldier could do for the Service of his Prince: Yet the main Body of the King's Army dwindled away visibly, and the most part of the Towns and Castles that held out for his Majesty were all retaken in a Trice. For, besides the Places which the Parliament's Troops had taken the preceding Year, in the Beginning of this 1646, General *Fairfax* made himself Master of *Dartmouth*: The Town of *West-Chester*, and the Castles of *Belvoir* and *Corfe*, with many others, the Repetition of which would be tedious, had the same Fate. Soon after, *Exeter*, the Town and Castle of *Barnstable*, and *Banbury* submitted to the Parliament: At the same Time *Worcester* and *Lichfield* were summoned to surrender; but, by the Bravery of those that commanded within, they held out till the Month of *July*; and in *August* the strong Castle of *Pendennis* likewise surrendered, by which means the Duke of *Hamilton* recovered his Liberty, and went to the King, at the Time, when his Majesty having lost all, was conducted to *Newcastle* by the Covenanters.

As Afflictions oftentimes come thick upon the Back of one another, and sometimes proceed from Things, whence they are least expected; in the midst of all these Losses, the King likewise received the disagreeable News, that the Archbishop of *York* had revolted; that he had caused his House at *Penryn*, in the Principality of *Wales* to be fortified, and having put a Garrison in it, had made a Protestation against the King's Party. This Prelate's Name was *Williams*, whom King *James* had made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, he being then Bishop of *Lincoln* and Dean of *Westminster*; but having afterwards, for what Reason I know not, lost the Duke of *Buckingham's* Favour, King *Charles* took the Seal from him, and for all that conferred the fat Primacy of *York* upon him.

BESIDES

BESIDES so many unlucky Chances, what was yet more cross for his Majesty's Affairs, was, that the Lord *Hopton*, who had supported them so long, and with so much Vigour in the Western Counties of the Kingdom, was at last obliged to yield to Force, and disband his Army. That happened in *March*, and the same Month, the Lord *Astley* leading a Body of an Army from *Worcestershire* to *Oxford*, was defeated, and he himself made Prisoner, with the greatest Part of his Foot. Thus, whether by the unlucky Fate of War, or be it by any other Cause whatsoever, the King lost two Armies in less than a Fortnight. The Defeat of that of *Hopton* obliged the Prince of *Wales* to leave the Kingdom, and go to *France*, where he repaired to the Queen, his Mother, at *St. Germain's* the 2^d of *July*. It was in the same Month, that the Countess of *Morton*, Governess to Princess *Henrietta*, being in want of the Necessaries of Life, conveyed her secretly from *Oatlands*, and carried her likewise into *France* to the Queen her Mother. 1646.

IN the mean time, the King sent Messages daily to the Parliament, in order to persuade them to find out Means for bringing about a Peace, and likewise to assure them that it should not be his Fault if it was not quickly restored. In his Letter of the 23^d of *March*, "He offered to disarm, and to come and reside with them at *London*, and to assist in accomplishing so good a Work; provided he might have the Engagement of the two Houses of Parliament, that nothing should be attempted against his Person or Honour; and that those who had adhered to him, might be at Liberty to live in their own Houses, and to enjoy their own Estates, without being obliged to take any Oaths, but what were enjoined by Law."

To these Demands, the Parliament answered; "That his Majesty's Return to *London* would be prejudicial both to his own and the Parliament's Safety, until he had first consented to the Propositions, which they had drawn up to be sent him." And, lest the King should come to *London* without their own Knowledge and express Consent, they published an Ordinance; "That if the King should come, or attempt to come, within the Lines of Communication, the Committee of the Militia should have Power to secure his Person, and to apprehend any who should come with him." At the same time, they likewise ordained; "That all who had ever borne Arms against the Parliament should depart and go out of *London* and the Lines, before the 6th of *April* following, upon Pain of being proceeded against as Spies."

IN the Beginning of *May*, General *Fairfax* invested the City of *Oxford* for the second Time; but with more Success than the first: For after a Siege of six Months it was surrendered upon Capitulation. Nevertheless, the most part of the Articles were broke, as well by the Imprisonment of the Governor, who was detained several Weeks, as by the disarming of several Officers and a great many Soldiers, who were retiring to *London*, and who, contrary to the 5th Article of the Capitulation, were forbidden Entrance within the Line of Communication. *Fairfax* found in *Oxford* the Sword that was usually carried before the King, the Great Seal, the Privy Seal, the King's Signet, the Seals of the Royal Bank, of the Exchequer, of the Court of Wards, and of the Admiralty, all which he sent to the Parliament, who caused the Sword to be lockt up in his Majesty's

1646. Majesty's Closet; but as for the Seals, they were all broke in Presence of the two Houses met together for that Purpose.

As *Fairfax* was preparing for the Siege of *Oxford*, where the King had his principal Garrison, and where he then kept his Court: Because his Majesty could no longer expect Relief from any Part, he was forced by cruel Necessity, either to put himself into the Hands of *Fairfax*, or to run the Hazard of retiring into the Army of the *Scots* Covenanters, who were besieging *Newark*: For it was utterly impossible for him to be able to join *Montrose* and *Huntley* in the North of *Scotland*. In this severe Necessity, the King believing, that he would be best received by those of his own Nation, they having even passed their Words to him, he chose to commit himself to them. To which end, he went privately out of *Oxford*, attended by a Gentleman, named *Asburnham*, and a Divine, named *Hudson*, who was to be his Guide, and on the 24th of *April* got to the Covenanters Head Quarters before *Newark* without the least unlucky Accident. His Majesty having alighted in the Village of *Southwel*, which was within the Quarters, he caused *Lesly* to be acquainted with his Arrival, who, attended by some of the principal Officers of the Army, went immediately to wait upon him, and falling upon his Knees, holding his Sword by the Point, he offered it to his Majesty. The News of the King's Arrival being spread through the Army, the *Scots* expressed a great deal of Joy; but the *English*, who were on the other Side of the River, were so much alarmed by it, that Major General *Pointz* caused the Bridge of Boats, which had been made for a Communication betwixt the two Armies, to be broken, and continued a Horse-back all Night. The next Day the King sent an Order to the Governor of the Town, whereby he ordered him to deliver it up to the Parliament's Army; which being done, the whole *Scots* Army, excepting some Officers, who staid to see the Capitulation of the Garrison punctually put in Execution, decamped, in order to attend the King to *Newcastle*.

* The Body of
Advocates,
Writers to the
Signet, &c.

THE King marched always at the Head of the Army, having *Lesly* on his left Hand, and all the *Scots* Lords that were there present, about him. Wheresoever he passed the Bells were rung, and at Night Bonfires were made; and the General's Troop of Light-Horse, and that of the College of Justice * mounted Guard upon his Lodging. When he came to *Durham*, the Covenanters Army was quartered in that Bishoprick. It was there, on the 13th of *May*, that the General caused an Order to be published, forbidding all such as had carried Arms against the Parliament of *England* to come near the King's Person, and all those of his Army to have any Communication with them. And at the same time, the Committee of the Parliament in *Scotland*, in order to back the General's Design, prohibited all Sorts of Persons to go out of the Kingdom without Leave, or to ask any Favour, or Mark of Honour of the King, but to contribute all that in them lay to persuade him to Peace.

THE King having two Troops of Light-Horse for his Guard, went from *Durham* to *Newcastle*, where Colonel *Lumsdel*, the Governor, having lined the Streets through which his Majesty was to pass, with the Soldiers of the Garrison, he came to receive him at the Gate, and offered him the Keys of the Town. The King lodged there in his own House, out of which General *Lesly*'s Family had removed, and he had the Goodness to make an Apology for it to his Lady when she was presented to his Majesty.

THE Parliament of *England* having had an account, that the King was gone from *Oxford*, without knowing, however, to what Place he had retired, believing immediately, that he had come to *London*, they caused a Proclamation to be published by Sound of Trumpet, declaring; "That if any Person harboured the King, or even knew where he was, either in the City or Suburbs, and did not discover it to the Speakers of the two Houses of Parliament, or to one of them, he should be punished as a Traitor to the State." 1646.

BUT as soon as they had Advice, that his Majesty was gone to the Covenanters Army, they ordered, that the Committee and the General should be desired to consent, that his Majesty's Person might be disposed of, according as the two Houses should think meet; and in the mean time, to let them know, that they thought it absolutely necessary that he should be sent to the Castle of *Warwick*. Besides, they demanded, that Mr. *Ashburnham* and Mr. *Hudson* should be sent them as Criminals, and being of the Number of those they called Malignants. The Covenanters, not finding the Proposal, with regard to the King's Person, reasonable, drew up a Declaration, which they sent to *London*, where it was printed by their Order. But the Parliament having seen it, were highly offended, and declared, that the Order which the Covenanters had given for printing their Declaration was null and unwarrantable; and then they ordered it to be suppressed, and the Printers of it to be imprisoned, and those also who had sold it. That gave Rise to some Jealousies betwixt the Covenanters and the Parliament; insomuch that for a long Time every body believed, that it would set the two Nations together by the Ears. As for *Ashburnham* and *Hudson*, the Committee of the Covenanters Army consulting thereupon, found it very strange, that the Parliament of *England* had demanded them as Malignants, without charging them with any other Crime, but that of having accompanied the King into their Army; and the Members of the Committee unanimously agreed, that they were no more obliged to deliver up these the King's Domestick Servants, for having followed his Majesty into their Army, as their Duty of course obliged them to do, than the Parliament of *England* would have been, to deliver up any Subject of *Scotland*, for having followed his Majesty, if he had retired into General *Fairfax's* Army, or to *London*. They likewise were of Opinion, that if they should send back these two Men to the Parliament of *England*, it would be tacitly acknowledging themselves to have committed a Fault in receiving the King, since it is not to be thought, that his Majesty could come to them all alone, without being attended by any Person.

INDEED, they granted, that if *Ashburnham* and *Hudson* had before been declared Malignants and Incendiaries, for having opposed the Reformation of Religion, or for having contributed towards the interrupting of the good Agreement that is between the two Kingdoms, or even of that between the King and his Subjects contrary to the League solemnly agreed upon between the two Nations; in that Case, they would have been very ready to comply with the two Houses: But laying nothing else to their Charge, but an Act of Duty and Obligation, they could not deliver them up without wounding their Honour, and violating all the Rules of Justice. After all, they thought that the Affair was of that Importance, as to require a Conference about it betwixt them and the Commissioners of the two Houses; and in the mean time, they ordered it to be kept secret, lest,

1646. by divulging the Demand of the two Houses, the two Persons in question should take Occasion to make their Escape. Notwithstanding that Precaution, they got private Notice of it, and fled: But the Covenanters sent after them with so much Haste, that *Hudson* was caught, and brought back Prisoner to *Newcastle*. This *Hudson* was a Minister by Profession, but who had been very severely used, only for having served his King with great Fidelity and Affection.

THE Committee of the Army dispatched the Lord *Balcarras* to the Parliament of *England*, in order to give them a particular Account of their Conduct upon this Occasion, and likewise to assure them, that there was not one of the Committee that had a Hand in, or the least Knowledge of *Ashburnham's* Escape. Besides that, he delivered to them some Papers, wherein the Covenanters expressed a great deal of Resolution and Zeal, inviolably to observe the Covenant; and that there was no Person that could reproach them with having acted contrary to it. They also complained of the bad Usage their Troops had; who not only were not paid at the Siege of *Newark* at the Rate of the *English* Soldiers, but since their retiring from before that Place, they had, besides, been obliged to take Subsistence in their Quarters for want of Pay, which made them to be hated by the Country-People, without being able to procure them any Relief, the sole Remedy being in the Hands of the Parliament, who ought to have settled Matters so, as to leave no Room for Complaint. They likewise desired the Parliament to order the Officers of their Army to forbear giving abusive or slighting Language, and as much as possible to shun all Occasions of Quarrel, as they had very carefully done on their Part, to the end that all the World may see, that their Design was only upon the common Enemy. Then they laid before them the Care they had always taken to keep their Army from committing Disorders, by the strict Discipline under which they kept their Troops; and put the Parliament in Mind how ready they had always been to give them Satisfaction whenever they had made the least Complaint. As when the Parliament made Application to the Covenanters, about having some Soldiers, who had lifted themselves in their Army, cashiered; because they had carried Arms against the two Houses: They presently made a strict Inquiry into it, and at last found, that it was not those of whom the Parliament complained; but truly other Soldiers of the same Name with those they had mentioned. And in like manner also, some other Soldiers having committed some Insolencies, they were immediately tried in a Court-Martial, and shot.

IT is true, the Commissioners of the Parliament protested against that Procedure, and testified, that they did not approve, that the Officers of the same Regiment with the Guilty should take upon them to be their Judges: But that Protestation was made a little too late; besides, that the Procedure was not only according to military Discipline which is observed in *Scotland*, but likewise to that which is practised in *Germany*, and in many other Kingdoms. Lastly, they declared in Name of all the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that as their Army had not entered *England* till after having been sent for by both the Houses of Parliament, and for the end which is expressed in the Covenant, which is the Establishment of Truth and Peace upon solid Foundations; so they continued there with no other Design, and without incroaching in the least upon the Government of the Kingdom of *England*. They likewise said, that as soon as God should be pleased to bestow that Favour upon them, which they much longed for,

for, they should be ready to withdraw their Army and Garrisons from that Kingdom. 1646.

BUT though these Things were not like to be so soon decided, the Parliament, flushed with their late Successes, declared, that there was no more Occasion for the Covenanters Army to continue longer in the Kingdom at its Charges; and in order to rid themselves of it altogether, they raised a hundred thousand Pounds for dismissing it, and ingaged the publick Faith for the Payment of what more was due to it, and which amounted to a vast Sum. At last, about the end of the Year it marched out of *England*, and the Garrisons having been withdrawn from the Places which the Covenanters held there, they were delivered up to the Parliaments Commissioners.

NOW, as the King, upon his Arrival before *Newark*, had caused the Place to be delivered up to the Parliament of *England*, and likewise given Orders for the surrendering of the other Places: Being at *Newcastle*, he dispatched an Express to *Montrose* ordering him to lay down his Arms. *Montrose* having received the King's Letters the last Day of *May*, bitterly bewailed his Majesty's Misfortunes that had brought him into so great Distress, and deliberated a long Time within himself about what course he should take. He conceived, that this Order came not to him from the King sitting upon his Throne; and that if he should obey it, a great Number of brave Men would be exposed to the Persecution of the Covenanters: On the other hand, he saw, that if he should continue in Arms contrary to the King's Orders, he would be guilty of Disobedience, and, perhaps, be the Cause of the King's not receiving all the Satisfaction he expected from the Covenanters. These Considerations obliged him to consult upon an Affair of so great Importance with the Chief of the Nobility and Gentry of the Royal Party, before he should answer his Majesty. For that end, he sent to the Marquis of *Huntley* Sir *John Innes*, and Sir *John Hurry*, this last having joined *Montrose* the 7th of *May* at *Duthel* upon the *Spey*, to invite the Marquis to be present at the Consultation, which should be held when and where he should be pleased to appoint, and if he had a Mind that it should be at his own House, *Montrose* was ready to wait upon him there.

AT the same time, the General Assembly of *Scotland*, which had been adjourned to the 3^d of *June*, having met at *Edinburgh*, *Robert Dowglas*, one of the Ministers of the City, laid before them a Letter written by the King from *Newcastle*, to this Effect; "That having by his Letters to
" the Parliament of *England*, and the Commissioners of *Scotland* that
" were at *London*, acquainted them with the deep Sense he had of the
" pernicious Effects that had attended the unhappy Division betwixt him
" and his Subjects, and his Resolution to satisfy the Desires of the Parlia-
" ments of both Kingdoms, for the restoring of Truth and Peace, he had
" also thought fit to acquaint too the General Assembly therewith. That,
" besides, he assured them, that he would labour to maintain the Religion
" in *Scotland*, according as it was there established, and to reform that
" of *England* and *Ireland*. That his greatest Passion was to restore Peace
" in all the three Kingdoms. That he would in a more particular Man-
" ner acquaint the Assembly with his Designs, upon the Return of his
" Messengers to the Parliament of *England*. That in the mean time,
" he recommended his Person and the ruined State of his Kingdoms
" to their Prayers, and expected of them, that they would act faithfully

*The King's
Letter to the
General Assem-
bly of Scot-
land.*

" in

1646. " in their Offices, and carry themselves dutifully, as it became the Ministers of the Gospel."

THIS Assembly ordained, that *George Earl of Seaforth* should be excommunicated, and declared to be of the Number of those, whom the Faithful ought to look upon as Heathens and Publicans. Because, said they, that that Earl had declared himself to be the Author of the perfidious Declaration, made under the Name of a humble Remonstrance, against the solemn League and Covenant between the two Nations; and that he had joined with that excommunicated Traitor *James Graham* in order to besiege the Town of *Inverness*. This same Assembly ordained, that all those who had sided with the Rebels, or who had had any Hand in the publishing of *James Graham's* Proclamation for the calling of a pretended Parliament, should be obliged to acknowledge their Offence in all Humility, bare-headed and kneeling; first before the Presbyteries; and then on a *Sunday* before the Congregation, standing before the Pulpit; and till then they should be deprived of the Lord's Supper: But if they refused to give that Satisfaction to the Church, they should be proceeded against by Excommunication. They likewise ordained, that all those who had made Application to the Rebels for Protection; who had received them into their Houses; or had drunk to *James Graham's* Health, should be obliged publickly to confess their Fault before the Congregation, and to abstain from the Lord's Supper; and that Ecclesiasticks should be suspended from their Office, till they had acknowledged their Fault in the same manner with the rest.

THEN the Assembly made an Act concerning the Education of the Youth that should be brought up out of the Kingdom, in order to take Care, that no other Religion but that of the Reformed of their own Country might be instilled into their Minds; and for that end decreed, that, before the Children should go out of the Kingdom, the Fathers, Mothers, or Guardians should give Notice of it to the Presbytery of their Residence, whose Certificate they should take, which should be addressed to the Consistories of *France*, the Synods of *England*, and *Ireland*, or to those of such other Parts as they should go to; and that, at their Return, they should in like Manner bring back another from the Consistory or Synod of the Place where they had been educated, that the said Presbytery, which had given them their Certificate in going out of the Country, may be assured of their good Behaviour, and Steadiness in their Religion. This Assembly likewise ordered all the Presbyteries of the Kingdom, to inquire within their respective Districts, if any Children had been sent out of the Kingdom to study in Popish Colleges, and to give Notice of it to the Council, or the Committee of Parliament, to the end that such Children may be recalled in order to be brought up in the true Religion. The Parliament confirmed this Act the following Year, and besides, decreed, that the Council and the Committee of Parliament might take the Children from Popish Fathers, Mothers, or even Guardians, and put them into the Hands of Persons well-principled and zealous for Religion, to be by them brought up therein.

AT last the Assembly answered the King's Letter, but very coldly; *The Assembly's Answer to the King.* " That the whole Assembly had agreed to depute some of their Number, " in order to confer more particularly with his Majesty about every Thing, " than what they had done themselves the Honour to write to him. That " they hoped his Majesty would take that Liberty and Freedom as a Testimony

“ testimony of their Fidelity and Affection. That they were resolved so to
 “ approve themselves before God; and that they earnestly supplicated his
 “ divine Majesty, to pour down his Blessings upon his Majesty’s sacred
 “ Person, and more and more to touch his Heart, that he may be enabled
 “ to hearken to the wholesome Advices that were given him for the E-
 “ stablishment of Truth and Peace.” With this Letter to the King they
 sent another more full and more imbittered, directed to the Parliament of
 England, containing; “ That the Noise of the Wonders which God had
 “ done for that Parliament having passed the Seas, they ought not to
 “ conceal them, nor lessen the Value of them. That as they admired
 “ the Power and Goodness of God, who was the Author of them; so
 “ they would diminish nothing of the Praise that was due to the Instru-
 “ ments he was pleased to make use of. That when God placed them
 “ upon the Tribunal of Justice, their Church as well as State were labour-
 “ ing under many Distempers, the Cure of which was the more difficult,
 “ that besides being spread and deeply rooted in the whole Body, they
 “ were cherished by Custom, by the Laws, and by the powerful Prote-
 “ ction of the malignant Faction of Prelates; who chose rather to throw
 “ the Kingdom into Blood and Confusion, than to abate of their ambi-
 “ tious and perfidious Designs against Religion, the Privileges of Parlia-
 “ ment, the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom. That that cursed Ge-
 “ neration had spared no Labour, in order to attain their Ends; but had
 “ likewise for a long Time endeavoured to pursue them by Arms. That,
 “ in all Appearance, they would have prevailed, if the Lord himself had
 “ not appeared upon the Breach; if he had not indued their Lordships
 “ (the Parliament) with much Wisdom, Courage, and Constancy in the
 “ midst of a Multitude of Difficulties; and if he had not blessed their
 “ Arms with so glorious and triumphant Success, that at last the Ene-
 “ mies were overthrown on all Sides; insomuch that none were left to
 “ appear against them. That as these Things were Matter of Comfort
 “ and Glory to them; so they laid a strict Obligation upon their Lord-
 “ ships to be very humble before God, and to imploy the Power which
 “ he had put into their Hands for the Advancement of his Son’s King-
 “ dom, and laying the Corner Stone of his House. That the Delay of
 “ that holy Work had occasioned much Grief to them, which daily in-
 “ creased by the Multitude of the Spirits of Error and Illusion that had
 “ arisen, and which not only ruined many Souls, but gathered Strength
 “ to that Degree, that if they were not timely suppressed, they could not
 “ be attacked hereafter with any Hopes of Success. That they, the Ser-
 “ vants of the living God, who not only continually put up their Prayers
 “ to Heaven for their Lordships; but had also hazarded their Persons for
 “ their Defence, humbly intreated them by the Bowels of Jesus Christ to
 “ render the Honour and Glory which were due to his Name, by a speed-
 “ dy Establishment of all his divine Ordinances, according to the League
 “ and Covenant. That while the Enemy was in the Field, and that there
 “ were Debates amongst the Divines assembled at *Westminster*, they had had
 “ just Cause of Delay; but now that these Obstacles were removed, they
 “ were so bold as in a short Time to hope from their Zeal the fulfilling of
 “ the Covenant, which was the chief Foundation of the League which
 “ they had made with them, and the Source of all their Comfort in the
 “ midst of so many Afflictions that a cruel Enemy had brought upon
 “ them. That there were People, who did their utmost to put off the
 “ accomplishing of that great Work of Uniformity; and who fomented
 “ Jealousies betwixt the two Nations; but that they hoped, that God
 “ would mock them; that he would speak to them in his Wrath; and
 “ that,

*Their Letter to
 the Parliament
 of England.*

1646. " that, notwithstanding their underhand Dealings, he would establish his
 " King upon the holy Mountain of *Sion*, and make the two Nations hap-
 " py in the Injoyment of Truth and Peace. That the great God, the
 " Searcher of Hearts, knew that they were resolved to stick inviolably
 " to the Covenant, and that they were persuaded that the breaking of so
 " sacred a Band would draw down his Judgments upon both Nations.
 " Lastly, that they should be very much grieved to have other Thoughts
 " than those of the two Houses of Parliament; that they were sure of
 " the Sincerity of their own Intentions; and that they would therefore
 " labour incessantly to have all the Articles of the Covenant put in Exe-
 " cution, which was the only means whereby to obtain Peace, and restore
 " Prosperity to the two Kingdoms."

THE Assembly wrote in the same Terms to the City of *London*, and the Divines assembled at *Westminster*, whom they conjured to give Glory to God in making publick Profession of his Truth; and let them know, that God required of them, that, according to his Word, they would declare, what were the Rights of the Crown, and the Extent of the Scepter of Jesus Christ. What were the Limits betwixt him reigning in his House, and the Powers which he had established upon Earth. By whom, and in what manner his House ought to be governed; and by what means those Sectaries may be confounded, who, corrupting his Truth, seduced the Faithful, and made many of them suffer a sad Shipwrack of Faith.

IN the mean time, *Huntley* having answered *Montrose*, that he himself had likewise received the King's Orders for disarming, and that he believed they must be quickly obeyed; without more ado *Montrose* dispatched a trusty Person to the King, in order to know for certain, in what Condition his Majesty was. Whether the Arms he had taken up by his Order could be no more useful for his Service; and if he must absolutely disarm, how he was to behave in it, that it might be done safely, as well upon his own Account, as upon that of all the King's faithful Subjects, who had fought with so much Honour and Generosity for the Defence of his Crown. *Montrose's* Messenger could get no other Answer to that just Demand, but that the Committee of the Parliament of *Scotland* had adjusted some Articles, which Major General *Middleton* would offer to the Royalists. That *Middleton* had Power from the Committee to treat with them; and when they should be disarmed, to take Possession of the Towns and Castles which they held in the Kingdom.

The Articles
 offered to Mon-
 trose by the
 Covenanters.

THE Articles which *Middleton* caused to be published at *Dundee* the 7th of *July* were; I. " That *James Graham*, *Lewis Lindsey*, *Alexander Mack-*
 " *donald*, and Sir *John Hurry* could have no other Favour but the Liberty
 " of retiring beyond Sea, which should be granted them, provided they
 " should take Shipping in the Harbour of *Montrose* before the First of
 " *September* next, and oblige themselves not to return to any of his Ma-
 " jesty's Dominions without Permission from the Parliament of *Scotland*.
 " II. That all the Gentlemen, who had been in Rebellion against the Par-
 " liament of the Kingdom, should have their Lives and Fortunes secure
 " as to this Rebellion, provided they should disband and lay down their
 " Arms before the 20th of *July*; and upon Condition likewise, that all
 " the Chiefs of Families should appear before the Committee before the
 " 5th of *September* next, in order to take an Oath of Fidelity to the Par-
 " liament; excepting, nevertheless, the four Persons named in the first
 " Article, and the Estate of *Graham* of *Gortky*, of which the Parliament
 " had

“ had disposed. III. That all Strangers should have Liberty to depart the Kingdom, but not to return without the Consent of Parliament, upon Pain of Death. IV. That all the Soldiers, who are Natives of the Kingdom, should be allowed to retire to their own Houses.” 1646.

THESE Articles put *Montrose* out of all Patience; for he could not bear, that his People should be treated with so much Contempt and Injustice; and he thought, that this Treaty looked rather like a Pardon given to Criminals, than a honourable Capitulation which ought to be given to military Men. He complained, that the Covenanters always called those, who had followed him, Rebels; since they knew that he had done nothing in that War, but by the express Orders of his Majesty, and by that means they not only traduced his faithful Servants; but made the King himself pass for the Head of the Rebellion. That the King having consented, that those who had taken up Arms for his Service, should lay them down; however, with the Security of their Lives and Fortunes; the Covenanters gave so short a Time for the Execution of the Treaty, that they made it plainly appear they had no Mind to deal honestly. That the Covenanters obliged such as they designed to turn out of the Kingdom, to repair to Ports, whither they could not go, without hazarding their Lives; and from whence they could not part without Pass-ports from the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. That they were forbid to return to *Scotland* upon Pain of Death, if it was not by Permission of Parliament, without making the least Mention of the King's Leave. That the Covenanters took no Notice in their Articles of the Release of Prisoners, nor of the remitting of pecuniary Mulcts. That they gave full Liberty to none but Strangers and Soldiers of Fortune; but that they obliged all Chiefs of Families to appear before them, in order to impose such Conditions upon them as they should think fit. Lastly, that they stript *Gortby* of his Estate, not for having committed any Crime; but only because, said they, the Parliament had disposed of it.

THESE Reasons obliged *Montrose* to send back to the King, to beg of his Majesty to get added to those Conditions in favour of his faithful Servants. “ I. That the Sentences of Excommunication and Rebellion, which “ had been pronounced against those who had served the King, should “ be made void; and that the Magistrates should not proceed against “ them by Virtue of Ecclesiastical Censures; since by the Laws of *Scotland* “ that had been made and published since the Reformation, an ex- “ communicated Person is out-lawed, and his Goods confiscated. II. That “ every Man should be allowed to stay in the Kingdom, or go out of it as “ he should think fit; and that since his Majesty ordered him to go be- “ yond Sea, the Parliaments of both Kingdoms should give Passports for “ him and his Attendants; and that the Parliament of *Scotland* should “ cause Ships to be made ready for that end. III. That all those who “ were kept Prisoners for having served his Majesty should be set at Li- “ berty without Ransom, or any Fine whatever. IV. That all the Mi- “ nisters who had been deposed for their Fidelity to his Majesty, should “ be restored to their Offices. V. That the Parliament should be quickly “ called for confirming these Articles. VI. That the Earls of *Forth* and “ *Carnwarth*, the Lord *Eytben*, and all *Scotsmen* in general, who had “ been in his Majesty's Service out of the Kingdom, should be compre- “ hended in the Treaty.”

*Montrose's ad-
ditional Ar-
ticles.*

1646. THE King not being then in a Condition to give Laws, answered to these Propositions according as the unhappy Circumstances of his Affairs would allow him. " That those who were under Sentence of Confiscation had nothing to fear, since that by *Middleton's* Articles, all Gentlemen were to return to the Possession of their Estates, except *Gortby*, and the four named in the first Article; and that as for those who were excommunicated, they could not make their Peace till they had first given Satisfaction to the Church; but in the mean time the Assistance of the Civil Magistrate could not be demanded against them. That, by *Middleton's* Articles, all Natives, except the four mentioned in the first Article, might stay in the Kingdom; and that as for those who liked rather to go out of it, and for whom Ships were to be provided, they would have no Occasion for any other Passport but *Middleton's*. That *Montrose* ought not to insist upon the Release of Prisoners; because they had been judged and fined by the Committee of Parliament, a long Time before the Capitulation made by the same Committee; and since many others of the Nobility and Gentry, who had been in the same Condition, had paid their Fines, it was not reasonable that those, who had been head-strong, and would not compound, should be more favourably treated; but, however, that the King would take care that the Fines should not be extravagant. That the deposed Ministers could not be restored without having given Satisfaction to the Church; but that in the mean time they might remain peaceably in the Kingdom, or go out of it, if they thought fit. That there was no Occasion to call a Parliament for confirming the Articles; because the Parliament had given Power to the Committee, or to whom the Committee should appoint, to treat with those who had carried Arms against them. Lastly, That as for those Lords and other *Scotsmen*, which *Montrose* would have to be comprehended in the Treaty, as the King took that Demand for a Mark of Friendship and Respect for them; so he believed that the Demand would be better received coming from him, and that he might assure himself, that he would be mindful of it in Time and Place convenient.

MONTROSE having received the Articles thus explained by the King, and at the same Time an express Order to disarm, upon Pain of Disobedience, he called together his Soldiers, and after having communicated to them his Majesty's Pleasure, he told them, " That in the present Conjuncture, their Obedience would contribute as much to his Service, as their Arms, and the brave Actions they had performed before, for maintaining his Rights and the Honour of the whole Nation, had done." He softened that melancholy News with the Hopes he gave them of a Peace, and of the Rewards, which, some Day or other, they would get from the King, such as their Valour and matchless Fidelity deserved. That fatal Order redoubled their Affliction, taking it for a bad Omen, and an infallible Sign, that there was a Design upon the King's Authority; and that the Liberty of their native Country was about to be trampled upon, their Sentiments whereof they could not conceal from *Montrose*. At last they conjured him, that since the King's Affairs required that he should disarm, and retire out of the Kingdom, that at least he would be pleased to allow them to go along with him, and follow him whithersoever he should go, that they might share with him in his good or bad Fortune. They strove who should be most forward in giving those Proofs of Affection for their General. There were even some of them, who, despising the

the Estates and Quiet which they might have enjoyed in the Kingdom, 1646.
run the Hazard of losing their Lives rather than to continue in it after him.

THUS *Montrose*, accompanied by two Gentlemen only, having entered *Scotland*, then up in Arms for the Defence of the Covenant, having undergone Hardships, and run into Dangers, not to be paralleled, in order to form a Party for the King's Service; having fought six Battles, and carried his victorious Arms over all the Kingdom, without ever having raised Contribution in any Part thereof, or suffered any Town to be pillaged; at last, not minding his own Interest, when he was forced to put an End to the War in a Country, where Victories had been no less fatal to him than glorious, because of the shedding of the Blood of his own Countrymen, whose Stubbornness and Loss he lamented; as he had taken up Arms by the King his Master's Command, he likewise laid them down by the same Authority, and forthwith made himself ready to follow his Majesty's Orders; which were, that he should depart the Kingdom.

Now, the King, at the Persuasion of the Covenanters, had ordered *Montrose* to be gone before the Beginning of *September*, and it was already the first of *August*; therefore he made all the haste he could to get to the River of *Southesk*, the Committee having concluded, that he should take Shipping at the Harbour of *Montrose*, which is at the Mouth of that River. But having spent a great Part of the Month there, without the least Appearance of any Ship for his Passage, he allowed some of his Friends, that he intended to take along with him, to inquire of the Covenanters, why they had not sooner provided what was necessary for his retiring. These could bring him no other Answer, but that it was given out among the Covenanters, that they had a Design to keep him in the Kingdom, and to imploy him, in Case the *English* should not give the King the Satisfaction he demanded of them. However, that was only to amuse him, and to make him give over Thoughts of retiring, that the Day appointed being elapsed, they might freely seize upon his Person. Therefore he was still upon his Guard, and truly believed that the Covenanters had no Mind to keep their Word better to him than they had done to those of his Party that had fallen into their Hands. At length, on the last Day of *August* a Ship appeared in the appointed Harbour; but as *Montrose* offered to go aboard, the Master answered roughly, that he must have Time to refit the Ship, and that he had Orders from the Committee to steer his Course along the Coast of *England*, which was to say, to make him fall into the Hands of the *English*, who had Ships upon the Coast. Whereupon some of his Friends advised him to betake himself to his Arms again, and get to the Mountains; but *Montrose* knowing that it would be imputed to the King, chose rather to venture all, than to bring any new Trouble upon him. Having, a little before, sent along the Coast to look for some foreign Vessel, and one being found in the Harbour of *Stonehive*, belonging to *Norway*, he sent thither privately such of his Friends as he had resolved to take with him, knowing well, that they could not live peaceably in the Kingdom, because the Covenanters had more Malice against them than against the rest. They put out to Sea the 5th of *September*, having run the Risk of being murdered by the Country-People, who cut the Cable while the Ship was at Anchor, and put them in Danger of splitting upon the Rocks. About the Evening of the same Day, *Montrose* himself, disguised in the Habit of the Servant of *James Wood*, his most faithful Chaplain, set out with him from the Harbour of *Mont-*

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THE same Month, the Earl of *Essex* died suddenly. That Death was much talked of at *London*; and it was even thought, that he had some Remains of a tender Regard for the King to the last. 'Tis certain that when his Majesty left *London*, he was making ready to follow him; but the Earl of *Holland* dissuaded him from it. This last Earl was the first that repented, and went to the King at *Oxford*, where having been ill received, he returned to the Parliament; wherein he lost all Credit with both Sides. 'Tis true there were many Reasons for not giving him a kind Reception at Court; but it was his Part, by a submissive Behaviour, to have induced the King to make him welcome. About the same time *Alexander Henderson* died at *Edinburgh*: The Royalists gave out, that he died with Regret to leave the Kingdom in Rebellion against both God and the King, which the Covenanters strongly denied. However, it is certain, that when the King retired to *York*, he expressed a great deal of Joy that he had carried the Prince of *Wales* with him, which was a Proof of the Affection he still preserved for the Royal Family.

SOME time after *Montrose* had left the Kingdom, it was reported, that the King, not able to come to an Agreement with the Commissioners of the two Nations, had a Design to make his Escape from *Newcastle*, and to take Shipping for the North of *Scotland*. But though there was little Hopes that that could be done, the Parliament of *England* having Ships in the Mouth of the River of *Tyne*, and the Covenanters of *Scotland* being in Possession of the Frontier Towns of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*; yet as Men are easily persuaded, that the Things are possible which they passionately wish for, there were some of the Nobility and Gentry in the North that were impatiently expecting him, and who would have certainly received him with great Joy.

THE King was treated at *Newcastle* with almost the same Respect that is due to a King; but his Guard was that of a real Prisoner. The Company of *Monsieur Bellievre*, the *French* Ambassador, was a great Comfort to him, and who was at great Pains to make up Differences between his Majesty and his Subjects; but the Wrath of Heaven against those People was not as yet appeased; they had other Scourges to undergo from the Hand of God; and though his Judgments be often hid, nevertheless they are always just.

THE Covenanters Commissioners at *Newcastle* could not agree with those of the Parliament of *England* in the Matter of the Militia. They had presented Papers to the Parliament, wherein they maintained that it ought to be commanded by the King and the Parliament jointly in both Kingdoms, and that the Power of it being fundamentally in the Crown, they would not suffer the Crown to be deprived of it. They likewise declared, that as they had not flattered the King, even at the Time when his Authority was strained to the highest Pitch it could go to; so now when it is reduced to the lowest Ebb, they would make Conscience of stripping him of his Rights; and of being against that lawful Authority which the two Nations were bound to maintain, as well by their Oath of Fidelity, as by their Covenant. They added, that as they did not desire, that the Monarchical Government should degenerate into Tyranny; so they had no Mind, that it should be abased and made contemptible; but that a Medium

dium and Moderation should be always observed, whereby their Kings may at all Times be able to protect their Subjects by Advice of Parliament, and to oppose their Enemies, according to the fundamental Laws of the two Kingdoms. Lastly, they complained, that the Parliament of *England* had altered the Propositions which they caused to be presented to the King at the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, and being satisfied then to demand the Command of the Militia for seven Years, they had a Mind now to be absolute Masters of it, and by that Means to sow the Seed of a new War between the King's Successors and the Posterity of the two Nations: For it was not to be doubted, but those reflecting upon the Power of the Kings their Predecessors, would do what in them lay to recover it to the Crown; whereas if the Militia was left in the Hands of the King and Parliament, the Peace which they were treating about with his Majesty would be the more solid, by being made upon just Conditions.

MOREOVER, the Covenanters had demanded to have the following Propositions added to those which were to be offered to the King. "I. That
" the King, with the Prince, and their Successors, should always reside
" every third Year in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in order, with Honour,
" to perform the Duty which they owed the Subjects of that Kingdom,
" and from which they could not in Conscience be always absent, since
" the publick Good necessarily required their Residence sometimes. II.
" That the Half, or at least the Third of the Officers belonging to the
" Households of their Majesties, of the Prince, and of all their Children
" should be held by *Scots* Subjects; because if the *English* should possess
" them all, it would happen in time, that one of the Nations would be-
" come a Stranger to the other, which would look very ill, and prove to
" be of dangerous Consequence, and would always afford new Matter of
" Pique and Quarrel betwixt the two Kingdoms." But the Commissioners of both Nations agreed perfectly well at that Time in the Proposition of the Covenant which was presented to the King, and which he absolutely refused. However, that ought not to have given them Jealousy of the King's Religion: For without mentioning all the Declarations which his Majesty had made upon that Subject, and the Protestation he made at the Head of his Army, which he afterwards renewed to the Parliament at *Oxford*; they were not ignorant that the King, receiving the Sacrament once in the same Place from the Hands of the Archbishop of *Armagh*, of his own Accord, without being required by any Person, protested, that he wished that what he took as a Pledge of his Salvation, might be his Damnation, if he had the least Design in his Mind to the Prejudice of the Protestant Religion of *England*.

THE King's refusing the Covenant, was chiefly the Cause of breaking off the Treaty and Negotiation. And as the Time was come that the Covenanters must withdraw their Army out of *England*, and deliver up the cautionary Towns, which they held there, to its Commissioners, as they were obliged to do by the Treaty which they had made with the Parliament in the Year 1643, they consulted together about what concerned the King's Person, and resolved, that he should not go to *Scotland* with the Covenanters; but that he should remain in one of his Houses in *England*, till he should agree to the Propositions of Peace with the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms: And because the Covenanters knew that the Royalists of *Scotland* would very much heighten this Action, and from thence take Occasion to make the Covenant odious, which had blinded the Judgment of some of their Countrymen, to make them so grossly want-
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ing to their own Interest; and that besides, it might bring a bad Reputation upon the Covenant, and blemish their own Credit in foreign Countries, they made this Declaration in the last Meeting of the first Session, of their Triennial Parliaments the 16th of *January* of the following Year.

“ As it had pleased God to unite the Kingdoms of *Scotland, England,*
 “ and *Ireland* by a solemn League, as well for the Reformation of Religion, as for the King’s Honour and their own Security; the Covenanters of *Scotland* sent an Army into *England*, where being at the Siege of *Newark*, the King came and alighted at the *Scots* Quarters, and protested that it was in order to give full and intire Satisfaction to the just Demands of his Subjects of both Kingdoms, without the least Thought of continuing longer this unhappy War, which had been kindled in his Dominions, and which had sown Division therein. On the contrary, he shewed that his Intention was to join with the Parliaments of his Kingdoms, and to yield to their Advice in all Things which should be proposed for the Establishment of Truth and Peace. Which he not only told the Committee by Word of Mouth, but likewise declared the same Thing since by several Letters which he wrote to the Committee of Parliament in *Scotland*, and to the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*. Now, the Committee and the chief Officers of the Army trusting to his Word, and not doubting but his Intentions were sincere, so much the more, that he asserted, that they proceeded from no other Motive but the deep Sense he had of the deplorable State of his Kingdoms, where Blood was shed on all Sides, they received his Royal Person, and represented to him, that the fulfilling of what he had just now promised either Kingdom, was the only Means whereby to establish Peace in them both, and to arrive at the Height of his Happiness. Some time after, Propositions of Peace were not only presented to him from the two Kingdoms, which begged, that his Majesty would be pleased to approve of them; but also the supreme Courts of *Scotland*, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil joined thereto their most humble Petitions, which they sent him by several Letters, and Deputies appointed by them for that Effect, and who represented to him the dangerous Consequences of his Majesty’s delaying, or refusing to consent thereto; particularly that the Kingdom of *Scotland* would be forced to join with that of *England*, in order to provide for the Security of both, as well for the present, as for the Time to come, according to their League and Covenant. In the mean time, though the King had not hearkened to their Requests; yet the Parliament of *Scotland* being obliged by their Treaty with that of *England*, to withdraw the Army which they had there, sent again to his Majesty, in order to lay before him the same Things, and added, that since he could not come into *Scotland* without giving Occasion to new Troubles, which undoubtedly would attend the Breach of the Union between the two Nations, they were resolved, after having discharged their Duty as much as they could, with the Advice of the Parliament of *England* to dispose of his Person. Therefore the King, as well by his Answer to the Articles of Peace in the Month of *August*, as by his Letters to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, having signified, that he desired to be with that of *England*, and that the said Parliament had made it appear to the Commissioners of *Scotland* at *Newcastle*, that the Castle of *Holmby*, in *Northamptonshire*, was, in their Opinion, the most proper Place to which the King could retire, with such Attendants as the two Houses should appoint. For these Reasons, the Parliament of *Scotland* considering, his Majesty’s
 “ refusing

“ refusing to consent to the Propositions of Peace which had been sent
 “ him, his Desire to be near the Parliament of *England*, and likewise ha-
 “ ving a Mind to maintain a good Understanding between the two King-
 “ doms, declared, that they were of the same Opinion with the Parlia-
 “ ment of *England* for what concerned his Majesty’s Person; and that
 “ they consented to his being conducted to that Castle, or to any other of
 “ his Houses near *London*, there to continue till he had given Satisfaction
 “ to the two Kingdoms in the Propositions of Peace; and in the mean
 “ time, that Orders should be given that no Violence, Abuse, or bad
 “ Treatment should be offered to his sacred Person. That no Alteration
 “ should be made in the Form of Government, and that his Posterity
 “ should receive no Prejudice in the lawful Succession of all his Crowns.
 “ As this Declaration expressed the true Intention and Resolution of the
 “ Kingdom of *Scotland* according to the Concern they had in his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Person, so they hoped, that the Intention of the Parliament of
 “ *England* was the same, expecting that they would quickly publish the
 “ like Declaration on their Part.”

THE Parliament of *England* ingaged the publick Faith for the Pre-
 servation and Security of his Majesty’s Person, and for labouring jointly
 with him and the Parliament of *Scotland* to procure a good and solid Peace.
 For which end, they solemnly promised, that all such as the Kingdom of
Scotland should imploy in it, should have free Access to the King’s Per-
 son. After which the *Scots* Army marched out of *England*, leaving the
 King with the *English* Commissioners.

THUS it pleased the King of Kings, whose Counsels and Judgments
 are Depths which the Wit of Man cannot fathom, it pleased him, I say,
 to humble this great Prince, and to permit his Subjects to prevail over
 him, their good Master, whose Yoke had been so easy, and who was in-
 dued with so many royal Virtues, that he ought to be reckoned amongst
 the Kings who have been anointed *Bekeren*, with a Horn of Oil, to shew
 the Duration of their Reigns, such as *David* and *Solomon* were; and not
 amongst those who have been anointed *Bepac*, with a Cruse of Oil, as
Saul and *Jebu*, which denoted that their Reigns should not be of long
 Continuance. Now, the Things that have happened since the Confine-
 ment of this Prince, plainly shew, that the Scepter of Kings is like the
 Rod of *Moses*, which, while he held it straight in his Hand, performed
 great Miracles; but being thrown upon the Ground became a Serpent.

The End of the Sixth B O O K.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
TROUBLES
OF
GREAT-BRITAIN.

BOOK VII.

1647.

THE Army of the *Scots* Covenanters being ready to march out of *Newcastle* and the Castle of *Tynemouth*, which is situate at the Mouth of the River of *Tyne*, General *Lesly* caused to be published by Sound of Trumpet, in the most publick Places of the Town, that if the Inhabitants had any Complaints to make against the Soldiers, or that if any Thing was owing them by the Officers of the Army, they were to apply themselves to him, in order to be paid of it, and to have Satisfaction of their other Demands. He thought it was his Business to take all the Care he could, that the *English* might have no Reason to be dissatisfied with his Conduct, and that he was obliged to act in such a Manner, as the Covenanters of the two Nations might part good Friends. He succeeded in his Design; for shortly after, the House of Commons, as a Proof of their being pleased with his Services, sent him a Present, which was well worth 2000 Crowns, with a very obliging Letter, written by the Speaker of the House. *Lesly* received that Present with a great deal of Respect, and told Mr. *Errington*, who delivered it to him, and was accompanied by the Commissioners of the Parliament of *England*, who were then residing at *Edinburgh* during the Sitting of the Parliament of *Scotland*, "That he would preserve the Letter, with which the House

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“ of Commons had honoured him, amongst the Writings of his Family, 1647.
 “ and that he would always be proud of appearing in Publick with that
 “ honourable Mark, which the Commons of *England* had been pleased
 “ to give him of their Favour.” And indeed, he went to the Parliament
 having that Badge hung by a Gold Chain about his Neck, where some
 Lords seeing him adorned with that Jewel, and telling him, that the
 Out-side of it appeared to be very fine, he presently answered them, that
 what it inclosed within was yet much more so, and opening it, he let
 them see the Union of *Scotland* and *England*, which was represented in
 it, and the two Nations tied together with most strict Bands of Brotherly
 Friendship. These Bands, however, slackened very soon after, and that
 fine Union continued only in Picture.

ON the 30th of *January*, the *Scots* Army repassed the *Tyne*, and that
 same Day Major General *Skippon*, a Soldier of Fortune, took Possession of
Newcastle and *Tynemouth* for the Parliament of *England*. That Army
 committed great Disorders in marching through the Shire of *Northumber-*
land, where the Soldiers, not content with paying nothing in their Quar-
ters, plundered many Houses, and went home with all the Booty they
 could carry off. The Parliament of *England* winked at all that without
 making the least Complaint, being content to be rid of such Guests at
 any Rate.

THE Rear-Guard of the Army having passed the *Tweed*, on the 11th
 of *February* the *Scots* Garrison marched out of *Berwick*, and the next
 Day, the Out-works and all the new Fortifications were begun to be de-
 molished, as, in the Year 1644. had been agreed upon betwixt the Com-
 missioners of both Nations. The Rendezvous of the whole Army was
 appointed to be at the Abbey of *Kelso*, where six Regiments of Horse
 were disbanded, and ordered by General *Lesly* to return their Arms, and
 take an Oath; “ That they should commit no manner of Violence on the
 “ Roads they were to take in going to their own Houses: That they
 “ should continue faithful to the League and Covenant betwixt the two
 “ Kingdoms: And lastly, that they should never ingage themselves in any
 “ Party against these two Crowns.” The Horse made Difficulty at first
 to take the Oath, there being many of them that had other Aims: But
 Lieutenant General *David Lesly* and the Ministers, who followed the Ar-
 my, at last persuaded them to take the Oath. Whereupon the Soldiers
 were paid all that was due to them, after which they broke the Staves of
 the Standards, and returned their Arms, of which the Troops, that were
 kept in Pay, chose the best. These Troops were settled at five thousand
 Foot, and fifteen Troops of Horse, each Troop consisting of twenty
 Troopers, which the Parliament resolved to maintain for the Security of
 the Kingdom, which was falling again into Troubles: For the Marquis of
Huntly had taken up Arms again in the North of *Scotland*, and the *Mack-*
donalds, Father and Son, with two thousand Men, had got into the Moun-
 tains of *Argyleshire*. The Army thus reduced continued its March to *E-*
dinburgh and *Leith*, the greatest Part of which being strongly attached
 to the Marquis of *Argyle*’s Interest, which highly displeased the Duke of
Hamilton.

BUT what most surprized all honest Men at this Juncture, was their
 not seeing the King at the Head of the Army. It struck them to
 the very Heart, and their inward Grief began to appear in their Counte-
 nances, when it was reported every where, that the King had said at *New-*
castle,

1647. *castle, That he liked better to stay with those who had bought him, than to return with those who had sold him.* The Royalists themselves were touched with that Reproach, which seemed not to be altogether groundless. For though it was true, that the disbanding of the Covenanters Army had been treated of, long before the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms had determined after what manner they should dispose of the King's Person: And that it was likewise true, That that Resolution was taken with some Heat on both Sides; yet the Covenanters took their Measures so ill, when they treated about Means for paying their Army, and also when they received a Part of the Money appointed for that end, that though they seemed to have no further View than to obtain their Arrears, yet they laid themselves open, and their Conduct gave Ground to believe, that the Affair was transacted between the Commissioners of the two Nations in such a manner, as made the *English* expect, that they might dispose of the King's Person as they should think fit.

OTHERWISE it is hard to believe, that the *Scots* would have been capable of committing so gross a Blunder, as that of basely complying with the Ordinance which the Parliament of *England* had made, which was: "That all that should pass between the Commissioners of the two Kingdoms, concerning the King's Person, should have no Regard to what had been concluded by the disbanding of the *Scots* auxiliary Army, which should not fail to withdraw as soon as possible, upon the Conditions stipulated between the two Nations, whatever Difficulties should be found with respect to the disposing of the King's Person." To which the *Scots* Covenanters ought never to have consented, because, by that means, they put it out of their Power to do any Thing else but to submit to such Laws as the *English* should be pleased to impose upon them, and were no longer able to maintain with Vigour the Interest, and even the Right which they had in the Preservation of his Majesty's Person.

BESIDES, they chose an unlucky Juncture for receiving the Money which the Parliament of *England* had sent for their Army. And when it was known, that the Covenanters, having almost made an End of counting that Sum of Money about the End of the Week, yet would not receive the rest on the *Sunday*, for fear of prophaning that Day; many took occasion to wish, that they had been as religious Observers of the Laws of Hospitality, as they were precise in the outward Observance of that *Holyday*, and that they had not given the King occasion to say, *that he liked better to stay with those who had bought him, than to return with those who had so basely sold him.* For though they would fain have it believed, that his Majesty did not say a Thing so much to their Disadvantage, yet the Report that was spread every where, that his Majesty did say it, has made so deep a Wound in the Covenanters Reputation, that the Scar will always appear in it. Be that as it will, his Majesty's faithful Subjects in *Scotland* knew well, that the Action which their Countrymen had done, would reflect upon the whole Nation, and that it would much diminish the Reputation which by its Fidelity it had acquired among Foreigners. However, to comfort themselves, they were hopeful, that the Friends and Allies of that Crown would be so just as to consider at the same time, that besides those brave *Scotsmen* who had performed so many noble Actions for the King's Service, under the Conduct of the valiant *Montrose*, there were a great many in the Meeting of Parliament, who bravely voted, "That the King's Person must not be left in the Hands

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“ of the *English*, upon any Consideration whatsoever;” and that the contrary Opinion was carried but by two Votes only. That as for the most flourishing Kingdoms of *Europe*, where the *Scots* are accounted Denizens, and where they likewise enjoy so many noble Privileges, as the Reward of their unparalleled Fidelity, they expected from the Generosity of their best Friends and most ancient Allies, that they would not charge the whole Nation with the base Action of some particular Men; that they would distinguish a Faction that had prevailed, from the sound Party that had always continued faithful to their King; and that they will not forget, that there have been *Scotsmen* who have deserved, by the Faithfulness of their Services, which they had done the Kings of *France*, to be made Dukes of *Touraine* and *Chatel-heraut*, as there have been others, who have had the Honour to carry the Marshal’s Staff, and the Constable’s Sword. In fine, they hoped, that *France* would never forget the generous Action of King *James V.* who understanding that the Emperor *Charles V.* and King *Henry VIII.* of *England*, were making strong Preparations against King *Francis I.* the King of *Scotland*, without being solicited by any Person, raised an Army of sixteen thousand Men, embarked with them, and landed at *Dieppe*; where being told, that King *Francis* had marched into *Provence* at the Head of a great Number of the Nobility and Gentry, in order to repulse the Emperor, who had entered it with a powerful Army, the brave *Scots* King, thinking that there would be an Engagement, went Post in order to be there.

THOUGH the Season was very severe in the Beginning of *March*, and that the Troops must needs suffer very much in the North, yet the Parliament, both for easing the Country about *Edinburgh*, and for preventing *Huntly* from joining the *Mackdonalds*, ordered the Army to march against *Huntly*. The Command of it was given to Lieutenant General *Lesly*, and Major General *Middleton*, and the Rendezvous was at *Montrose*. All the Soldiers took an Oath: “ That they should behave themselves in every Thing as Men who had entered into the holy Covenant ought to do, and that they should never lay down their Arms till Peace should be restored in the Kingdom, unless they had the Leave of their Generals:” *Lesly* marched to *Aberdeen*, where he skirmished with *Huntly*’s Troops, and about sixty Men were killed on each Side; but the Covenanters being stronger in Horse than *Huntly*, he was forced to leave the plain Country, and betake himself to the Highlands. *Lesly* marched from *Aberdeen* to *Strathbogy*, where *Huntly* had left a good Garrison, as he had done in the Castles of *Bogy*, *Lesmore*, *Achnadown*, and *Ruthven*. All these Castles were taken, some by Capitulation, others by Force. However, the Soldiers that were in them had all their Lives saved, except thirty six *Irishmen*, who were all hanged upon the Spot.

IN the mean time, the *Mackdonalds* made great Havock in *Argyle*’s Lands, and laid Waste all the Country through which they passed. That Lord had drawn that Mischief upon himself. For before the Troubles, he had taken by Force *Mackdonald*, the Father, in the Western Islands, of which *Argyle* is hereditary Sheriff, and had put him in Prison at *Edinburgh*, where he had certainly rotted, if he had not been released by *Montrose*’s victorious Arms. But perhaps *Mackdonald* carried his Revenge too far, and that many innocent Persons suffered, who had had no Hand in the Tyranny of their Master.

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IN order to put a Stop to that Torrent, about the end of *April*, *Lesly* marched against *Mackdonald*, with four Regiments of Foot, six Troops of Horse, and three of Dragoons. He made so much the greater haste, that *Huntly* having crossed the Country of *Lochabar*, had retired into the Hills of *Lowmond* upon the Skirts of *Argyle's* Country, which obliged *Lesly* to leave *Middleton* in order to pursue him with the rest of the Army. The chief Fort which *Mackdonald* held was *Tarbot* in *Kintire*. *Tarbot* is an important Pass betwixt *Lough-Leven* and the Islands. There was a Garrison of three hundred Men in it, but who stood so ill upon their Guard, that a Party of *Lesly's* Horse having surprized and defeated them, made themselves Masters of the Pass. There were two hundred killed or taken, with eight small Field-Pieces, and all their Ammunition. *Mackdonald*, who was there in Person, or very near the Place, escaped in a Boat into the Island of *Isla*. Some other Parties, which *Lesly* had sent into *Lorn*, *Glenco* and *Broadalbin*, took the Castles of *Kilberan* and *Duntaroy*, where he lost a Colonel and a Major, whose Deaths he revenged upon two Brothers that commanded therein, who were hanged before the Gate. But *Lesly* having had Advice, that the Marquis of *Antrim* was sending Relief from *Ireland* to *Mackdonald*, he caused a great Number of Boats to be got ready, and in all haste crossed over into *Isla*. The Fort of the Island for some time made so vigorous a Defence, that *Lesly* having made an Assault, was repulsed with a considerable Loss. At last he forced the Place, and took *Mackdonald*, the Father, Prisoner. The Son made his Escape into *Ireland*, where having joined the Royalists of that Kingdom, he was killed with his Sword in his Hand fighting gallantly for the Service of his Prince. The Father's Fortune was not so happy, for *Lesly* carried him to *Edinburgh*, where *Argyle*, his mortal Enemy, was; who having a Mind to keep him as a Victim, which he intended to sacrifice to his Wrath, made him to be dragged to his House, and caused him to be hanged as a common Robber.

WHILST the Covenanters were thus doing their utmost to ruin the Remains of the Royal Party in *Scotland*, his Majesty having been conducted to the Castle of *Holmby*, by two Regiments of Horse, appointed for his Guard, commanded by Colonel *Graves*, bore his Retirement there patiently, with the few Servants that were permitted to attend his Person. But his Majesty's greatest Conversation was with God. He fasted all the *Fridays*, and was mostly taken up with Prayer and Reading the holy Scripture, which had become very familiar to this Prince. He was extremely grieved for being deprived of the Comfort he had been accustomed to have, from the preaching of that Word by his Bishops and Chaplains in ordinary, and could not think of hearing the Preachings of *Marshall* and *Carryl*, Puritan Ministers, whom the Parliament of *England* had sent to perform that Office to his Majesty.

BEFORE the King left *Newcastle*, he had signified to the Commissioners of the Parliament of *England*, the Desire he had that some of his Chaplains might be sent him, and had intreated them to write to the Parliament about it, but they refused to do it. After that Refusal, the King wrote himself to them from *Holmby* the 17th of *February*, and, by his Letter, begged of them to allow, that at least two of his Divines, whom he named to them, might stay with him, as well for the Direction of his Conscience, as for informing himself about some Doubts which he had concerning the Alterations the Parliament had made in the Religion of the Kingdom,

Kingdom, and to which they required his Consent with much Earnestness. The Persons whom the King had named to them, were the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, and *Peterborough*, Doctor *Sheldon*, his first Chaplain, with seven or eight others, that they might chuse the least suspected of them. Nevertheless, the Parliament made so little account of the King's Letter, that they returned no Answer to it. But his Majesty having that Affair still at Heart, on the 6th of *March* wrote them a second Letter, wherein he had the Goodness to promise them, that he would submit his Judgment to the Truth, as soon as he should be able to know it with the Understanding which God had given him, and that he should always think he could never make a greater and more considerable Conquest, than that of having given Satisfaction to the two Houses, without wounding his Conscience or Honour. The Parliament was no more moved by this second Letter, than by the first. On the contrary, they said, that the Persons, whom the King desired, could not be allowed to perform their Offices about his Majesty, because they did not approve of the Order of divine Service, and the Form of Ecclesiastical Government established in the Kingdom.

THIS Hard-heartedness was altogether strange, and unparalleled. If the King had complained that they had appointed but a very small Sum for the Expences of his Household, without doubt they would have alledged the publick Necessities. Or if the King had demanded the Command of the Militia, or the Possession of one of his Kingdoms, he would not have thought it strange, that those Usurpers had refused to make Restitution of it, for fear of acknowledging their Injustice, and condemning themselves: But as for the Assistance which the King desired of his Pastors, that was a Favour which had never been denied the meanest Prisoners, and the Refusal of which was a Cruelty that had never been practised upon the greatest Criminals. For though the Laws do not allow them the Injoyment of their temporal Goods; yet Compassion, which ought always to accompany Religion, never deprives them of the Liberty to take as much spiritual Comfort as they can desire.

HIS Majesty's Affliction increased as the Feast of *Easter* approached, for which the King had a great deal of Devotion. As he was discoursing with the Commissioners of the Parliament that holy Week, he asked them why the new Reformers had forbidden the keeping of that great Feast. For it appeared to him, that it had been instituted by the same Authority, whereby the *Jewish* Sabbath had been changed into *Sunday*, since that Change is to be found no where in the holy Scripture: Whence it necessarily followed, that it had been made by Authority of the Church. So that in his Opinion, those who refused to celebrate that Feast ought to re-establish the *Jewish* Sabbath, and reject the *Sunday*. In order to solve that Difficulty to the King, Sir *James Barrington*, one of the Commissioners, made a long Discourse upon the changing of the Solemnity of the last Day of the Week into that of the first; but he did not satisfy the King, who continued still firm in his Belief, and borrowed two hundred Pounds of the Commissioners, in order to be distributed amongst the Poor of *Northampton* on *Maundy Thursday*.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this Rigour, the new Reformation went on but slowly, and got Footing but in trifling Things, which no body opposed; because they did not clash with the Interests of any of the Parties that were in the Parliament. So the two Houses ordered to be thrown down
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all the Monuments, which they called superstitious, that is to say, where there appeared any Footsteps of the Religion of their Fathers, that were still remaining in the two Universities. They caused all the Plate, which used to be put upon the Altar of the Royal Chapel of *White-hall* on great holy Days, to be melted for the Service of the State. The greatest part of which Plate were old sacred Vessels, which still shewed the Magnificence and Piety of the Kings of *England*, whereof eight have been canonized by the Church, and other eight, whom the People have always looked upon as Saints.

AT the same time, they ordained the Assembly of Divines, which was sitting at *Westminster*, besides the larger Catechism, to compose another more short and easy for little Children and the meaner Sort of People; to examine the thirty nine Articles of their Confession of Faith by the holy Scripture, and to add the Passages on the Margin to each Article. The Divines having set about the Work, very soon after let the Parliament know, that they had finished it. Whereupon the House of Commons caused six hundred Copies of that Catechism to be printed for the Use of the Parliament, and prohibited the Printing of any more Copies till further Orders. In this Catechism, they explained the Resurrection in very coarse Terms, as if the Body of Jesus Christ had undergone some Dissolution in the Grave. They likewise explained the Descent into Hell, by the Power which Death had over his Body while he was in the Grave, though the Protestant Communion of *England* has always maintained the literal Sense of that Article; upon which the learned Bishop *Bilson* wrote an excellent Treatise against *Calvin*.

IT was upon the 19th of *May* that the House of Commons passed the Article concerning the *Holy Trinity*. Those who understood the History of *England* were very much surpris'd to see, that towards the end of the sixteenth Century an Examination of the first Notions of the Christian Religion should be entered into, which had been so gloriously established there from the earliest Times of the Church, when there were Bishops of *Great-Britain* at the first Council of *Arles*, and at that of *Sardica*. And though in the following Centuries the Pagan *English Saxons* over-run *England*, yet *S. Augustin* at his Arrival in the Island, in the Year 596. found in the Country of *Wales* seven Suffragans under an Archbishop of *Mene-nia*, now *S. Davids*, and that Archbishop carried it so high, that his Successors were not subjected to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* till the Reign of *Henry I.* which began in the Year 1101.

BUT here follows a very surpris'ing Piece of Reformation, and which the Puritans had never heretofore thought of. The Parliament having had Advice that the King had touched those that had the King's Evil at *Holm-by*, as he had always wont to do on great Holy-days, they declared that Action superstitious: And caused a Proclamation to be published, forbidding all Sorts of Persons that should be troubled with that Disease to go for the future to be touched by his Majesty. Before the Rebellion, that Action was performed with a great deal of Ceremony. The Day before the King was to touch, his Physicians visited all those who came to be touched, in order to see if their Distemper was the King's Evil, the next Day the King, attended by the Officers of the Crown, and the Lords of the Court, went to Chapel, where, after Sermon and the usual Prayers, his Majesty placed himself before the Altar, and the diseased Kneeling, the King touched them under the Chin, and at each Time the Officiating

Bishop
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Bishop read these Words of the Gospel, *They shall lay their Hands upon them, and they shall be cured.* Then every one of them had a white Ribbon, run through an *Angel*, which is worth about ten Shillings, put about their Necks, which they were to wear till they were cured. The Kings of *England* have always practised this Ceremony from *Edward* the Confessor, who reigned above two hundred Years before *Edward III.* who was the first that quartered the Arms of *France* with those of *England*. 1647.

AT last the Parliament having prohibited Comedies, and ordered the Theatres to be pulled down, they abolished all Holy-days; the observing of which seemed to them to be superstitious. And because the Apprentices, who are frequently the Authors of great Disorders in *London*, had presented two Petitions for having some Days of Recreation appointed in Place of the Holy-days which had been taken away: The Parliament ordained, that the second *Tuesday* of each Month should be a Day of Recreation, as well for the Apprentices and Servants, as for the Scholars over all the Kingdom; and that their Masters should not oblige them to attend their ordinary Business that Day.

THERE was no Division in the two Houses upon these Matters, which were not brought into Precedent; but as for the Covenant it went not down so glib with them. All the Members of the House of Commons had not as yet signed it; but such as had not were ordered to do it against the First of *February*: Whereupon sixteen of them signed it immediately; and the rest were summoned to sign it before the Tenth of *March*, otherwise to be expelled the House. However, though the Orders of the two Houses were many Times repeated, they were not complied with, as contrary both to Honour and Conscience. The Laws of the Kingdom were against it, and the Covenant directly destroyed the Oath of Supremacy, which all the Members of the House had taken. Besides, they could not be ignorant that the Doctrine and Discipline of *Scotland* overturned the Principles of the Religion of *England*, where they were altogether unknown.

THAT 10th of *March* was appointed for a Day of Fasting and Humiliation, because of the Multitude of Blasphemies, Errors, and damnable Heresies that were spread in the Kingdom. The Ministers were enjoined to publish the Order for it in their Pulpits. It was, "That the Lords
" and Commons of the two Houses of Parliament being entered into a
" holy League and Covenant for the Reformation of Religion, as well in
" Worship as Discipline; and being sensible of the extraordinary Assistance
" of Heaven in that pious Design, had a most deep Sense of the
" deplorable Condition of the State, because God was dishonoured by the
" Blasphemies and abominable Heresies which Seducers had spread every
" where. That those Impostors aimed at nothing else but the Contempt
" of the Ministry of the Gospel, the Ordinances of Jesus Christ, and the
" Subversion of the Faith of God's Elect. For these Reasons, they had
" ordained, that the 10th of *March* should be observed over all the Kingdom
" as a Day of solemn Humiliation, for imploring the Assistance of
" God in the Resolution they had taken, to cut off all that was contrary
" to sound Doctrine." Very soon after they ordained, that none should
presume to preach, without having taken Orders, upon Pain of a
Month's Imprisonment, for the first Trespas of the Ordinance. All
this was chiefly levelled against the Independents. For though there
were several other Sects, as we have said elsewhere, there was only
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this, besides that of the Puritans or Presbyterians, which was then uppermost, that made a considerable Body, and afterwards lorded it over the rest. But the Independent Party kept close and snug as yet, and let all those Things pass, knowing well that the Parliament was going to be taken up with other Affairs, which would make them indifferent whether these Ordinances were observed or not, and oblige them at least to abate of that Rigour.

THEY believed that the King would never consent to sign the Covenant; and the coming of new Commissioners from *Scotland*, who were to join with those of *England*, in order to make a new Attempt to prevail with the King, gave them no Uneasiness. For they were well persuaded, that these last could not alledge stronger Reasons than the former had done, who had not made his Majesty yield in the least at *Newcastle*. 'Tis true, that the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms seemed to have a strong Desire that the Thing might succeed according as they had agreed upon together. That of *Scotland*, before it broke up, on the 27th of *March*, sent to *London* the Earl of *Lauderdale*, with Orders to join with the Earl of *Lothian*, *Mackdougol* of *Garthland*, Sir *Charles Areskin*, Mr. *Barkley* and Mr. *Kennedy*, their Commissioners to the Parliament of *England*; and jointly with the *English* Commissioners to endeavour to persuade the King to accept the Propositions for Peace. But these Propositions would not admit of such a judicious Answer as the Ambassador of *Pincernum* gave to the Senate of *Rome*. The Senate having told the Ambassador, that they were at a Loss what Conditions of Peace to offer them, being suspected of some Revolt, he answered, *That if the Senate offered good Conditions, the Peace would be perpetual; if it proposed bad Conditions, the Peace would not be lasting.*

THE Parliament likewise ordered them to use all Means possible for keeping up the Friendship and good Intelligence between the two Kingdoms; and having given a civil Answer to the Commissioners of the Parliament of *England*, with respect to the *Scots* Troops that were in *Ireland*, which the two Houses had a mind to imploy no more; and as to the Fort of *Belfast* in the same Kingdom, which was taken the Year after by Colonel *Monk* from *Monro*, the Meeting was adjourned to the sixth of *March* 1648.

*The King's
Letter to the
Parliament of
England, and
the Commis-
sioners of Scot-
land, in an-
swer to the
Propositions of
Peace.*

THE King on his Part having no stronger Desire, than to establish a firm and solid Peace in the two Kingdoms, prevented their Diligence; and having by him a Copy of the Propositions which had been presented to him at *Newcastle*, after having often considered them in his Retirement, he let them know his Opinion of them, by a long Letter which he wrote them with his own Hand the 12th of *May*, to this Effect, " That having
" a very strong Desire to go to *London*, he offered, as soon as he should
" be there, with great Affection to join with the Parliament in every
" Thing that might forward the Quiet of his two Kingdoms; and there-
" fore he hoped that for their Part they would have no less Tenderness
" for what concerned his Honour. That he would approve and confirm
" the Meeting of Divines at *Westminster*, the Presbyterian Government,
" and the Directory for three Years, which was the Time the two
" Houses had desired; with this Condition, however, that he might make
" use of the Liturgy in his own Family, and that twenty Divines, whom
" his Majesty should name, should be admitted into the Meeting, in or-
" der to confer freely with the other Divines, about the Form of Ecclesi-
" astical

“astical Government that was to be established in their Communion,
“after the three Years should be expired. That he could not as yet sign
“the Covenant, but that he persisted in the Demand which he had al-
“ready made, of being assisted by some of his Chaplains, that he might
“inform himself more about it. That as he had always been careful
“to prevent all the Designs and secret Practices that the Papists may have
“had for disturbing the Quiet of the State, he was ready to consent to
“such Bills as the two Houses should be pleased to draw up for that
“end. That he most readily consented, that the *Lord's Day* be holily
“observed; and that all Novelties, which were introduced into Religion,
“be suppressed. That he should assent to the Bills, which should be
“presented for the raising of such Sums of Money as should be neces-
“sary for paying the publick Debts, provided that his own were com-
“prehended therein. That he would resign to the two Houses his Power
“over the Militia of the Kingdom, and the Command of the Fleet for
“ten Years, to be put during that Time into the Hands of such Persons
“as they should think fit to chuse, provided that the ten Years being ex-
“pired, that Power should return to the Crown. That as to what con-
“cerned *Ireland*, he would give them all the Satisfaction they could de-
“fire. That he would confirm all that had been passed under the Great
“Seal, which the Parliament had caused to be made, provided it were
“not made use of to make void what had passed under his, which in
“Honour and Justice he thought himself obliged inviolably to main-
“tain; and provided also that the Disposal of that Seal should hereafter
“depend upon his Majesty. Lastly, that he should freely confirm the
“Privileges of the City of *London*, and should do all that in him lay to
“gratify the Members of the two Houses of Parliament.”

HAVING thus made Answer to the Propositions of the Parliament, the King, in the Sequel of his Letter, likewise made two Propositions to them. The first, “That they should receive him at *Westminster* with all
“the Honour and Respect due to their Sovereign; that he might in a so-
“lemn Manner put an end to, and ratify all the Articles with the two
“Houses, and that the Peace so much longed for by all good Men, might
“be proclaimed with Gladness over all the Kingdom; whither his Ma-
“jesty obliged himself to call back the Prince of *Wales*, and be answer-
“able for his Obedience. 2. That in order to testify the Sincerity of
“their Affection towards his Person, they should consent to a general In-
“demnity, it being hard he should desert the Interests of so many Men
“of Quality who had been engaged in his Party, without blemishing his
“his Reputation, and discrediting him for ever. Besides, that he lookt
“upon an Act of Oblivion to be the strongest Band of Peace; and let
“them see, that at all Times foreign Princes, and even his Predecessors
“had taken that prudent Course, and always caused a general Pardon to
“be proclaimed after Civil Wars, lest the Discontent of many Families,
“which would otherwise be ruined, should furnish Matter for a new
“Combustion, and be the Seed of fresh Troubles.”

THIS Letter, which was directed to the two Houses of Parliament, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, residing at *London*, was read the 19th of *May*. The next Day the House of Lords having taken it into Consideration, ordained, That in order to please the King, who so much desired to be near *London*, his Majesty should be brought to his House of *Oatlands*, upon the *Thames* in the County of *Surrey*, eighteen Miles above *London*, as soon as it could be got ready for his Reception;

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to which the House of Commons agreed. There was Reason to believe that Matters were then in a fair Way, and that the Reconciliation between the King and the two Houses being upon so good a Footing, the Thing could not but succeed according to the Wishes of all honest Men, who should see his Majesty return to the Parliament, and settle Peace again in his Kingdoms. But God having ordered it otherwise, the Face of Affairs very quickly altered, but in such a Manner, that the Parliament had no longer the Command, nor was it in their Power to dispose of the King's Person. The Army turned their Arms against those who had raised them, and humbled that rich and powerful City, which had contributed the most Money for their Subsistence.

ALL was then peaceable in *England*. The Towns and even the Counties had submitted to the Parliament; so that it was Time for them to think of means for easing the People, and giving them a breathing-time after so great Hardships, until, by the Conclusion of the Treaty that was on Foot with the King, and which was far advanced, every Body might enjoy the Peace and Quiet which had been so much longed for. Besides, the Puritans, or Presbyterians, who were then the most powerful in the Parliament, had privately passed their Word to the Covenanters of *Scotland*, when the King's Person was delivered to them, to disband the Army, and then to bring his Majesty to the Parliament with Safety and Honour. The two Houses began first to take a Course about the Garrisons, of which there was a great Number in all the Counties, and resolved to break a great Part of them, and to keep none but those that were in the Sea-Ports, or in Places of Importance, in order to keep the Counties in Awe. It was likewise ordained, that the Governors of Castles, who had not above two hundred Men in their Garrisons, should have only the Pay of Captains of Foot.

*The County of
Essex's Peti-
tion to the
House of Com-
mons.*

AFTERWARDS the Parliament applied themselves to what concerned the Army, and designed to send two thousand Foot and two thousand Horse over to *Ireland*, and to disband all the rest of the Troops, both Horse and Foot, except such as they judged necessary for the Defence of the Kingdom. The Army was then in Quarters in the County of *Essex*, and so over-burthened the People, that that County was obliged to petition the House of Commons to be eased. That Petition represented, " That the House was not ignorant with how much Zeal the Nobility
" and Gentry, as also the People of the County had amongst the first
" sided with the Parliament, when they took up Arms, for maintaining
" the Liberty and Religion of the Kingdom; that they had not only
" raised a good Part of the first Army, which was levied for that Quarrel,
" but that they had likewise sent to the Field, and for a long time sub-
" sisted two Bodies of an Army at their own Expences, one of those Bo-
" dies commanded by the Lord *Gray of Wark*, the other by the Earl of
" *Manchester*, for the Service of the Parliament. They added, that not
" content with defending the County, and keeping it in Obedience, they
" had likewise from Time to Time sent auxiliary Troops of their Militia
" into other Counties, and run whithersoever the publick Affairs had
" called them. Infomuch that they might say, that they had been the
" chief Instruments of all the Victories, which the Parliament had gained
" over the common Enemy. Nevertheless, without having regard to so
" great Services, the whole Army had been quartered in their County,
" which was like to be quite ruined by the Subsistence which it was
" forced to give the Soldiers, whereby the People were become the
" Slaves

“ Slaves of those, whom they had entertained for the Defence of their
 “ Liberty. Therefore they begged of the House to consider, first: That
 “ it was a Thing of dangerous Consequence, to suffer the Army to be
 “ quartered so near the Place where the Parliament was Sitting; because
 “ it made Provisions dear, and which begun to fall short; insomuch that
 “ they had Reason to be afraid, that there was some Design to have the
 “ Army at last become Masters of the Deliberations of the two Houses
 “ of Parliament. And that they were the more confirmed in that Opi-
 “ nion, when they considered, that this Army had advanced into their
 “ Country at the Time when the whole Kingdom was informed of the
 “ Resolution which the two Houses had taken of disbanding it, and of
 “ establishing the Ecclesiastical Government, according to the solemn
 “ League and Covenant between the two Nations. That they knew very
 “ well, that the Army did not relish that Design, it being made up of
 “ Men, who had other Sentiments than that of Piety, and who, on the
 “ contrary, laboured every where to seduce the People, and to instill in
 “ the Minds of the Ignorant their pernicious Opinions, which tended to
 “ the intire Subversion of all Government, both Civil and Ecclesiastick.
 “ They likewise begged of the House to free their Country from that
 “ Burden which they were not able to bear, and to apply themselves se-
 “ riously to consider the deplorable State of the Kingdom of *Ireland*,
 “ the Reduction of which was so necessary to the Security and Quiet of
 “ this of *England*.

THIS Petition being read in the House the 11th of *March*, those who had brought it, being in great Numbers at the Door, were ordered to come in, where the Speaker thanked them for their Affection to the Parliament, and told them, “ That the House would consider of means for
 “ easing their County, with all the others of the Kingdom, and that the
 “ Army having been always faithful to the Parliament, they had no Rea-
 “ son to mistrust it: On the contrary, that the Parliament being satisfied
 “ with its Conduct, had left it to the General to quarter the Army in the
 “ Places which he should judge most convenient, considering the pub-
 “ lick Good, and the Ease of the whole Kingdom.” This Petition plainly shewed that the Officers of the Army had discovered themselves a little to their Landlords, and had dropt some Words, which had not fallen to the Ground. These Words had certainly made some Impression upon the Minds of the Members of the House, as well as upon those of the Petitioners; but those concealed it, in order to put it out of the Thoughts of these, and made as if they did not in the least mistrust the Army, lest Matters should be brought to an open Rupture.

THE Parliament, very soon after, received two other Petitions much more surprising than the first; but they were presented only by some Vagabonds. The first contained a kind of a rough Draught of the Democracy that was designed to be established, which the Army, now uppermost, was eagerly pursuing. By the other Justice was required to be done upon some Members of the House, who, as the Petitioners alledged, had betrayed their Trust. The House having declared, that the last had broke in upon the Privileges of all the Members, who could not be accused of any Thing they do in the House, but by the House itself; and having voted that both the two were scandalous and seditious, they were ordered to be burnt by the Hand of the Hangman before the *Exchange* of *London*, and in the *Palace-yard* of *Westminster*, which was presently put in Execution.

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THESE Petitions were openly disowned by the City of *London*, which deputed some Aldermen and Common-Council-Men from *Guild-hall* to the two Houses, to assure them of their Respects, and of the Affection which the Magistrates and all the Companies of the City had for the Parliament. “ That they were all more and more confirmed in the Resolution which they had taken, wholly to adhere to their Interest, and that next to God, they depended upon the Wisdom of their Conduct, upon which they grounded the Hopes of their own and their Country’s Prosperity. Then they begged of the Parliament to believe, that they made this Protestation with a great deal of Sincerity, as well for defeating the vain Hopes of the Malignants, their declared Enemies, as for stopping the Mouths of those Slanderers that had presented Petitions to the House, which they intreated the House would be pleased to suppress, and to do their utmost in getting the Authors of them discovered: Lastly they desired, both for the Security of the Parliament and City, that they would be pleased to impower their Common-Council, to chuse yearly the Colonels of the City-Militia, and that the Army might be removed, and quickly disbanded. For since at the same time that it came near the City, many disaffected People had presented seditious Petitions to them; the Parliament was too clear-sighted, not to dread the dangerous Consequences, which this troublesome Juncture might produce, if a speedy Course be not taken for preventing the many Mischiefs, with which they were threatened. They added, that there was the more Reason to fear some Misfortune, that not only the Necessaries of Life were not plenty in the City of *London*, but, on the contrary, that all Things were terribly dear; besides, that there was nothing to be heard but Complaints and Murmurs on that account, amongst the poor and sick, of which there were already great Numbers, and were daily increasing.”

THE Deputies, who during the Reading of the Petition had stood at the Door of the House, having entered, the Speaker told them; “ That the House had ordered him to assure them, that it was then wholly taken up with finding out the most ready and easy Means for complying with the Demands of the City, which were also the Wishes of the whole Kingdom. That the Members of the House had spoken with grateful Acknowledgements of the sincere and cordial Affection, which the City had expressed for the Parliament; all the Members of which had commanded him to return them their most hearty Thanks. That they were so much the more sensible of it, that the City had made that so obliging Protestation, at a Time which heightened the Value of it: Because the Enemies both of the City and Parliament had framed vast Designs, upon the Misunderstanding, which they imagined to be between the House and the City, which, by the so solemn Assurances it had just now given, would make the vain Hopes, with which their Enemies fed themselves, vanish.”

THE same Assurances having been carried to the House of Lords, the Speaker of that House likewise complimented the Deputies of the City, and thanked them in the Name of all the Lords then present, for the Demonstration they had given them of their Fidelity and Affection, of which they had never doubted. However, they added, that the City could never have done it at a more seasonable Time for the Good of the State; and that nothing could have given them more Pleasure, than the Proofs they

they had just now received of the Sincerity and Prudence of the Magistrates of the City, in whom they had an intire Confidence. That as for the Regulation of their Militia, the Lords would let the Commons know their Mind thereupon, as soon as possible; and that they were endeavouring jointly with them to find out Means for disbanding the Army. The Reason of their receiving the Deputies with so much Civility, and bestowing so many fine Compliments upon them, was, that the Lords as well as the Commons stood in need both of themselves and their Purfes.

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THE two Houses complied immediately with the Demand of the City concerning the Militia, and considered then in good Earnest, by what Means they might at last make the whole Kingdom quiet; which made them think of disbanding the Army. However, the Parliament knew very well, that they were undertaking a very ticklish and difficult Affair. They likewise had some Suspicion, that that Sovereign Power, which they had usurped, would not be long in their Hands, which they did not think strong enough to support the Weight of it; but that it would fall into the Hands of those who had the Command of the Troops. And that having shaken off one Yoke that was so easy to them, they must very soon bend their Shoulders under another, that would be much more uneasy and insupportable. Which would be so much the more grievous to them, because those very Men, into whose Hands they had put Arms for preserving their Privileges, would become the insolent Masters of the most valuable Thing they had, which was their Liberty. That in short, those whom they had raised up for bringing down the Authority of their Prince, would give them Laws, after having made themselves Masters.

IT behoved them, before all Things, to borrow two hundred thousand Pounds, upon the publick Faith from the City of *London*. And because then that Faith required particular Securities, the Parliament, in order to raise that Sum, was forced to mortgage almost all the sure Funds that were left. These Funds consisted chiefly of the Bishops Revenues, and partly of Confiscations, with the great Excise. Besides which, the City obtained, that these Funds should continue mortgaged for the Payment of an old Debt, which amounted to fifty Subsidies; and obliged the Parliament to add to the Sum that they had demanded, thirty thousand Pounds, which was to be kept for the Relief of many Citizens, very zealous for their Party, who had become indigent. And because the City saw, that a great Part of the immense Sums, which they had already advanced, had stuck to the Fingers through which they had passed, since the Parliament was always poor, how plenty soever Money had been; they got the Parliament to allow, that the City should appoint two Treasurers of their own Body, who should receive the Money, and likewise lay it out exactly, for the Uses to which the Parliament had destinated it. That Condescension plainly discovered the Necessity to which the Parliament was reduced, and likewise the Confidence they had in the City.

IT was truly Matter of Astonishment whence that Necessity proceeded, considering the vast Sums that had been raised under the Pretence of the publick Affairs. For besides that the Parliament had for a long Time disposed of all the Revenues of the Royal Family, and those of the Prince of *Wales*, of the Bishops, and those of the Chapters, and that they ought to have had some considerable Savings, as well of the Taxes that had been laid upon the Counties for subsisting their Armies, as of the voluntary Contributions, and of the Confiscations: Besides these, they had had
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Recourse to extraordinary Ways and Means, having made a Capitation over all the Kingdom, and obliged all the Families in *London* to retrench a Meal every Week, and to pay the Value of it to the Parliament. So that it was easy to prove, that by all these Methods the Parliament had disposed of more than thirty nine Millions of Pounds since the Beginning of the War. That shewed plainly, that the publick Necessity could not proceed but from a prodigious squandering away of the Revenues; and that some private Persons had enriched themselves extraordinarily at the Expences of the Publick. Besides, it was very evident, that two hundred and eighty three thousand, three hundred and thirty three Pounds, six Shillings, and eight Pence had been distributed amongst the Members of the two Houses, as well to make amends for their Losses, as in Consideration of their Services, besides what had been purloined by those who had the Management of the publick Money. For it may easily be believed, that these People did not forget themselves; and that there was no Device but what they made use of in order to have a large Share of the Revenues, since they went so far as to buy old Pensions, that had been almost forgot, of which they paid themselves the Arrears.

'Tis true there had been a Chamber of Accounts established; but it was only for Form-sake, for the Commissioners that were named by those Members, were more obliged than the others to be accountable themselves, which made the Thing to be the more suspected. And without doubt, had they meant honestly, the Members of the House of Commons would not have made Interest to be Commissioners of the Land-Tax, and Collectors of the Subsidies, which were not at all honourable Employments, nor even Affairs with which they ought to have meddled, nor for which they had been chosen Members of Parliament: On the contrary, they ought to have despised such Employments, and left them to other People; who not having the Character, nor injoying the same Privileges with the Members of the two Houses of Parliament, would have behaved themselves as Men, who were to be accountable for their Administration, there being nothing that could exempt them from it. For the same Reason, the People, who saw, that after so prodigious Expences, there still remained great Debts, the Burthen of which would infallibly light upon them, at least would have had the Satisfaction, to see a general State of all that had been received, and of all that had been laid out of the publick Money, as is commonly practised in the *Low Countries*, and as the very same Parliament had caused to be done in the Year 1642.

THE People saw plainly then the Fault they had committed, in giving Way to the Inclinations of those seditious Men, who had made themselves Masters of all the Deliberations of Parliament; who had carried Things to an open Rupture between the King and the two Houses, notwithstanding all that the King had done to please them; and who at last would have a War at any Rate, in order to satisfy their Ambition, and to have an Opportunity to fish in troubled Waters; and in short under Pretence of protecting and defending the Liberties of the People, to swallow up all their Substance, and what they had reaped by a profound Peace. They began then, I say, to feel, that the least Burthen laid upon them by the Parliament, was more heavy to them than all that their Kings had ever made them bear. In short, that their too great Ease, and the Plenty they had of every Thing, had made them insolent, and that the Excess of their Happiness had so blinded them, that for a small Contribution

tribution for maintaining Guard-Ships, they had mutinied at the same Time that those, who had spurred them on to be so strenuously against it, and not to suffer their Liberties to be in the least infringed, treated them like Slaves, and made themselves absolute Masters of their Estates, Persons, and Liberty. In a Word, the poor People, who are always under the Yoke of the Great, and the Prey of the Parties that are formed in the State, saw clearly then, but too late, that the Remedies that Men are for making use of for Evils of that Nature, are always worse than the Evil, how great soever it may be imagined.

AFTER the Parliament had treated with the City of *London* about that great Loan, they determined to raise, besides that, fifty thousand Pounds per Month, for subsisting the Troops they had resolved to continue; as well for the Reduction of *Ireland*, as for the Defence of *England*: And ordered that the Regiments designed for *Ireland*, should be commanded by Major General *Skippon*, in the Quality of Field Marshal, and that those Regiments should have greater Pay, than the Troops that were to be kept up in *England* under the Command of General *Fairfax*. As for these, upon whom the Parliament kept a more strict Eye, they made these Regulations: That the Troops and Garrisons, which should be continued in *England*, should not be commanded by any Member of the House of Commons: That there should be no higher Officers than Colonels, under General *Fairfax*: That all the Officers should sign the Covenant: That the Officers, who had carried Arms against the Parliament, could have no Employment in the Garrisons, nor in the Troops kept up: That all the Officers, who should have Command therein, should comply with the Ecclesiastical Government established by the Parliament: That no Officer, who was of a scandalous Life, should be received: Lastly, That all the Officers should be named by the two Houses of Parliament.

THE Parliament, however, was labouring in vain; for they did not consider, that they commanded no longer magisterially; that nothing was left them but fruitless Desires; and that the Power was absolutely in the Hands of their new Masters, who were in Possession of all the strong Towns and Forts of the Kingdom. But, before I go farther, I must explain the Causes and Motives of so much Disorder. There were two Factions in the Parliament. The Puritans, who, for having established the Presbyterian Government, in Place of the Episcopal, took Pleasure in being called Presbyterians, as we shall hereafter call them. The other Faction was that of the Independents, who are neither for Presbyterian nor Episcopal Government, and who cannot so much as suffer, that the Ministers should believe, that the Preaching of the Gospel is tied to the Ministry. For these good People say, that amongst all the spiritual Gifts, which the Faithful ought to wish for, that of Prophecy, that is to say, Preaching, ought to be the chief, even according to the Opinion of *S. Paul*; and that *Moses*, very far from being of *Joshua's* Mind, who did not like that *Eldad* and *Medad* should prophecy, on the contrary wished that all the People were Prophets. But though there was a mortal Hatred between the Presbyterians and Independents, and that they very much contemned one another, yet in the main, they were Brethren, and Children of the same Father, though he hath not owned the youngest. For those, who have laid down for a Principle, that the whole Church can err in the Decisions of Faith, establish no Rule for them but the holy Scripture, taken in the Sense, and submitted to the private Judgment of every Man: Those, I say, cannot disown the Independents, who precisely follow these Principles,

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Principles, which, in my Opinion, they improve better, than their elder Brethren have done. And it is not to be wondered at, if there has been a Rupture betwixt them, because it was just that Schism should be punished by Schism itself, and that those who had divided the Body of Jesus Christ should also be divided themselves.

THE Presbyterians were more numerous in the two Houses than the Independents, so they carried by a Majority whatever was put to the Vote. However, when the private Interest of one of the two Factions was not at Stake, Matters went on smoothly enough, and they gratified and seconded one another in the Demands, when the Business in Hand was only to divide the Spoil, or to oblige the Heads of the Factions, who, that they might not discover the Mystery, appeared to be united, and to have no different Interests. The Presbyterians had the City of *London* more on their Side, having lodged all their ready Money there, as a Token of their Confidence. Besides, they had the Covenanters of *Scotland*, with whom they kept a strict Correspondence. But the Independents, who had the Army for them, did not doubt, if they could keep it standing, but they would be absolute Masters, and in a Condition to establish that pretended Liberty of Conscience, which strikes at the Foundation of Religion, and puts all that concerns the divine Service into a terrible Confusion.

IN order to make themselves Masters of the Army, they managed the Minds of the Parliament so artfully, that the Earl of *Essex*, who was their Generalissimo, and Sir *William Waller*, who commanded a Body of an Army by himself, were obliged to resign their Commissions. The Independents took Advantage of the Misfortune which happened to *Essex* at *Lestithiel*, in the County of *Cornwall*, and of that, which *Waller* had near the *Devizes*, in the County of *Wilts*, of which we have already spoken. At the same Time they employed Sir *Arthur Haslerig* to set them at Variance, and that Knight served his Party so well, that *Waller* and *Essex* accused one another; so that they at last fell into the Snare which their common Enemies had laid for them. The Earl of *Manchester*, who commanded the Troops in the associated Counties, received the same Usage. *Cromwell*, his Lieutenant, accused him boldly before the Parliament. *Manchester* recriminating, impeached *Cromwell* of Treason, and as it was doubtful which of the two would be worsted, *Manchester* was broke.

SIR *Thomas Fairfax*, a handsome Man, and a good Soldier, was presently chosen Generalissimo. *Cromwell*, who could do with him what he pleased, got himself made his Lieutenant General; so that *Fairfax* owing his Fortune to the Independents, and *Cromwell*, who was Head of the Party, having the intire Management of his General, the Army was altogether in their Interests, and now acknowledged no other Masters but them.

SUCH was the State of Affairs, when the Parliament ordered the Commissioners appointed for the Affairs of *Ireland*, to send to General *Fairfax*, and the General Officers of the Army, to let them know the Orders of the two Houses. The Messengers that were trusted with them, having, on the 20th of *March*, gone to *Saffron-Walden*, so called because of the Plenty of Saffron that grows there, and which is as good as the best that is brought from *Portugal*, and where the General's Quarters then

then were; immediately acquainted *Fairfax* with the Occasion of their coming, and desired him to call the Officers of the Army together to let them know it. The Meeting was held the next Day after Sermon, in the same Place; where the Messengers represented to them, "That the Parliament had resolved to pursue the War in *Ireland*, with the *English* Troops only, and to recall the *Scots* Army that was in that Kingdom, as it had been agreed between the Commissioners of the two Nations: That that Army would leave *Ireland* a Month after having received the Parliament's Orders; and that it was to be paid fourteen Days Pay, and to have the necessary Security for what should be owing it: That the Parliament had likewise resolved to send eight thousand Foot and two thousand Horse of the Army into *Ireland*; and that they had ordered sixty thousand Pounds *per* Month for paying the Troops there and in *England*."

The Parliament's Orders to the Officers of the Army about the War of Ireland.

THE Officers having talked together about these Propositions, answered: "That they could not immediately either engage themselves or the Troops under their Command, in the Service of *Ireland*: However, they declared, that whatever their Resolution might be, they should always be ready, every one in his Station, to forward that Service with all their Might: But they desired to be satisfied in four Queries, which they thought they were obliged to make before they could give a positive Answer to what seemed to be desired of them. I. Under whose Command in chief they were to go to *Ireland*. II. That what particular Regiments, Troops, or Companies were to be continued in *England* might be declared, that none might pretend to refuse the Service of *Ireland*, in Hopes of being continued in the Service in *England*. III. What Assurance would be given for the Subsistence of the Troops that should go to *Ireland*. IV. How they were to be paid off the Arrears due to them, and indemnified for all that had passed in the War of *England*:" The Officers charged the Messengers to deliver these Queries to the Committee appointed for the Affairs of *Ireland*, and to intreat the Committee to lay them before the Parliament, and as soon as possible to let them have the Answer, expressing still a great deal of Zeal for the Parliament's Service.

The Officers Answer.

WHILE these Propositions were under Debate, some private Men of the Army having drawn up a Petition to be presented to the Parliament, with the General's Approbation, had got it to be signed by a considerable Number of the topping Men of the Army. The Substance of the Petition was, "That the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, after having listed themselves under the Parliament's Generals for bringing the Kingdom under their Obedience, had served them faithfully: That though for Want of Pay, and other bad Usage, which they had met with, they had had Reason to be discouraged, yet they had never questioned the Justice of their Commands, nor disobeyed their Orders, and much less troubled the two Houses with their Petitions: That they had never expressed the least Discontent, from which their Enemies had been able to reap any Advantage, nor had they retarded the Progress of Affairs; but that, on the contrary, in Place of going into Quarters at the end of the Campaign, they had chearfully kept in the Field in the middle of Winter, and with great Zeal imbraced all Occasions that offered, to shew that they acted like honest Men: That now that the King was disarmed, that their Brethren the *Scots* were returned satisfied to their Country, and that Peace was restored in the State, they made bold

The Petition of the Army designed to be presented to the Parliament.

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“ to represent to his Excellency what they thought with Justice they
 “ might desire, hoping that he would communicate it to the Parliament,
 “ and they expected it so much the more, that the two Houses, by a
 “ great many solemn Declarations, had promised to protect those who
 “ had ventured all for their Service. What they demanded was, that
 “ they would be pleased to give the Army, before it be disbanded, an
 “ Indemnity for all Hostilities committed, either in the War, or on ac-
 “ count of the War, and that they obtain the King’s Consent to it. That
 “ the Accounts of the Army be examined before all Things, and that
 “ no Company of it be broke till after it has received full Satisfaction,
 “ because they must lose a great deal of Time, and be at great Expences;
 “ if, after having been disbanded, they must be obliged to wait the An-
 “ swers of Petitions to the Parliament: That those who had listed volun-
 “ tarily in the Parliament’s Service, may not be forced to serve out of
 “ the Kingdom; nor those who had served in the Horse, be obliged to
 “ take Service in the Foot: That the maimed, and those who had suf-
 “ fered any considerable Loss by the War be recompensed, and that a
 “ Subsistence be provided for the Widows and Children of those that
 “ have been killed in it: That in the mean time, till the Army be dis-
 “ banded, some considerable Sum of Money be sent to it, in order to re-
 “ lieve the Counties, from whence all its Subsistence has been drawn.

THE General having had Notice of this Petition, and with how much
 Eagerness its Contrivers were labouring to have it signed by all the Army,
 used his utmost Endeavours to have it suppressed: But the Commissioners
 of the Parliament having had some Inkling of it before they left the
 Army, and given an Account thereof at their Return, and told, that they
 had found the Troops very little inclined for the Service of *Ireland*; the
 two Houses, after having had a Conference together, caused this Decla-
 ration to be published: “ That they could not conceal how much they
 “ were troubled, to hear that a Design was framing in the Army, to pre-
 “ sent a Petition by some dissaffected Persons, who, by imposing Condi-
 “ tions upon the Parliament, seemed to have a Mind to give Laws to
 “ them, and who sowing Division amongst the Soldiers, rendered the
 “ Care they took for the Relief of *Ireland* of no Use: That they had
 “ a grateful Acknowledgement of the good Service that had been done
 “ them, as well by those who had discovered it, as by all the rest who
 “ had refused to sign it: That as for those who had suffered themselves
 “ to be imposed upon, if they should withdraw from that Faction, and
 “ return to their Duty, the Parliament should not be unmindful of the
 “ Services they have heretofore done, but should make them sensible of
 “ the Esteem they had for them, and that this Oversight had lessened
 “ nothing of the good Opinion they had always had of their Fidelity:
 “ And that for those who should be obstinately resolved to support this
 “ Petition, which tended to Sedition, the Parliament would proceed a-
 “ gainst them, as Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity.”

AT the same time, they wrote to the General, intreating him to cause
 the Petition to be suppressed, and to send to them the Colonels *Hammond*
 and *Lilburn*, with the Lieutenant Colonels *Hammond*, *Pride*, and *Grimes*,
 to the end that the Parliament being more particularly informed of the
 Causes of the Army’s Undutifulness, they might apply the necessary Re-
 medies, and then send back these Officers with their Orders. The Ge-
 neral had already prevented the Desire of the Parliament, as to the sup-
 pressing of the Petition, and in all haste dispatched the Officers whom
 the

the Parliament had required. At the same time, he answered the Letter which he had received from the Speaker of the House of Commons: 1647.
 “ That having communicated it to the Officers of the Army, they had
 “ expressed a great deal of Concern; that the Sincerity of their Inten-
 “ tions had been so ill interpreted; having declared very ingennously, that
 “ they had no other Thought, but to represent to him, their General, the
 “ Inconveniencies that would infallibly happen, if the Army should be
 “ disbanded before taking Care of their so just Demands. And where-
 “ as they knew that the House was full of Business, their Petition tend-
 “ ed to nothing else, but to beg of the General to propose to the House
 “ what of it he should think reasonable, with all Submission to what he
 “ should judge proper to propose, and to whatever it should please the
 “ House to grant of their Demands.”

THE Officers, whom the Parliament had sent for, being come to *London*, appeared in the Lobby of the House of Commons. After that they had been called in, the Speaker turning towards Lieutenant Colonel *Pride*, told him, “ That the House had been informed, that he had read a sediti-
 “ ous Petition at the Head of Colonel *Harley*’s Regiment, and that even
 “ some had been so insolent, that they had threatened such of the Army
 “ as should refuse to sign it.” That Officer answered very calmly, that he had never had any Hand in that Affair. The rest having given the same Answer, the House ordered them to return to their Commands, and to do what in them lay to suppress that Petition, and stifle the Disorders that might happen in the Army. But though this Indulgence and good Reception given to these Officers ought to have been taken in good Part, yet the Army took it ill that the Parliament called so freely for the Officers, and that they obliged them to answer at the Bar, which shortly after was laid to their Charge as a Crime. The Commons having had a Conference with the Lords about the Matter, it was proposed to send for Major General *Skippon*, to come and reside in the Army, which was immediately agreed to; and a Power was also sent him to leave such a Person as he should think fit, to command in *Newcastle* in his Absence. The two Houses likewise resolved, to send other Commissioners to the Army, to make more advantageous Propositions to them, than the first had been, that the Troops, which they designed for *Ireland*, might by that means be encouraged to undertake that Service. The two Houses having this Affair much at Heart, in all haste deputed the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Dacres*, Sir *William Waller*, and Sir *John Clotworthy*, with Major General *Massy*, whom the Parliament had appointed to serve as Lieutenant General in *Ireland* under *Skippon*, who was to command there in chief. They were ordered to propose to the Troops, that the Foot that should serve in *Ireland* should be furnished with Clothes besides their Pay: That the Officers should have Security for all that was owing them, and that for the Time to come, the Lands of the Rebels of *Ireland* should be assigned them for their Payment.

THE Commissioners arrived in the Army the 13th of *April*. The next Day about two hundred Officers went to the General in the Church of *Walden*, where the Earl of *Warwick*’s Secretary having read the Orders of the two Houses, that Lord, with a great deal of Zeal, exhorted the Officers to comply with them; and then the General for his Part omitted nothing that could oblige them to accept of the Propositions that had been made them. The Officers having appointed Colonel *Lambert* to be their Spokesman, he said: That the Officers desired to know, what Sa-
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tisfaction the Parliament had given to their Demands, concerning the Ar-
 rears of Pay that was due to them; the Subſiſtance of the Troops de-
 ſigned for *Ireland*, and the Names of thoſe that were to command them.
 The Commiſſioners answered, that the Parliament, by their laſt Orders,
 had taken Care of all, except the Indemnity, of which an ample Decla-
 ration would be publiſhed by Order of Parliament as ſoon as poſſible:
 And in the mean time, they had forbidden the Judges in *Weſtminſter-hall*,
 and all the other Officers of Juſtice to make or receive any Information
 againſt the Soldiery, on account of any Thing that had paſſed *tempore &*
loco belli. The Choice of *Skippon* for commanding in Chief, diſpleaſed
 no body. He had gained a great Reputation in the Army, and was well
 liked by all the Soldiers. But though the Officers approved of that
 Choice, yet they cryed out, *Let us have our Generals Fairfax and Crom-*
well to conduct us into Ireland, and we will all follow them. Theſe
 Words plainly diſcovered to the Commiſſioners the Inclinations of the
 Army, inſomuch that they cauſed immediately to be publiſhed through
 all the Quarters: That thoſe, who were willing to accept of the Condi-
 tions which the two Houſes had propoſed to the Troops that were de-
 ſigned for *Ireland*, were immediately to come to them at their Lodgings,
 ſince they were reſolved to depart the next Day. That had ſome Effect,
 and very ſoon after about five thouſand of the Foot, and ſome Troops of
 Horſe, came to liſt under the Command of 267 Officers, all Preſbyterians,
 who, very ſoon after, were broke by the Independents, who put other
 Soldiers in their Place.

THERE were but few Companies, and yet fewer Regiments, that
 came: There were ſome Officers that diſcouraged the Troops, and raiſed
 a Mutiny in the Army. The Parliament being adviſed of it, cauſed five
 of them to be ſummoned by the Sergeant at Arms, to come and be an-
 ſwerable for their Actions. At the ſame time, they ordained their Or-
 ders, for the Command in *Ireland*, to be intimated to Major General *Skip-*
pon, who was come to *London*. He received them with an affected Hu-
 mility, without having Regard, either to his Age, or his Weakneſs, which
 might have excuſed him from going: And having come to the Houſe of
 Commons, in order to return Thanks, he got a Preſent of a thouſand
 Pounds, and took his Seat as Member for *Barnſtable*, in *Devonſhire*.

*A Juſtifica-
 tion of the
 Army's Peti-
 tion.*

IN the mean time, General *Fairfax*, who had been troubled with the
 Stone, came to *London*, to go under a Courſe of Phyſick. He was fol-
 lowed by a Juſtification of the Army's Petition, which was preſented to
 the Houſe of Commons the 30th of *April*, and was drawn up in very
 ſubmiſſive Terms. The Purport whereof was, " That the Officers of the
 " Army having heard with Grief, that the Honourable Houſe of Com-
 " mons had been offended becauſe of a moſt humble Petition which
 " they had made bold to preſent to them, they looked upon themſelves
 " to be the moſt unhappy of all Men, in having diſpleaſed them. And
 " their Miſfortune was ſo much the more grievous, that, though their
 " Intentions were moſt upright, they were accounted mutinous, diſaffect-
 " ed, and who laboured to ſow Diviſion in the Army. 'Tis true that they
 " did not think they had broke in upon the Reſpect they owed the two
 " Houſes of Parliament, nor impoſed Conditions upon them, when they
 " preſented the Petition to them; becauſe it was the common Practice,
 " and the Privilege of the People. Neither did they think, that the
 " Condition of a Soldier was incompatible with that of a Subject; nor,
 " in ſhort, that they ought to loſe their Liberty, in helping to obtain
 " that

“ that of their Fellow-Subjects. But though these Considerations were
“ sufficient enough, for justifying their Conduct, they were resolved not
“ to be wanting to the Rules of Decency, nor did they presume to
“ cause their Petition to be presented otherwise, than by the Consent and
“ Mediation of their General. As for the rest, that their Petition con-
“ tained nothing that could clash with the Authority of Parliament.
“ That as to what concerned the Indemnity of the Army, they had not
“ demanded it, but because of so frequent personal Citations to appear
“ at the Affizes, and Warrants that were given out against Soldiers who
“ were in the Service, contrary to the express Prohibition made by the
“ Parliament. That since they were thus dealt with while the Parlia-
“ ment was sitting, they had great Reason to fear that Matters would
“ be carried farther when it should be broke up. If they had desired
“ that the King’s Consent might be obtained, it was not with Design to
“ lessen the Authority of Parliament, seeing the two Houses themselves
“ did not mean to lessen it, when they proposed to get his Majesty to
“ consent to the Propositions of Peace; and that they did not take it in
“ ill Part that the City of *London* had wished for the same Thing. So
“ not knowing how the Officers of Justice might submit to their Orders
“ hereafter, they hoped that the Parliament would not find Fault with
“ the prudent Caution they had taken for their Security in Time com-
“ ing. As for their Pay, it was their own Necessity, and particularly
“ that of the Soldiers which obliged them to mention it: They likewise
“ thought, that the Parliament would not have taken it ill, to be put in
“ Mind of paying those, who had left their Families, their Means, their
“ Employments, and the Quiet of a sweet and comfortable Life, which
“ they were injoying, to throw themselves into the Dangers of War,
“ where they had earned that Pay with much Toil, and the Loss of the
“ purest of their Blood. Lastly, as to the Reduction of *Ireland*, that
“ they had never failed to express their Zeal for that Service; but they
“ most humbly begged the House to consider, if it be reasonable, that
“ those who had voluntarily served the Parliament, and brought the
“ Kingdom under their Power, ought, after having undergone so many
“ Hardships, to be forced to go out of their native Country, the Interest
“ of which had been so dear to them.” They concluded with this
double Request which they made to the House, “ That in Time to come
“ they might be allowed to apply by Petitions for all Things that may
“ concern them, as being Soldiers, as well as Members of the State. And
“ that some Reparation may likewise be made them, in such manner as
“ the House should judge reasonable.”

THIS Paper, signed by a great Number of Officers, having been read, it was a long Time debated, what Course should be taken for preventing Tumults in the Army, and likewise hastening the disbanding of it; the Question was even put, whether it would not be expedient to send the whole Army into *Ireland*. At last, after the Matter had been a long Time debated, it was resolved, that it should be disbanded, in the Manner agreed upon by the two Houses, and that Major General *Skippon*, Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, Commissary General *Ireton*, and Colonel *Fleetwood* should go to acquaint the Army, that there was a very considerable Sum of Money, which was ready to be distributed amongst the Officers and Soldiers: That their Accounts should be examined; and that a Bill for their Indemnity should be passed.

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WHILE they were debating what Course was to be taken, *Cromwell*, who was sitting in the House of Commons, as soon as the Motion for disbanding the Army was made, rose up, and said, that he protested before God Almighty, in whose Presence he was speaking (these are the Words he made Use of) that he knew the Army would obey, and that they would lay down their Arms at the Door of the House, as soon as they should be ordered. This Protestation contributed much towards making the Thing to be resolved upon. But the Event made it appear, that *Cromwell* thereby aimed at nothing else but still more to take off the Army from the Presbyterian Party, and more strictly to link it with that of the Independents. For notwithstanding what *Cromwell* said, he knew very well, that the Army would not hear of being disbanded; and that the most part of the Soldiers had a mortal Hatred against those who would oblige them to return to their Employments. He was passionately bent on having the Army subsisted, and thought he had Interest enough in the Parliament to oblige them to continue it as their Pretorian Guard. But having perceived, that they had resolved the contrary, as he had always pretended to be intirely submissive to them, even to consent to sign the Covenant in Compliance with them, he durst not then discover his Thoughts, for fear of giving them some Jealousy of the Army, where he had many Enemies, who were persuaded, that, provided he found his own private Interest in the Parliament, he would not much mind theirs.

THE Parliament had settled three thousand Pounds of yearly Revenue upon him for his Services, out of the Marquis of *Worcester's* Estate; and upon *Fairfax* five thousand Pounds out of other Estates. Besides, they gave *Fairfax* all the Offices and Governments, which his Father had when they heard of his Death. So they were both very much bound to receive their Orders with Respect. But the Soldiers having conceived some Jealousy of *Cromwell*, and disliking that the Officers had made Propositions for the common Interest of all the Army, without having consulted them, they bethought themselves of chusing *Agitators* in each Regiment of Foot, and each Troop of Horse. They picked out for that Office Men of the most factious and mutinous Spirits of the whole Army; and having intrusted them with all their Concerns, they promised to be guided by their Advice. These Furies forthwith took two mischievous Resolutions; the first, that they would not be disbanded, and the second, to seize upon the King's Person.

IN the mean time, *Fairfax* being told, that besides the Officers of the Army, whom the House of Commons had caused to be summoned, and whom the House, however, would not see, when they came, there were a great many more in *London*, he caused to be published by Sound of Trumpet, through all the City, an Order to all the Officers of the Army, to repair to their Posts in twenty four Hours, upon Pain of being punished according to the martial Laws. They found no Fault with this Order; but a Report that was at the same Time spread through the City, that the Officers of the Army had written to the King, and had promised to set the Crown upon his Head again, provoked them most of all.

THEY shew'd their Resentment of it, when the Commissioners of the Parliament came to the Army, and declar'd the Orders of the two Houses concerning

concerning their Pay and Indemnity. For the Commissioners having added, that they had it in Charge to quiet and remedy all the Distempers that were in the Army, some answer'd, that they desir'd to know what was meant by the Word *Distempers*. That if it meant Grievances, the Army had just Cause of Complaint. That their Petition was declar'd Criminal, and to render it odious to all the Kingdom, Copies of a Letter, pretended to have been written to the King, were spread every where, which was an insupportable Calumny, and of which they expected, from the Justice of the Parliament, that Reparation would be made them. They likewise took it very ill, that it was industriously reported, that there were four thousand Cavaliers among them, though it was most certain, that in all the Army, which consisted of twenty one thousand Men, there was but one single Officer, that had ever serv'd the King, whom the two Houses had made a Colonel unknown to the Army. These Things were represented with great Warmth, and the Commissioners received no other Answer that Day, but that it was necessary to communicate the Affair to the Soldiers, and that there was no Occasion to be so rash as some Officers had been, who had taken upon themselves to speak for their Regiments, without having consulted them.

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AT the next Meeting, which was on the 15th of May, *Skippon* made a Speech to the Army, and as he had great Interest with it, he made use thereof with much Zeal for having the Parliament obey'd. But it was to no Purpose. The Agitators having withdrawn by themselves, drew up a Writing, which contain'd all the Grievances of the Army, and presented it to *Skippon*, intreating him to let the Parliament see it. These Grievances were, " That their most humble Petition was look'd upon as Mutiny. " That instead of punishing those who were fomenting Division between the " Army and Parliament, on the contrary, they were encourag'd to continue the same Practices. That some Officers, who were excellent Men, " had been summon'd, as if they had been Criminals: And that among " others Ensign *Nicholas* was kept Prisoner at *London*: That, before having provided wherewithal to pay what was due to the Army, it had " been resolv'd to disband it. That at the disbanding, all that was order'd to be advanc'd to the Soldiers, was only six Weeks Pay, which was " not sufficient to defray the Charges of the most Part of them to their " own Houses. That the Bill for the Indemnity was not as yet pass'd. That " the Soldiers who were desirous to return to their former Employments, " were afraid of being forc'd to serve out of the Kingdom: That the Masters of many of those who were Apprentices, refus'd to allow them the " Time they had serv'd the Parliament: That nothing had been settled for the Relief of the maim'd, nor of the Widows and Orphans of " Soldiers that had died and been killed: That many Libels, full of Calumnies, had been publish'd against them: Lastly, that what Requests " soever they had made, to inable them to be no longer burdensome to " the Counties, wherein they were quarter'd, yet they were forc'd to take " their Subsistence from them.

The Grievances of the Army.

THE Parliament having had Advice that the Army was not satisfy'd with the Propositions which their Commissioners had made to it at the first Conference, even before these Grievances had been brought to them, ordain'd ten Weeks Pay of what was due to the Soldiers that should go to *Ireland*, to be advanc'd to them for the present, and two Months of it to be given to those that should be disbanded. They likewise resolv'd to pay what was due to the Soldiers, with Money arising from the Excise, and

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1647. what should be found due to the Officers should be taken out of the Estates of Delinquents. At last, the two Houses pass'd the Bill for the Indemnity of the Army; the Sum of which was, "That the Lords and Commons assembled at *Westminster* having been inform'd, that some Officers and Soldiers of their Army had been molested, and put to Charges on Account of what had pass'd during the War, they most expressly forbid all Judges Ordinary of the Kingdom to take any more Cognizance thereof, or to make any further Inquiry thereinto, or receive any Accusation against the Soldiery, for Actions which they may have committed, by Authority, and for the Service of the Parliament. And because it was to be presum'd, that many amongst them could not defend themselves against such Prosecutions, the Parliament should appoint Commissioners of their own Body, in Order to hear the Complaints of those who should be troubled by the Officers of Justice, and to fine them in all the Damages and Costs of those who should be thus unlawfully sued; provided, nevertheless, that neither Officer nor Soldier might pretend Exemption, by Virtue of this Bill, from being accountable to the Committee, for all that they may have receiv'd or taken for the Service of the Parliament." And because the General's Presence was absolutely necessary in the Army, they intreated him to return to it, if his Health could allow him (which he obey'd) and to send up to them any two of the Commissioners, except *Skippon*, whose special Business there was to ingage the Troops for the Relief of *Ireland*. Therefore *Cromwell* and *Fleetwood* were pitch'd upon to go and wait upon the Parliament with the Grievances of the Army.

THEY could not fall into better Hands, than those who had made and fomented them. For *Cromwell* had no sooner arriv'd in the Army, than he privately insinuated himself into the Favour of the Agitators, who had more Authority there, than the Council of War, where already he and his Son-in-Law bore the Sway. He carefully minded all the Inclinations of the Army, though they often chang'd. He likewise still espous'd their Interest, with a great deal of Zeal; and in effect alter'd his Mind and Sentiments, as soon as he found it his Interest to shift Sides, accommodating himself always to the Bent and Inclination of the Army, avoiding by all means that no division should be bred in it, and by a wonderful Address, there was no part that he did not act, in Order to have it at his Command.

As soon as these Grievances were read in the two Houses, they ordain'd, that the Accounts of the Army should be immediately settled; and that for the Arrears that should not be paid in ready Money to the Soldiers upon being disbanded, they should have Securities, with which they should have all Reason to be contented: That the Time which Apprentices had serv'd the Parliament in the Army should not retard their Freedom: That the Soldiers, who had voluntarily serv'd the Parliament, could not be forc'd to serve out of the Kingdom. And that the maim'd Soldiers, Widows, and Orphans should be taken care of, according to Queen *Elizabeth's* Regulation, which ordains, that each Parish should appoint a Fund for the Maintenance of its own. The Parliament did not meddle with the other Heads of the Grievances; but having sent back the Commissioners with these Orders, for satisfying the Army, they resolv'd that the disbanning of it should be begun the first Day of *June*, and besides, deputed from the House of Lords the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *de la Ware*, with some Members of the House of Commons, to assist the General in that Work.

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They were enjoyn'd to be at the Head of each Regiment when it should be disbanded, to thank the Soldiers on the Part of the Parliament for their faithful Service, and to see them paid the two-Months Pay out of that Money which the Parliament sent to the Army for that purpose.

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THE Army express'd a great deal of Joy upon the Return of *Fairfax*, who, in order to be nearer the Parliament, and the more easily to receive their Orders, decamp'd from *Walden*, and, on the 25th of *May*, fix'd the Head Quarters at *Bury St. Edmond's*, in the County of *Suffolk*. Before *Henry VIII's* Schism, the Body of *S. Edmond* the Martyr, whom the *Danes* cruelly massacred, was in that Place. And King *Canutus*, in order to expiate the Sacrilege of his Father *Sueve*, who had pillag'd that Church, caus'd it to be rebuilt, and having made a noble Monastery to be erected there, he offer'd up his Crown to the holy Martyr. The General wrote from thence to all the Regiments, and told them, that the House of Commons had receiv'd their Grievances, and that they were deliberating upon Means to satisfy them. In the mean time, he forbid the Soldiers to hold any Meetings without their Officers, and charg'd the Officers to take care to keep the Soldiers to their Duty. But the last Orders of the Parliament having been publish'd in the Army, they were so ill receiv'd, that the Soldiers express'd their Discontent aloud, with Words of Contempt. For which Reason, the General thought fit to call together all the Officers at *Bury*. The Council of War was held the 29th of *May* in the same Place, where the General having caus'd the Orders of the two Houses to be read, for the disbanding of the Army, the Army answer'd, " That they could not be
" disbanded upon these Conditions: That eight Weeks Pay was not by
" much near what was due to the Soldiers: That nothing was done for
" their Vindication; and that having been declar'd Enemies to the State,
" for having supported their Petition, they might be dealt with as such,
" unless that Declaration were recall'd.

AT the same Time a Petition was read, which had been presented to the General in the Name of the private Soldiers of the Army, " de-
" firing a general Rendezvous of all the Army; and having represented
" to his Excellency, how much they were astonish'd, to hear that Orders
" had been sent for the disbanding of the Army, before all their Grievan-
" ces were redress'd, and themselves restor'd to the Reputation, of which
" they had been robb'd, they most humbly begg'd his Excellency to think
" of that: Otherwise, that they would be forc'd, in order to avoid their
" own Ruin, to do Things, which they hop'd his Excellency, by his wonted
" Prudence, would prevent." The Soldiers, who sign'd this Petition in great Numbers, call'd themselves the Agitators of the Army, and making use of threatening Expressions, began to discover their Hatred against the Parliament, and charge them with Ingratitude.

THE Council of War having consider'd the Petition, resolv'd to bring all the Quarters of the Army nearer to the Head Quarters, and having regard to the present Juncture, thought it fit, that the Officers should comply with the Soldiers, and consent to what they demanded, thereby to prevent the Disorders that might happen. Commissary General *Ireton* urg'd the Reasons for so doing, and with the Consent of many of the Colonels, propos'd to the General, to represent to the Parliament the Condition of the Army, and that they would be pleas'd to look over the Grievances again, and more maturely to deliberate upon the disbanding of the Army, before an Affair of so great Consequence be put in Execution.

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THE General sent an Account of the Result of the Council of War to the two Houses, and in the Letters which he wrote to the two Speakers, said, it was a Grief to him that there should be a Misunderstanding between the Parliament and the Army. These Letters being read, the Parliament order'd the Money sent to disband the Army to be recall'd, and also all the Commissioners to return forthwith to *London*. *Cromwell* had left *London* privately, for fear of being arrested, if it had been discovered that it was he and *Ireton* that fomented the Mutiny, and who had put in the Heads of the Soldiers, that besides the Condition of Soldier, they were likewise Commoners, and that in that Quality they had a Right to propose, besides what concern'd their Pay, every Thing that they judg'd might regard the Good and Advantage of the State. He took care not to leave the Army any more, nor to give them the least Jealousy, having associated himself, as he had done, with the Society of Saints. But because the Parliament had pass'd a Vote, for cutting off all Hopes that the Members might have conceiv'd of commanding the Troops; and as there was not as yet an open Rupture between the two Houses, *Cromwell*, who was a Member of the House of Commons, and who affected to be most obsequious, got the General to write to the Parliament, desiring that they would be pleas'd to allow him to remain still with the Army; by which means securing himself from the Vote, though the Commissions of General Officers were expir'd, and that the General had no Power to renew them.

AFTER that the Commissioners were return'd to the Parliament, *Skippon* represented to the House of Commons how the Army stood affected, and the Danger there was of the breaking out of the Rebellion into which they had already fall'n. Whereupon the House with the Concurrence of the Lords, in order to give more Satisfaction to the Army, ordain'd, that the Assignments, which the Officers should get for their Arrears, should be as good to them as Attachments; and that by Virtue of such Assignments they might sue those at Law, upon whom they were assign'd, for getting Payment. That the Prisoners should be satisfy'd first of all. That those who could not attend till the Accounts of the Army were settled, might leave Attestations of their Service with the Committee of Accounts; and that the House should take care that their Absence should not prejudice them in the least. That the common Soldiers should have all their Arrears, deducting for free Quarters: That the Non-Commission'd Officers should be us'd in the same Manner: That the commission'd Officers should have three Months Arrears: That the Declaration publish'd against the Army on the 30th of *March*, should be raz'd out of the Journals of both Houses. That a more ample Indemnity of the Army should be made, and an Act of Oblivion drawn up.

ALL these Ordinances were in a Manner extorted, and it was thought, that what oblig'd the Parliament to mention a general Pardon, was, that some private Men of the Army had caus'd *David Jenkins*, one of the *Welch* Judges, who was then Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, to be consulted about the Act of Indemnity. The Question was whether that Act could secure military Men from the Pains impos'd by the Laws. To which *Jenkins* answer'd, That, by the Laws of the Kingdom, to make War against the King; to attempt upon his Life, or upon the Queen's, and his eldest Son's; to counterfeit his Great Seal, or his Coin, were all Crimes of High Treason, and so expressly declar'd such by the Laws, that no Body can be ignorant of it; that according to Sir *Edward Cook*, whose Institutions were published

published by Authority of the House of Commons, all the Judges of *England* had decided upon the Statute of the 25th Year of *Edward III's* Reign; that to imprison the King, in order to force him to Consent to what should be demanded of him, was High Treason; that to alter the Laws, seize the King's Ports, his Forts, and Magazines, was also Treason. Now, in all these Laws the Word *King* signifies the Person of the Prince: For it was in his Person that he could die, or be imprisoned, and have Wife and Children.

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IT was likewise manifest by the Laws, that the Privileges of Parliament did not exempt its Members from the Punishment which the Crimes of Felony and Treason deserv'd; and that the Light of Nature teacheth, that those who cannot protect themselves, can much less make Laws for protecting others from it. That Power, by the Laws, was wholly in the Person of the Prince, who alone could pardon these Crimes. Upon these Principles, *Jenkins* concluded, that the Army had just Reason to fear the Rigour of the Laws: And whereas the Ordinance, for their Indemnity, was, that the Officers of Justice should not sue the Soldiers at Law, for any Action they had done by the Authority, and for the Service of the Parliament, it necessarily follow'd, that they had no Indemnity at all, and that the Ordinance was Illusory.

HIS Reasons were, 1. That all the Judges had sworn to administer Justice according to the Laws; so, without being perjur'd, they could not go by this Ordinance, forasmuch as the Ordinances of the two Houses of Parliament were not Laws. 2. That Criminals were always try'd by Juries, which were made up of Men taken out of the Neighbourhood of the Place where the Crime had been committed. And when they had sworn to declare the Truth touching the Matter in Question, the Laws made them Judges of it. That being the Case, the Soldiers had their Parties for their Judges. That in short, it was not to be thought, that the Juries would break their Oaths to save those, who, they might pretend, had pillag'd and robb'd them. 3. That if it happen'd that the Judges should reckon, that the taking of other People's Horses or Cloaths were Actions which could not have been done by the Authority, and for the good of the Parliament's Service, the Soldiers would certainly be condemn'd to die for such Actions: And though it should happen, that the Judges should be of another Mind, the Juries, without doubt, would give their Verdict according to the Inclination of all the People, that all Actions of that Nature are contrary to the good of the Parliament's Service. Now, as it appears, by all kinds of Laws, that the two Houses no more made up the Body of the State, than a Body without a Head makes a Man; because the State is a Body made up of the King, who is the Head, and of the two Houses, who are the Members; therefore the Actions done by the Authority, and for the Service of the two Houses, would not be interpreted by the Judges to be Actions done by the Authority, and for Service of the State.

JENKINS added, that the Addition which had been made to the Ordinance gave no further Security to the Army; because the two Houses had granted, that their Ordinances were not binding upon any Person, but during their Sitting. So the Act of Oblivion, which they had promis'd, could not serve but for a Time, whereas that which the Army demanded ought to be for ever. So likewise the Pardon, which the two Houses offer'd, was rather a Suspension of the Execution of the Law, than a true Pardon. That the Members of the two Houses could not be ignorant that

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by the Laws and Customs at all times observ'd in the Kingdom, there never had been any Person whatsoever, who had any right, or who had ever pretended to have Power to give a full Discharge of a Crime, or a Pardon, but the King alone. Therefore the Opinion of this Judge was, that the Army could not have any Security, unless the two Houses should accept the Offer which the King had made, to consent to an Oblivion of all that had pass'd during the War, and to the Payment of the publick Debts. Because, by that means, the Soldiers would have a Law of the Kingdom, which could not be call'd in Question, both for their Arrears, which are publick Debts, and for their general Indemnity.

DURING this Contest between the Army and the Parliament, a Body of five hundred Horse, commanded by a Cornet, named *Joyce*, arrived at *Holmby* the 3^d of *June* about the Evening; who having said, that he must speak to the King, the Guards told him, that his Majesty was retir'd, and desir'd him to delay the Business he had with him, till the next Morning. But the Cornet, by all means, having a Mind to speak with him at that very Instant, and the Guards not being in a Condition to oppose him, he was conducted to the Place where the King was. Assoon as he was come near his Majesty, he told him in the Name of the Body which he headed, "that the Army had sent them to fetch him from *Holmby*." The King answered him, "that it was too late to speak of an Affair of that importance, and that the next Morning he would speak to them." The King having appear'd early in the Morning upon the Balcony, the whole Detachment of Horse saluted him with all the Respect imaginable, and all the Time bare-headed. His Majesty having ask'd, "by what Authority they came, if it was not from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*?" They answer'd, "That they were come there from the whole Army. Then the King desir'd to see their Commission, *Joyce* pointing at the Horse which he had brought with him, answer'd, "Here it is, Sir. The King smiling, said, "that it was a very fine one, and desired to know what their Intention was in Case that he should refuse to go with them, and if they designed to make use of force." They answer'd, "that they hop'd his Majesty would not refuse, and that whatever should happen they had Orders to carry him away." At last the King told them, "that he was ready to go, provided they would promise not to offer Violence to his Person: That his Trunks and Papers should be secure: That some of his Domesticks should be allowed to serve him, and that nothing should be required of him that was against his Conscience." They satisfied his Majesty as to all these Demands, speaking always with a great Deal of Affection, and, amongst other things, said, "that since they peculiarly professed not to force Consciences, it could never enter into their Minds to force his Majesty's." These Articles being agreed to, every thing was made ready for the King's Departure as soon as possible. The Commissioners of the Parliament, and the Ordinary Guards, that were about his Person, protested, that he had been carry'd away from them by force, and resolved to follow him till they should receive other Orders from the Parliament. The King set out about One a Clock Afternoon, and having expressed a Desire of going to *Newmarket*, *Joyce* was not against it, on the contrary, he order'd the Detachment to march directly for that place.

WHAT induc'd the leading Men of the Army to venture upon so bold a Step, was, that the King's Person being in the Hands of the *Presbyterians* of the two Houses, they began to be afraid, that his Majesty would at last yield to their Requests, in coming to an Agreement with them,

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and be prevail'd upon to consent to the Covenant at any Rate for the Good of Peace. They knew very well, that the King being once reconciled with the Parliament, the People would adhere to them: That the Army would be disbanded; that neither Officer nor Soldier would receive the Rewards, which they pretended were due to them, and (which went nearer their Hearts) that the Independent Party would be quite ruined, and trampled upon by that of the Presbyterians, which they looked upon with so much Jealousy and Contempt. These Considerations made them resolve to ward off the Blow, and take the King out of the Hands of the Presbyterians. They hoped, by that means, to find their Account in his Majesty, and, by the Agreement that they would make with him, to restore him to his Authority, and re-establish Peace in the Kingdom.

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GENERAL *Fairfax* hearing that the thing was done, wrote to the Parliament, "that it had been done unknown to him, and that he even did not believe that any General Officer of the Army had had the least Knowledge of it: That the Soldiers, who had undertaken it, pretended to have been induced so to do, because it was said, that a third Party was forming, who were privately to seize the King's Person, and who hoped to kindle the War again: That as soon as he had had advice of it, he had sent Colonel *Whaley* with his Regiment, in order to stop his Majesty wherever he should meet him; and in short, that he should be always very careful to keep up a good Understanding between the Army and the Parliament."

The General's Account to the Parliament of the King's being removed from Holmby.

CROMWELL, who, the better to Screen himself, had sent *Whaley*, his Kinsman, to meet the King, made the same Protestation in particular, and declared to his Majesty and the Parliament, that *Joyce* had gone out of the Camp without his Knowledge. Nevertheless that Cornet, instead of receiving the Punishment which an Action of that Nature deserved, was advanced higher than he was before; and neither *Cromwell*, nor any of the General Officers, which *Fairfax* had carried with him to see the King in my Lady *Cutt's* House, seconded the Commissioners of the Parliament, when, in presence of his Majesty, aggravating the Presumption of *Joyce*, they told him, that he deserved to have his Head struck off for the insolent Action he had been guilty of. *Joyce* did not conceal from the General, who it was that had given him the Order; and *Cromwell*, who had given it him, made *Fairfax* believe, that without that, the two Houses would have brought the King to London, or that Colonel *Graves*, at the Persuasion of the Parliament's Commissioners, would have carried him thither. *Cromwell* was so transported with Joy, that when *Joyce*, giving him an Account of his Action, told him, "that from henceforth he had the King in his Power;" he answered, "that it being so, the Parliament could no longer escape him." He himself had given *Joyce* the Order, before he fled out of London, as his own Major, *Huntington*, told the two Houses, when he quitted the Service, not being able any longer to approve of *Cromwell's* Principles, which he said were these: "That as for the Advantage or Prejudice of the Kingdom, every Body could judge what was just and reasonable: That the Kingdom had no other Interest but that of honest Men, and that there were none such but those of his Party: That it was lawful to go through all sorts of Government, in order to bring about his Designs; and for that end, that it would not be a miss, either to turn out of the two Houses, all those who were against him, and to support therein his own Partisans by Arms: Or else to dis-

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1647. "miss them all without Distinction: That it was lawful to cheat Knaves,
 "and to play Quits or Double with Sharpers.

THE Parliament having received the General's Letters, ordered the King's Children to be brought back to *London*, and lodg'd in *St. James's Palace*. They likewise gave the necessary Orders for their own and the City's Security, and wrote to *Fairfax* to take Care that the King be sent back with their Commissioners to the Castle of *Holmby*. *Fairfax*, who was not in the Secret, having but little Power, either in the Council of War, or amongst the Agitators, who were called the Council of the Army, followed the Orders of his Masters. He went to meet the King, whom he found at *Childisly* near *Huntington*. But the King shewing no Inclination to return to *Holmby*, and yet less to go to the Army, *Fairfax* caused two Regiments of Horse to joyn *Whaley* for conducting his Majesty to *Newmarket*, having given Orders not to bring him by *Cambridge*, where he fixed the Head Quarters of the Army.

THE Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* residing at *London*, having heard the surprising News of the King's being carried away by Force from the Castle of *Holmby*, demanded a Conference with the Parliament of *England*. They had an Audience in the Painted Chamber, where they expressed a great Deal of Resentment of the Violence that had been done the King, of which they had demanded Justice, and with Vehemence represented, what had been stipulated between the Commissioners of the two Nations, when his Majesty's Person was put into the Hands of the *English* Commissioners at *Newcastle*. They were put off at that Time with fair Words; but the Parliament had no longer the Command, their Authority was just at the last Gasps, and the Commissioners of *Scotland*, far from being able to obtain any Reparation of the heinous Affront, which the Soldiers had put upon the King, they themselves were soon after very scurvily used. For the Earl of *Lauderdale* having gone to *Woburn* to speak to his Majesty, some Soldiers came early in the Morning, who, without any Respect, entered the Earl's Chamber, and having him given insolent Language, forced him to get up, and begone without seeing the King; though the *English* Commissioners, who were following the Army, did their utmost to hinder the Soldiers from violating the Law of Nations in the Person of that publick Minister of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

AFTER that *Fairfax* was incamped in the Neighbourhood of *Cambridge*, he appointed the general Rendezvous of the whole Army the 5th of *June*, on *Triplow-Heath*, where the Agitators presented a new Petition to the General, whom they intreated to send it to the Parliament. They therein declared that they were not at all satisfied with what the Parliament had done, and that they were not inclined to obey their Orders. 'Tis true, they spoke of the two Houses, in respectful Terms: But there was no end of their Complaints and Demands. They found Fault with every Thing that the Parliament had caused to be proposed to the Army; they under-valued all their Offers, and gave plainly to understand, that their Intention was no longer to receive Orders, but to give them to their Masters. 'Tis very true, that the two Houses stood haggling too much, and that the insatiable Avarice of the Members, who had the fingering of the Revenues, would not allow them to part with the Money that had been raised for the Army; whereas they ought at first to have made reasonable Offers, and, in Case of Disobedience

dience, caused the Militia of the Kingdom to be raised, to fall upon the rebellious Troops. 1647.

THE Agitators therefore, by this Petition, demanded: "That their Arrears, which were the Price of their Blood, be presently paid: That the Ordinances, as well for exempting the Soldiers from being forced to serve out of the Kingdom, as for their Indemnity, and that in Favour of Apprentices, be revised, and made more ample. That all that had been ordained by the Council of War, be approved of; and that no Person may be sued at Law, for having executed the Orders of the General Officers: That the Officers of the Army be told who they were that impeached them before the Parliament, and that both their Persons and Demands be justified: That those turbulent Men, who discredit the whole Body, and who, with Impunity, have traduced the Army, be expelled the Parliament. In short, in order to remove all Jealousy, they most humbly begged them to believe, that the Army had not the least Thought of altering the Government of the State, nor of hindering the Establishment of the Presbyterian Government; and that it thought as little of establishing Independency, but leaving all that concerned the Ecclesiastical Discipline, to the Prudence of the Parliament, it expected from their prudent Conduct, that as they had no Mind to break in upon the natural Liberty of the Subjects, they should far less desire to put a Yoke upon their Consciences."

AT the same Time that these Things were transacting in the Army, and that the Agitators were revolving others more important in their Minds, the Parliament having some Surmise of them, passed the Indemnity more full, for all that the Soldiery had done during the War; found Money for paying the Army, and revoked the Declaration, which they had made against it; nay, ordered the Leaf to be taken out of their Journals. Moreover they ordained, that all Soldiers, who should carry themselves obediently, should, from that Time, enjoy all the Advantages, which the Parliament had offered for the Satisfaction of the Army. And that no Person might have any Thing to except against the two Houses, as they were afraid, that the Army might make Demands, which, in Justice, they could not refuse, nor, with Honour, grant, because it was not fitting that they should be stirred up by Soldiers to do their Duty: The House of Commons, to prevent that Inconveniency, renewed the self-denying Ordinance, and voted, that, if any of their Members were possessed of any Office, or forfeited Estates, the Grants thereof should hereafter be void. That the Benefit such Members have thereby received, should be paid into the Chamber of London for the Use of the Publick, and that they should be accountable for it to the Commissioners of Accounts. That the Lands, and all other Estates of the Members of the House, may be seized for Payment of their Debts. That Informations should be heard against Members; and that no Member hereafter should receive any Reparation for Damages they may have suffered during the Troubles, till the publick Debts be first satisfied. That no Person that hath carried Arms against the Parliament, presume to sit in the House, whatever Pardon he may have had for it. And, that the Army may be the more readily disposed to obey the Orders of the two Houses, they deputed to it, the Earl of Nottingham, the Lord de la Ware, Sir Henry Vane, the Son, and Skippon, who were immediately dispatched thither.

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IN the mean time, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*, taking to Heart the Difference between the Army and the Parliament, sent a Deputation to the two Houses, " Begging of them, " by all Means possible to prevent the Effusion of Blood, which, without doubt, would happen in a new War. That for that end, they may " be pleased to give to the Soldiers of the Army, who had exposed their " Lives for the Defence of the Parliament, the Satisfaction, which they " so justly demanded. That in order to answer the Fidelity they owed " the King, and the Obligation they lay under to observe the Covenant, " his Majesty's Person may be with great Care preserved; and that in " what Place soever he may be, the Commissioners of the two Nations " may have free Access to him. That they would think speedily of a " Relief for *Ireland*, which demanded it with Tears of Blood. Lastly, " that for the Security of the City, an Ordinance may be published for " the levying of some Troops of Horse, that the Militia may be the " better inabled to suppress seditious Assemblies, and prevent the Danger " which seemed to threaten both the City and Parliament. They concluded with this Protestation, that they would never forsake them, but " were resolved to live and die with them." The Speakers of the two Houses thanked them for this Testimony of their Affection; let them know what they had done for the Satisfaction of the Army; promised the Ordinance, which they had demanded, which was published the 11th of *June*; and sent them back very well pleased.

BUT their Commissioners being arrived in the Army, and having told what Orders they had from the Parliament, they found that the Army was no Ways inclined to obey. It had become more haughty, because the Furies that influenced the Agitators, had taken Care to get the Counties of *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk* to present Petitions to the General; wherein those Counties begged of him especially, not to suffer the Army to be disbanded at a Juncture, when the Kingdom was in so great Confusion, till the Complaints and Grievances of all the People were redressed. At the same time, *Fairfax* marched to *Royston*, and advanced as far as *St. Albans*, twenty Miles from *London*, where he fixed his Head Quarters. This Place is famous, because of the renowned Abbey, which *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, caused to be built, in the Time of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, in Honour of *St. Alban*, the first *English* Martyr. That Abbey was subjected immediately to the Holy See, and was exempted from the Tribute of *St. Peter's Pence*, which was called *Roms cot*, which that Prince granted, over all his Kingdom, to the Successors of the Prince of the Apostles. He obtained from the Apostolical See in Favour of that Church, that it should levy that Tax in all the County of *Hertford*, where it is situate; and that it might make use of all that should arise from it for its own private Use. Pope *Adrian IV.* added since to that Privilege this, that its Abbot should be the first of all the Abbots of the Kingdom, as *St. Alban*, who suffered Martyrdom under the Reign of *Dioclesian*, was acknowledged the first Martyr. He was a Native of *Verulam*, a Town very near *St. Albans*, and one of the most ancient in all *England*; besides it was Municipal under the *Romans*, and which the *Welsh*, for that Reason, to this Day call *Caer Municip.* The Parliament had written to the General not to approach within twenty four Miles of *London*; but in his Answer he pretended to have changed his Quarters before he received their Orders, and undertook to give them Reasons for his Approach, which would satisfy them.

them. And, that the Army might not be a Burthen upon the County, he begged that they would send him a Months Pay in all Haste.

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THE City having Notice of the Approach of the Army, on the 12th of June, ordered all the Trained-Bands to be under Arms on Pain of Death. The Shops were shut, and every Body stood to their Arms: But in the Afternoon they were opened; and the Common-Council having more narrowly considered the Consequence of this Affair, dismissed the Trained-Bands, except some Companies, for reinforcing the Guards of the Lines. Some Aldermen and Common-Council-Men were likewise sent to the Army, in order to keep up a good Understanding between the City and it. In the mean while, the House of Commons ordered Sir *Thomas Witbrington* and Colonel *White* to go thither at the same Time, and endeavour to find out the Designs of the Army, and likewise to know what it was the House could do, that would satisfy it.

BEFORE the Deputies of the City had got to the Army, the General had written to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council. The Letter was also signed by *Cromwell*, and a great many other Officers of the Army. By this Letter, "They demanded Reparation, and that Justice might be done upon those, who, by their malicious Speeches, had instilled bad Impressions of them in the Minds of the People; and who, by all Manner of Calumny, had endeavoured to load the Army with Infamy and Reproach: That it was not their own private Interest that made them complain of it, and which they were willing to sacrifice to the Publick; but that it broke in upon the Privileges of the Parliament and People in an extraordinary Manner: That they wished the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberties of the Subject might be secured: That they had no Thoughts of any Alteration in the Political Government, nor of opposing the Presbyterian Government: That as for the City, they promised, that neither the Officers nor Soldiers of the Army should ever give it the least Cause of Complaint, if it did not declare against them, in siding with those Fire-brands of Sedition, who strove to set them at Variance with the whole Kingdom: That, however, if it should happen, that a considerable Party of the City should be so imprudent, as to take up Arms for opposing their just Proceedings, in that Case, the Blame of all the Damage it may suffer will be laid upon the City, and not upon the Army." Immediately upon Receipt of this Letter, the Common-Council wrote an Answer to the General: "That their whole Body had a very affectionate and tender Regard for the Army; and that there was nothing else meant by the Orders given to the Trained-Bands, but to provide for the Security of the City, without the least Thought of offending the Army."

A Letter from the General, Cromwell, and other Officers of the Army, to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London.

THE two Houses then thought it was proper to cause a Declaration to be published, to inform all the World of what they had done for giving Satisfaction to the Army, and of the Care they had taken for re-establishing Peace in the Kingdom. They likewise ordered, that the General should be desired to deliver the Person of the King to the Commissioners, who had received him at *Newcastle*, to whom the necessary Orders should be given for bringing him to his House at *Richmond*, and that his Majesty's Guards should be commanded by Colonel *Rossiter*. They likewise at the same Time ordered a Letter to be written to the General, to let him know, that the Money, which he had demanded for the Army, was ready to be sent him. The King having heard, that the

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Parliament had a Mind to have him removed from *New-market*, was surprized that they had not written to him of it: However, he was not against it, and consented to go to *Richmond*. But Colonel *Whaley* having written to the General for his Orders, he got no Answer. The General had not as yet seen the Parliament's Order, but after it was received, it was eluded by the Army.

As the two Houses were impatiently waiting to know what their last Commissioners had done with the Army, the Deputies of the City, who were Mediators between them, returned; and having addressed themselves to the House of Commons, gave them to understand, that they had declared that the City had not taken up Arms against an Army that had so well deserved of it, and of the whole State, and which had been the glorious Instrument of the Deliverance of the whole Kingdom: And that afterwards they had begged of the General not to take up his Quarters so near *London*, lest thereby Provisions should become excessively dear, and that disaffected Persons might from thence take occasion to disparage the Conduct of the Army: Lastly, that they had strongly recommended the King's Person to their Care, and that his Majesty might be treated with all Manner of Respect, while he should be in the Power of the Army. The House thanked them for the good Offices they had done the Parliament, desired them to continue their Good-Will towards them, and as well in Consideration of the City, as of the Army, the two Houses recalled the Orders they had given, to raise Forces for the Defence of the Kingdom.

At the same time, they received Letters from their Commissioners, with a Declaration of the Army, which *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, who were employed in all these Declarations and Transactions of the Army, had drawn up in more bold and spiteful Terms than the other Petitions. For they did not stick to say, that their Army was not a mercenary Army, subject to an arbitrary Power, but that it had been raised by the lawful Authority of the two Houses of Parliament, for the Preservation of the Liberties of the Kingdom. That being the Case, they ought to govern themselves by the Laws, however, without being obliged always to keep so much to the Strictness of the literal Sense, when the Safety of the People requires that they should have Recourse to the Equity of the Law. And they did not think that there was Room to doubt, that Authority was tied to the Office, and that the Men who exercised it, had only the Ministration thereof. Therefore if it happened that the People should make Choice of a bad Member to represent them in Parliament, they might retrieve their Mistake, and have Recourse to a new Election. As for the rest, whatever may be said of their Proceedings, they did not think they had taken so much upon them, in the Defence of their Rights and Liberties, as formerly the States of the *Low Countries*, and the *Portuguese* had done, nor even their Brethren, the Covenanters of *Scotland*, who made their Covenant, without having made their Application either to the King, or the Parliament of the Kingdom, and without being in the least supported. The two Houses had likewise declared, that Men did not oppose lawful Authority, when they followed the Principles of the Law of Nature and Nations; and that Soldiers might lawfully hold the Hands of a General that had a Mind to point the Cannon against his own Army: And as their Brethren of *Scotland* said very well, that the Seamen had a Right to tie the Pilot, who should have the Malice to steer his Ship against a Rock. Grounding upon these Principles, they

they demanded, “ 1. That all those, who had not been sent up to Par-
 “ liament by a free Election, be expelled. 2. That those Persons, who
 “ have abused the Parliament, and Army, and indangered the Kingdom,
 “ may be speedily disabled from doing the like. 3. That some Time may
 “ be set, for the Continuance of this, and future Parliaments, and new
 “ Elections be made successively, according to the Bill for Triennial
 “ Parliaments. 4. That Provision be made that future Parliaments may
 “ not be dissolved at the King’s Pleasure, without their Consent, but con-
 “ tinue the set Time. 5. That the Right of the People, to represent to
 “ the Parliament their Grievances by Petition, may be vindicated. 6.
 “ That the large Powers given to Committees, or Deputy Lieutenants
 “ during the War, as appears not necessary to be continued, may be ta-
 “ ken away, and such as are necessary may be put into a regulated Way,
 “ and left to as little Arbitrariness, as the Nature and Necessity thereof
 “ will bear. 7. They wish that the Kingdom may be righted, and sa-
 “ tisfied in Point of Accounts, and other Things, wherein the Common-
 “ Wealth may be conceived to have been wronged. 8. That publick
 “ Justice being satisfied by some few Examples of the worst of ex-
 “ cepted Persons, some Course may be taken, by a general Act of Ob-
 “ livion, or otherwise, whereby the Seeds of future War, or Fears may
 “ be taken away.”

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*The Demands
of the Army.*

THIS Declaration being dispersed in the Counties adjacent to the
 Army, those of *Buckingham* and *Hertford* having been practised upon un-
 der Hand to back it by their Approbation, presented Petitions to the Ge-
 ral for that Effect, and intreated him not to disarm, till the Grievances
 of the People be redressed, and the Army made Umpire of the Affairs of
 the Kingdom, and the Meeting of Agitators become the supreme Council
 of State.

THAT not only alarmed all the well-meaning Men of the Parlia-
 ment’s Side; but even such as favoured the Army, were offended at this
 Conduct, which they plainly saw could never be justified before reason-
 able and disinterested Men. It seemed to them, that the Army had a De-
 sign to seize both the Ecclesiastical and Civil Authority of the Kingdom;
 and that having once incroached upon that of the Church, it had a Mind
 likewise to wield the Sword of Justice.

ALTHOUGH it had been true, that the Army had been raised for
 maintaining the Liberties of the People, yet it did not become them to
 judge what those Liberties were. And as the Sword was then the only
 Rule of their Judgment, if it had happened that another Set of Men
 should have started up, who had better Swords than those of the Army,
 without doubt there would have been an Appeal from their Judgment,
 and the Sentence that they had pronounced would have certainly been
 void. Neither had the Army any Right to receive Petitions, which
 ought only to be presented to the two Houses of Parliament; since the
 chief End of their Meeting was to hear the Complaints of the People,
 and to redress them. As for the Examples, which the Army alledged of
 the *Dutch*, the *Portuguese*, and the Covenanters of *Scotland*, they con-
 cluded nothing in their Favour; since there was no Action, how wicked
 soever it may be, which may not be justified by some Instance. They ought
 to measure the Goodness of their Actions, by Reason and the Laws, which
 are nothing else but Reason stript of all Passion. In short, the Army, by
 alledging the Covenanters of *Scotland*, condemned themselves; because

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they knew very well, that in the first, as well as in the last Troubles of that Kingdom, though the Covenanters Army knew sure enough, that their Parliament had no other Troops to oppose them, yet immediately upon the Parliament's Orders they laid down their Arms.

THE other Examples of the mad General, and the malicious Pilot, appeared to be no more to the Purpose. For though it was true, that in a pressing Necessity, the Law of Nature, in some Measure, justified the Opposition made to the Injustice and Tyranny of Superiors, when the supreme Powers could not be consulted, nor even Advice had of any body, the Danger being altogether unavoidable, and the wicked Intentions of those, who were making a bad Use of their Authority, being plainly discovered: All that, however, did not justify the Conduct of the Army; because the Case of the Army was not the same. Perhaps it might have been much about the same, if the Parliament had raised Troops for cutting the Army in Pieces; in that Case, they might have defended themselves, without minding the Obedience they owed the Parliament. But the Matter here in question was quite otherwise; for the Army having made a *German* Quarrel with the Parliament, had advanced at the same time to do themselves Justice, though no Forces had been raised to oppose them. Thus it was the Soldiers that pointed the Cannon, and drew their Swords against their General, which, in the Opinion of all Men, is looked upon to be so wicked an Attempt, that it cannot be justified.

IT as little became the Army to take upon themselves to chuse Members of the House of Commons, since there was a Committee, which was appointed of Purpose to examine, if the Elections had been duly made, though, according to Rule, that ought to have been done in the Counties that sent them. Above all, it was thought to be of dangerous Consequence, that the House should give Ear to the Propositions, which the Army might make them, to turn out the Members, who they might pretend, whenever they thought fit, were their Enemies. For, besides that it would be a manifest Injustice, the Army, by that means, might, at their Pleasure, lay the House waste, by thus expelling the Members, one after another. If there were some Members, who gave their Opinions freely, about the Proceedings of the Army, that Freedom was their Right, as Members of Parliament, and besides, it was an unalterable Rule amongst them, that whatever was said, or done in the House, could not be found Fault with, but by the House itself; besides, it must have been done at the very Time that the Affair was under Debate; if it was not put off by common Consent, to be taken again into Consideration. For without that, an Affair under Debate could not be adjourned, not even to the next Day, if it were not so agreed upon.

THERE were many, who very much approved of that Liberty, which the Army demanded, that all sorts of Persons might be allowed to present Petitions to the Parliament; but there were others likewise, who maintained that, in Matters which had already been offered, and which had been rejected, as prejudicial to the publick Good; if the People did not alledge some new Reason for grounding the Justice of their Petitions, but still repeating over the same Reasons that had been brought, then it would be no more Liberty. In short, it was observed, that in the Declaration of the Army, the calling to an Account those who had had the handling of the publick Money, was only mentioned with a faint Wish that it might be

be done; because the Independents were afraid, if they should lay any Thing to the Charge of the Presbyterians, that they would be even with them; both Parties having had their large Share of Plunder in the Robbery that had been made of the publick Money. For 'tis very certain, that the leading Men for a long Time plaid booty together, while the well meaning Men, that were in the Parliament, did not perceive that they were bubbled, and insensibly dragg'd along with the Torrent, without being aware of it.

THIS is what was said concerning the Declaration of the Army. However, there were some Demands that were not altogether without Reason. It was the Interest of all the Kingdom, and even of the Parliament, that the Time for the Continuance of Parliaments should be limited. For when they obtained of the King, that, for the future, Parliaments should be Triennial, and that that which was then in being, could not be dissolved but with the Consent of the two Houses, it would have been demanding Things that were contradictory, if their Design had been to perpetuate the present Parliament.

As for the Suppression of the large Powers given to Committees, or Deputy Lieutenants of which the Parliament had often spoke by the Bye, and without concluding any Thing, the Army could demand nothing more just, nor that could more gain them the Favour of the Counties. For truly those Commissioners and their Deputies acted therein like little Tyrants. They imprisoned some, and massacred others; and besides were so oppressive, as to make some pay the same Tax three or four Times, nay, causing it to be exacted after the Time of levying it was over. They made themselves to be obeyed by Force of Arms, without troubling their Heads with any Complaints that the People could make of it to the Parliament, since they had their Protectors there, who had their Shares of the Booty; and they knew, that whatever might happen, the Indemnity secured them from all. To these Outrages they added the Suppression of the ordinary Justice; for, usurping the Authority of Judges, they took upon themselves to decide Law-Suits at Random, without having regard to the Laws, of which they were intirely ignorant.

DURING all this Animosity between the two Parties, which then divided the Kingdom, the Army had not as yet declared which of the two they had a Design upon, and it was very hard to discover upon which of them the Storm would fall. At last the Army explaining themselves, caused an Impeachment to be presented to the House of Commons against eleven of their Members, Sir William Waller, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Maynard, Denzil Hollis, Anthony Nichols, Major General Massey, Colonel Walter Long, Edward Harley, and Glyn, Recorder of London. They were first accused in general, of occasioning the Disorders of which the Army had complained. For the Heads of the Charge against them were. "That they had been the Authors of the Misunderstanding between the Army and the Parliament, and that designing the Ruin both of the one and the other, they had divided the Army under Pretence of the Service of Ireland, and by that means cooled their Affection towards the Parliament. That they had endeavoured to raise new Troops for kindling the War again, and that it was they that got a great Number of disbanded Officers and Soldiers to meet in Westminster-hall, in order to intimidate the most leading Men of the House." The Army offered to prove by

Eleven Members of the House of Commons impeached by the Army.

The Heads of the Charge against them.

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THE Charge having been read in the House, the Members accused stood all up, without shewing the least Surprise, and demanded of the House, that they would be pleased forthwith to proceed to their Trial. Yea, to give Satisfaction to the Kingdom, they offered to wave their Privileges, thinking that it was not becoming to make use of them, nor to rely upon any other Thing than their Innocence. There was no body but saw very well, that all this Procedure was extraordinary, and against all Rule, since the Course of Justice required, that the Charge should be signed by the Accusers, who were to make it good, or else to undergo the Punishment prescribed by the Laws, and make Reparation to those, whom they had traduced. Besides, there was a great Number of the chief Officers of the Army, who were Members of the House; so that they seemed to be Parties, Judges, and Witnesses, threatening to do themselves Justice by Arms; and adding, that if they should meet with any Difficulty, they could easily pave the Way with the Edge of the Sword. But the whole House, and particularly the accused Members, might and ought to have remembered, with some Remorse of Conscience, that when the King went in Person to the House of Commons, to have the five Members, whom he had accused of High-Treason, arrested, the House declared, that it was a treacherous Design; and that those eleven Members, now accused of the like Crimes by the Army, were those who then made the greatest Noise, and who, with a loud Voice, said, that it would be a Violation of the Law of Nations, if any of the Members of the House were arrested by the King's Orders, though they were all accountable to his Majesty for their Actions; and that they did not in the least depend upon the Army, which on the contrary received their Pay. Those Members were then brought back to the House in Triumph: But these, on the contrary, were presently forced to absent themselves from the House, the Army not suffering them to appear there any more, but as Criminals, though the Charge brought against them was only in general Terms. In short, the House then cried out, that their Privileges were destroyed, and boldly appointed a set Day to the King, on which his Majesty was to give in particular Charges against them, and upon which they were to be interrogated: But at this Juncture, the Army told them, that their Privileges ought not to prevail above the Safety of the Kingdom. That wicked Men ought not to have them for a Shelter, nor could they make use of them for screening themselves from the Punishment which their Crimes deserved, since both the Royal Prerogatives and the Privileges of Parliament might be very often misused contrary to their Design, and to the Prejudice of the publick Security, which was preferable to them both, since they had not been granted by the Laws but
for

for the Safety of the People. 'Tis not to be doubted, but the two Houses were then sensibly affected with the Incroachments of the Army, but they durst not shew their Resentment; because they had Reason to be afraid, that something worse might happen them. However, the Affair having been taken into Consideration, it was resolved, That the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, did not allow that the Members of the House should be suspended from their Service there, upon a bare Accusation without Proof, and all the Members unanimously declared, that they had never had the least Knowledge of any of the Things wherewith they were charged.

THIS Declaration so much provoked the Army, that in the Letters they wrote to the Common-Council of *London*, and in the Conferences they had by Commissioners with the Parliament, they openly complained, that the Preservation of the Privileges of the Members of the House of Commons, was preferred to the publick Good of the whole Kingdom. And they declared, that the Safety of the State, as well as that of the City, obliged them to continue in their Post, and not to move out of it, let them be never so much intreated, till after those, whom they had accused, should be expelled the House; because, said they, it was by them that all Things were put in Confusion. Besides, that it was they, who continually laboured to perplex Matters, and who by the Strength of their Faction suppressed all the Freedom of Parliament. That they were under-hand carrying on new Levies. That *Worcester* was their Place of Rendezvous, and where they were to be joined by the Troops that had been separated from the Army, under Pretence of a Relief for *Ireland*. In a Word, they shewed so little Regard for what the House had resolved, That those, who conferred on the Part of the Army with the Commissioners of the two Houses, did not stand to say, That if it were allowed them to speak their Minds freely, and without breaking in upon the Privileges of the House of Commons, for which they had a great deal of Respect, they would clearly shew, that that House had a perfect Knowledge of every Thing, whereof the eleven Members had been accused; and that the House of Lords ought to remember, that the Laws of the Kingdom had suffered the Earl of *Strafford*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord-Keeper *Finch* to be suspended from sitting in the House, before the Particulars, and the Proofs of their Charges had been produced.

IT is very true, that these Deputies of the Army had Reason to upbraid the two Houses with the hard Usage which those illustrious Personages met with at their Hands. But that Respect, which they pretended to have for the Privileges and Honour of both Houses, did not appear so clearly as they would have had it believed. For what greater Affront could the Army put upon them, than to despise all their Resolutions, and even to force them to revoke their Ordinances? That was ruining their Reputation, and discrediting them amongst the People; because, in the Opinion of every body, the Parliament was no longer capable of doing any Thing but Injustice, and committing unworthy Actions. And if the People had but once discovered, that they no longer acted but by the Impulses of Fear, or by those of Complaisance, or by the Strength of some other Passion, they would have no longer been considered, but as useless Men, who had betrayed the People that had relied upon them; and, in short, as Men who had prostituted their Honour, and the Authority, with which the Estates of the Kingdom had

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intrusted them. Neither was it seen, that the Army treated the Parliament in a very respectful Manner, when they demanded, that the Soldiers, who continued in their Disobedience, should be paid as much as those who had obeyed the Orders of the two Houses; and when they also obliged them to sit with their Hands in their Pockets, and to make no new Levies, at the same time, that the General was raising Recruits; that he had taken Arms for his new Soldiers, out of the Castle of *Windsor*, and seized upon the Powder and other Ammunition, that was coming from *Nottingham*, contrary to the Prohibition that had been intimated to him. And though the Army aimed at nothing but the publick Good, as they would fain have had it believed, it was easy to judge, that their own private Interests moved them to put the eleven Members, whom they had accused, to a Non-plus. For since they had made no Complaint against them, till the Parliament had resolved to disband the Army, it was easy to see, that all the Crimes, of which they afterwards accused them, were not inquired into, but in order to palliate the true Cause of their Discontent; and that the greatest Crime they had committed, was their having appeared the most active in the House for getting the Presbyterian Government established, and likewise for having that important Affair of disbanding of the Army resolved upon, which was so necessary for the Ease of the People, and the Tranquillity of the Kingdom.

THE Army having a Design to bring the Affair to the last Push, caused a Train of Artillery to be brought from *Oxford* to *St. Albans*, whereof the Garrison, with all the Ammunition had been secured by *Cromwell*. The Army consisted then of thirteen thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse, besides the Dragoons. They had sixteen battering Cannon, and as many Field-Pieces. There was so good an Understanding between the Generals and the Agitators, that the Head Quarters having been fixed at *Uxbridge*, which is about sixteen Miles from *London*, they kept themselves in Readiness to march thither in all Haste. The Soldiers, who fought no better, were so pleased with it, that the Troops that were convoying the Train of Artillery were seen throwing their Hats up in the Air, and crying out aloud, to *London*, to *London*. But before they approached nearer the City, they sent a Remonstrance to the Parliament, wherein they complained, "That no Answer had been
" given to their last Declaration, and that the two Houses had neglected to redress the Things, of which the Army had complained to them,
" though they were such as the Safety of the State chiefly depended
" upon." This Remonstrance plainly set forth, "That the Army did
" not at all doubt, but the accused Members were the Cause of that
" Delay; and that they were fully persuaded, they should have no Satisfaction in any of their Propositions, so long as their declared Enemies should sit in the House. That if they did not produce the
" Particulars, and convincing Proofs of the Charge which they had
" given in against them, as it seemed reasonable that it should be done,
" they were willing, that all the World should know, that it was not
" for want of being ready, but that it was because they thought the
" general Things, which concerned the publick Good, ought to be adjusted before Matters of less Consequence were inquired into, such as
" were those of private Men. And they found it likewise strange, that
" the Parliament, reflecting upon what had passed, when they saw themselves forced to revoke the Declaration, which they had caused to be
" published against the Army, did not resent it upon those, who, by
" an

“ an intolerable Abuse, had made them fall into that Precipice. They
 “ were no less surprized, that the Parliament gave so kind a Reception
 “ to the Deserters, since to act in that Manner was the ready Way to
 “ put the Army into the utmost Despair: And as little did they com-
 “ prehend, why the Parliament did not consider, that those, who had
 “ got the Vote passed for carrying the King to *Richmond*, had done it
 “ only to have his Majesty in their Power, and after having him in
 “ their Possession, to begin a new War, with the Troops, which they were
 “ drawing together with so great Haste in the adjacent Parts of *London*.
 “ As for the Reports that were spread abroad, that the King was Pri-
 “ soner in the Army, and that he was ill-used there, they declared, that
 “ such Reports were false, and quite contrary to their Principles, since
 “ they had no other Design, but to take Care that every Man should be
 “ restored to his Estate, and peaceably enjoy his just Liberties. That
 “ they did not see how Peace could be re-established in the Kingdom,
 “ if the Royal Family were not restored to all its Rights with Honour
 “ and Sincerity. And they were likewise of Opinion, that a tender Love
 “ and Charity towards the Party and Person of his Majesty, would make
 “ the Parliament triumph as gloriously over their Hearts, as it had done
 “ over their Arms; and provided that so happy a Reconciliation of all
 “ Parties could be effected, it might truly be said, that *Righteousness and*
 “ *Peace have kissed each other.*”

THEY concluded, “ That because the Standard was to be set up at
 “ *Worcester*, the War was to be begun there: That there were not only
 “ Spies in the Army, in order to debauch the Soldiers, but that Messen-
 “ gers had been sent to *France* and *Scotland* to solicit foreign Troops to
 “ come into the Kingdom. That what honest Men there were in the
 “ Parliament, were threatened by the Officers and Soldiers, who flocked
 “ to *Westminster-hall*. That their Enemies had Money in their Hands,
 “ and that the King was solicited to declare for them. That being
 “ the Case, they were resolved to lose no more Time, but with Dili-
 “ gence and Vigour to oppose these fatal Undertakings, to break all these
 “ pernicious Measures, and to remedy all Disorders, by such Ways and
 “ Means, as God should put into their Hands, if, the very same Day,
 “ that this Remonstrance should be presented to the two Houses, they
 “ do not send to the Army positive Answers, and agreeable to their De-
 “ mands. That the Ordinance, which induced the Soldiers to quit the
 “ Army, in Hopes of receiving all their Pay, be revoked. That the
 “ Army be paid all that is due to them, proportionably to what had been
 “ paid the Deserters, who had been satisfied. That the carrying of the
 “ King to *Richmond* be delayed, till the Kingdom be in a more peace-
 “ able State, and that all Jealousies be at an End. That in the mean time,
 “ the Parliament should not require, that his Majesty be brought to any
 “ other Place nearer *London*, than to such as the two Houses themselves
 “ should appoint for the Quarters of the Army. That the accused Mem-
 “ bers leave the House, without further Delay. That the Troops, which
 “ had left the Army, be disbanded; and that they be not paid any of
 “ the Arrears that may be due to them, till the Army be satisfied.
 “ That the Soldiery, which in great Numbers were in *London*, and a-
 “ bout *Westminster*, be turned out of the City. That the Preparations,
 “ that have been made, in order to renew the War, be laid aside; and
 “ that the Orders, as well for making new Levies in the Kingdom, as
 “ for inviting Foreigners to come into it, be recalled. That the Par-
 “ liament forthwith take into Consideration, the Things which had been
 “ repre-

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“ represented to them in the Declaration of the Army. And because
 “ that both the Parliament and the City had desired, that the Army
 “ might retire forty Miles from it, they declared, that they would com-
 “ ply with them, provided they would immediately set about giving them
 “ Satisfaction in their Demands, and in two others likewise, which they
 “ found themselves obliged to add thereto: To wit, That it be ordained,
 “ that the Soldiers, who should leave their Posts in the Army, without
 “ the General’s Permission, should be for ever deprived of the Pay that
 “ was due to them. That the Army be continued as yet for some time
 “ by the Parliament in the usual Manner. That before any Resolu-
 “ tion of disbanding it be taken, the so important Affairs, for resto-
 “ ring the Peace of the Kingdom, which are as yet undetermined, be
 “ intirely decided.”

THIS so presumptuous and insolent Remonstrance having been read in the House of Commons, the accused Members stood up, and desired Leave to withdraw. Which, after the Affair had been long debated, was granted them; however, upon Condition, that they should not leave the Town, but still continue there, in order to answer to the Interrogatories, upon the Charges and Informations, which the Army had promised to give in as soon as possible. Then the House, with the Approbation of the House of Lords, took into Consideration the Demands which the Army had made with so much Eagerness, and voted, “ That no Officer
 “ or Soldier of the Army could leave it, without Licence or Discharge
 “ from the General. That they do own this Army as their Army, and
 “ will make Provision for their Maintenance and Pay equally with those
 “ that have deserted the Army. That the Troops that had been de-
 “ tached from it for the Service of *Ireland*, shall be sent back to it, or
 “ disbanded. That a Bill had been brought into the House, for order-
 “ ing all Sorts of military Men, as well the reduced Officers, as others,
 “ to be gone from the City. Lastly, that the King shall be carried back
 “ to *Holmby*.”

AN Account of these Votes having been brought to the Commissioners of the Parliament, who were treating with those of the Army, all the Officers expressed a great deal of Satisfaction, that the Members, whom the Army had accused, were withdrawn from the House; they commended their Modesty, and protested, that it was out of no private Aversion they had to their Persons, that they had demanded their being suspended from sitting in the House; but that it was purely the Interest of the Publick, that had obliged them to solicit their Removal. Therefore, having had Satisfaction in that Demand, which they had so eagerly pressed for, and received such Answers to all their other Demands, as they thought reasonable, the Army decamped, and retired to *Wickham*, which is about thirty two Miles from *London*, whither some Officers of the Army were immediately sent from *Reading*, where the Head Quarters were, with the Charges and Informations against the eleven Members. These Informations were printed, as were for the most part all the Petitions which the Army presented, that many Copies of them might be dispersed amongst the People. What those Members were charged with was, “ That some of them had, upon many Occasions,
 “ kept a Correspondence with the Royal Party, as well in *England*, as
 “ in *Ireland*. That others of them had always kept a private Corre-
 “ spondence with the Queen, and that they had advised her to send
 “ the Prince of *Wales* into *Scotland*. That some of them had also con-
 “ verted

The Charge
 against the E-
 leven Members.

“ verted to other Uses Sums of Money appointed for the Service of 1647.
 “ *Ireland*. That there were some others of them, who had commit-
 “ ted Extortions in the Counties. That all of them in general had fo-
 “ mented the Division between the Parliament and the Army, in order
 “ to ruin it. That they had caused the Petitions presented by the
 “ Army to be declared criminal. That they had obliged Colonel *Lil-*
 “ *burn*, Colonel *Hammond*, and other Officers, who were not at all guilty,
 “ even in the Opinion of the House, to answer at the Bar. Lastly,
 “ that they had imprisoned others, and even searched in the Prison En-
 “ sign *Nicholas*, who had the Papers, with which he was intrusted, ta-
 “ ken from him, without the least Regard to the publick Liberty, which
 “ was very much broke in upon on that Occasion.

ALL these Facts were set out with all their Circumstances, and re-
 lated at large. They were read in Presence of the accused, who were
 called into the House, who all spoke in their own Defence, every one
 according as the Fact touched him. Very soon after they made Answer
 to all the Articles; shewing that some of them were meer Calumnies,
 which had no Foundation, and that the rest revived some old Affairs,
 of which the House, having long ago taken Cognizance, had been satis-
 fied with their Conduct. They concluded their Defence with this Re-
 flection, That God often permitted, that Men should be persecuted for
 Things, of which they were innocent, to the end that they may re-
 collect themselves, and search into their Hearts for the true Cause of their
 Misfortune, which, if they had not been afflicted, might have lurked
 there for a long Time, and, perhaps, would not have awaked them,
 but in order to throw them head-long into eternal Perdition.

WHEREUPON it was voted, that the House should proceed to their
 Trial, as soon as the Army had produced their Witnesses, for proving
 the Articles, whereof they were accused. This Affair was no more pro-
 secuted by the Forms of Law. These Members, with many others,
 sunk under the Oppression of the Army, who had not attacked them,
 but in order to intimidate those who were of the same Sentiments with
 them, and to oblige them, after the Example of their Brethren, to with-
 draw from the House. The Army had a Mind that the Independents
 should be absolute Masters there, and did not trouble themselves about
 the House of Lords, to which they never made any Application. By
 this Conduct, and by causing many Libels, very injurious to the Peers of
 the Realm, to be dispersed, it was judged, that the Army was hatching
 something, which very soon would make them see the Fault they had
 committed, when they separated themselves from their Head, whence
 they derived all the Grandeur and Authority of Character, which raised
 them above other Men.

IN the mean time, the Treaty, between the Parliament and the Ar-
 my, advanced but slowly. Besides the new Difficulties that occurred in
 it, the Army likewise complained, that the Ordinances of the two
 Houses were not put in Execution. That several Members, whom they
 had ordered to withdraw from the House of Commons, continued to sit
 there. That the military Men did not depart from *London*, and that
 the Troops, which had been detached from the Army, were neither
 imployed in *Ireland*, nor disbanded. However, these were Things which
 the two Houses had under Deliberation; for they needed no Intrea-
 ties from the General, for putting all the Soldiery, and all the Forts of

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the Kingdom under his Command, that, according to the Offer which he had made, a speedy Relief might be sent to *Ireland*. Nevertheless they excepted the Militia of the Kingdom, and caused it to be proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet, in all the publick Places of the City, that they did not mean, that it should be in the General's Power to command the Militia. For all this, he very soon after took upon him to dispose of it, in the same manner as he did of the Soldiers of the Army. And to the end that a great Number of the most factious and zealous of his Party might join the Army, he caused a Petition from the Council of War to be presented to the Parliament, demanding the Release of all Prisoners that had not been arrested by the ordinary Forms of Law, but had been imprisoned by the Orders of the two Houses, except the Prisoners of State, whom they called Malignants, provided they should give sufficient Bail, to appear within a certain Time, for answering to the Accusations that should be brought against them. And in case they were not proved by unexceptionable Witnesses, that Reparation might be made them, and likewise that all their Expences and Damages might be paid them. And as the Army was very well informed, that many Persons well-affected to the Good of the State, and who had also ventured their Lives in serving it to Purpose, were nevertheless imprisoned, under Pretence of some Ordinances, which Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* had made against such as should not frequent the Churches for assisting at the Liturgy, and who, on the contrary, should hold private Meetings: The Army demanded, that since the Parliament had abolished the Liturgy, and that the Ordinances ought not to be understood as if they meant private Meetings for religious Exercises, but those which were held in private for caballing against the State; that the Judges, who were to go the Circuits may be ordered to open the Prisons every where to all such as were there, since they were deprived of their Liberty, only for having maintained the Liberty of their Consciences.

*The Proposals
of the Army.*

AT last, the Council of War and the Agitators, acting like Reformers of the State, as well as of Religion, drew up a new Plan, which they presented to the Commissioners of the Parliament, that they might send it to the two Houses. "First they demanded, That there should
" be a Meeting of Parliament every two Years, which, upon no account
" whatsoever, could continue above four Months; and that the King, in
" the Intervals of Parliament, by the Advice of the Council of State
" could call an extraordinary Meeting. II. That the House of Com-
" mons should have a full Power over the Election of their Members,
" that they may be enabled to retrench the Representatives of small Bo-
" roughs, and to augment the Number of those of large Counties, pro-
" portionably to the Burthens laid upon them for the Service of the
" State. III. That the two Houses should have an absolute Power to
" interpret the Laws without Appeal, and that such as they had con-
" demned, of what Quality soever they were, should not be protected
" by the King. IV. That the Commoners of the Kingdom should not
" be judged by the House of Peers, without the Concurrence of the
" House of Commons. V. That the Militia should be in the Power
" of the two Houses for ten Years only: And that such as had carried
" Arms against the Parliament should be declared incapable of holding
" any Office in the State during five Years, if it was not with Consent
" of the Council of State; or of sitting in either of the Houses during
" that Time, without the Consent of both. VI. That Commissioners
" be

“ be appointed for the Admiralty; that an Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and
“ Rear-Admiral be chosen, and that Provision be made for subsisting
“ of the Royal Fleet. VII. That all the Troops of *England, Ireland,*
“ and the Principality of *Wales* be put under the Command of one
“ General. That there likewise be a Council of State, for regulating
“ and disciplining the Militia by Commissioners to be appointed for
“ that Purpose. And that in all Treaties that shall be made with Fo-
“ reigners, that Council thus established shall have the same Power as
“ the Privy Council. VIII. That the King now reigning shall never
“ have Power to dispose of the Militia, nor to make Peace or War
“ with Foreigners, without the Consent of the two Houses of Parlia-
“ ment. IX. That all the great Offices of the Kingdom be at the
“ Disposal of the Parliament, or of Committees thereof, during ten
“ Years, which being expired, if any Office happen to be vacant, the
“ Parliament shall name three Persons, of which the King shall chuse
“ one to fill it up, and that the Peers, whom the King has declared
“ such since the 21st of *May* 1642, may not sit in the House of Peers,
“ without the Consent of both Houses: That the Ordinance of In-
“ demnity be confirmed by the King, and that no Regard be had to
“ all or any of the Declarations which his Majesty has made against
“ the Parliament. That whatever has passed under the Great Seal at
“ *Oxford*, be not regarded. That, on the contrary, every Thing that
“ has passed under the Great Seal by Authority of Parliament, be ap-
“ proved of. X. That the Treaties made between the two Kingdoms
“ of *England* and *Scotland*, be continued. That the Truce of *Ireland*
“ be broke; and that the Prosecution of the War in that Kingdom be
“ referred to the two Houses. XI. That there be an Ordinance made
“ with the King's Consent for the Suppression of the Court of Wards;
“ that the Profits which his Majesty drew from thence be made up
“ elsewhere; and that the Persons, who have Offices in that Court, be
“ indemnified. XII. That there be a like Ordinance made, for abolish-
“ ing the Power of Bishops, and of all Ecclesiastical Courts, in what
“ concerns pecuniary Mulcts, or corporal Punishments. That the Ordi-
“ nances for the use of the Liturgy, and for obliging the People to be
“ present at the Assemblies in the Churches, be made void; and that
“ some other Method be fallen upon for discovering Papists. XIII.
“ That no Person may be forced to sign the Covenant, and that the
“ Ordinances for that be repealed. XIV. That after the Liberties and
“ Peace of the Kingdom shall be safely established, the Persons of their
“ Majesties and the Royal Family be restored to a free and honourable
“ State, without any Diminution of the Royal Rights, and without any
“ Limitation of the Royal Authority, except such as have been speci-
“ fied in what has been proposed. XV. That such as shall be willing
“ to compound with the Parliament (very few excepted) may do it
“ upon very reasonable and easy Conditions, and that the *English*, who
“ shall appear there, not having Goods to the Value of five hundred
“ Pounds, be cleared and acquitted. XVI. That the Army having
“ plighted their Faith to those of the Royal Party, it may have its full
“ Effect. XVII. That there be an Act of Oblivion, and that all
“ those of the Royal Party, who have made, or shall make it ap-
“ pear, that they are well-affected to the Peace of the Kingdom, be
“ not obliged to compound, or at most to pay but one Year's Rent.
“ XVIII. That the People may with all Freedom present their Peti-
“ tions to the Parliament: That there be no Excise upon the Necessa-
“ ries of Life: That all Sorts of Monopolies be suppressed; and that
“ for

1647. “ for the Maintenance of Ministers, some other Fund be devised than
 “ that of Tithes, which always produce some new Cause of Law-suits.
 “ XIX. That those who are Prisoners for Debt, and have wherewithal
 “ to pay it, may not defraud their Creditors by an affected prolonging
 “ of their Imprisonment: And that such as have little or no Effects be
 “ set at Liberty, and such also as shall honestly deliver up what Goods
 “ they have to their Creditors. XX. That no Person may be obliged
 “ to answer to Interrogatories, which tend to accuse himself. XXI.
 “ That the Delays, occasioned by the Quirks at Law, in the Admini-
 “ stration of Justice, be lessened, in such a manner as that it may be
 “ done with less Charges to the poor Parties. XXII. That the Power
 “ of the Committees or Deputy Lieutenants in the Counties be limited,
 “ or rather quite taken away. XXIII. That the Kingdom may have
 “ the Satisfaction to hear, that the immense Sums that have been
 “ raised shall be accounted for. And lastly, that what is due to the
 “ Army and the Publick be paid in such a Manner, as in the Pay-
 “ ments that shall be made, those may be first considered, who, having
 “ but small Estates, yet strained to advance considerable Sums for the
 “ Service of the State.” But other Affairs unexpectedly happened, which
 made all the Treaties, that had been begun upon these Propositions be-
 twixt the Army and the Parliament, to be put off, and which for some
 time hindered them from being carried on.

THE City had always stuck closely to the Interest of the Parliament, and in the mean time, did all that was possible, for keeping likewise a good Understanding with the Army, even to keep Deputies there for that End. That Friendship was a strong Obstacle to the Designs of the Army. Therefore, in a Council of War, which was held the 18th of July, an Expedient was found for dividing them, and setting them so at Variance, that the Army might easily make themselves Masters both of the City and the two Houses. We have already told, that the two Houses had given Power to the Common-Council of the City, to chuse the Commissioners of their own Militia for the Year 1647, and that the same Houses had confirmed the Choice that had been made. Whereupon the Council of War caused a Petition to be drawn up, and sent to the Parliament, whereby the Army demanded, that that Choice might be made void, and that the Militia might be put again into the Hands of those who had commanded it the Year before. This Petition was communicated to the Deputies of the City that were in the Army, and they were made believe, that the Safety of the City and of the whole Kingdom depended upon it. It was carried to the House of Commons the 23^d of July. There were then but very few Members in the House, because the expelling of the eleven, who had been accused, had frightened many others of the Presbyterian Party, who had withdrawn. The House, without minding the City, which was chiefly concerned in this Petition, and which had in a particular Manner obliged the Army, without having received the least Complaint against the new Commissioners of the Militia, annulled the Choice that had been made the 4th of May, and passed an Ordinance for putting the Militia into the Hands of the old Commissioners. This Ordinance was carried to the House of Lords about Seven a-Clock at Night, which approved of it *nemine contradicente*. The chief Promoters of this Affair pretended, that the Parliament had been induced to make that Change, in order to hinder the Army from coming to incamp near *London*, and that the Reason of doing it so hastily, was to prevent the Opposition which the City would have

have made, if the Houses had put off the taking the Petition into Consideration till the next Day. But the true Reason was only, to create Jealousy and Discontent in the City, which they thought would have vigorously opposed the Change, and, by that means, given the Army a Pretence to march, in order to set Matters to Rights, and then make themselves Masters both of the Liberties of the City, and of the Authority of the two Houses.

As soon as the Mayor and Aldermen had Notice of the Change of their Militia, they called a Common-Council, wherein having represented, that nothing but the Threatnings of the Army could have obliged the two Houses to annull their Ordinance of the 4th of *May*, they began to be afraid, that if the Army should continue their Threatnings, they might likewise oblige the two Houses to make void all the Ordinances which they had made for the Security of the Money that they had borrowed from the City. That Reason obliged them to depute some of their Members with a Petition to the House of Commons, desiring them to think more seriously upon an Affair of so great Importance. The Deputies went thither the 26th in the Morning: But two or three Hours after they had been there, about a thousand Apprentices brought another Petition of their own framing, in which they said, "That the Command of the Militia of the City was the Birthright of the City, and belonged to them by several Charters which had been confirmed in Parliament. Therefore they desired that the Command of the Militia might be put into the Hands of those who had been regularly chosen."

THE Lords having seen these two Petitions, repealed the Ordinance of the 23^d of *July*, and confirmed that of the 4th of *May*; and sent it down to the House of Commons for their Consent, where the Apprentices being got together in a tumultuary Manner about the Door, cried out, and knocked with great Insolence; and would suffer no Member to come out of the House, till they had given their Concurrence to the Ordinance that had just passed in the House of Lords. The Apprentices having had that Satisfaction, retired. But that same Day in the Afternoon, another Mobb got together, which chiefly consisted of the most mutinous of the meaner Sort of People, who were spurred on by some disaffected Persons, in order to foment the Animosity between the Army and the City. These seditious Spirits running to *Westminster-hall*, abused some of the Members of the House of Commons as they were coming out; and as the House was breaking up, they compelled the Members to go in again, forced the Speaker to return to the Chair, and kept them all shut up, till they had voted: That the King should come to *London*, in order to treat with the two Houses in Person.

THE Mayor and Aldermen having Notice of this Riot, in all Haste sent the two Sheriffs of the City to suppress the Mobb. The Sheriffs having caused some Companies of the Train-Bands to take their Arms, marched as fast as possible to *Westminster-hall*, and having dispersed the Mobb, conducted the Speaker to his own House. The Resentment which he expressed of the Affront, gave many occasion to say, that he intended to leave the House: But though these Reports were not without some Foundation, yet two Days after, he declared to some Members of the House, in *St. Margaret's Church*, that these Reports were false and

1647. scandalous, and that he would rather die in the Chair, than basely desert the Office, with which he had been honoured.

THAT Protestation made People believe, that his Escape, which happened the next Day, did not proceed so much from his own free Will, as from the Fear he had of the Army: And indeed the Army had threatened to give in an Accusation against him, of having robbed the Publick of considerable Sums of Money, if he did not comply with their Sentiment in the present Juncture of Affairs. Indeed, a Letter addressed to him without Subscription had been intercepted, the two last Lines of which were known to be the Hand-writing of *Rushworth*, the Army's Secretary, intreating the Speaker to come there in all Haste, with as many of his Friends as possibly he could bring with him. He accordingly went, and notwithstanding that the two Houses had met peaceably since the late Tumult, and that the Commissioners of the Militia, of which Major General *Maffy* had the chief Command, had caused to be proclaimed in the City and Suburbs, and posted up in all the publick Places: That if any Persons should be so insolent, as to disturb the Meetings of the two Houses, the Guards were to imprison them, and put to the Sword all such as resisted: Notwithstanding, I say, that Order, the Earl of *Manchester* and *William Lentball*, the Speakers of the two Houses, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Warwick* and *Kent*, the Viscount of *Say*, the Lords *Gray of Wark*, *Howard of Esherick*, *Wharton* and *Montague*, and about a hundred Members of the House of Commons, fled to *Windsor*, where the Head Quarters of the Army was, desiring to be taken under their Protection. *Lentball*, before he went, left a Declaration for justifying his Escape, and grounded the Reason of his withdrawing upon the Disorders that had happened, which having taken away all Liberty of voting from the House; he should have looked upon it as betraying the Office which the Commons of the Kingdom had intrusted him with, if he had offered them Ordinances extorted by Force, instead of the lawful Ordinances of the House. *Henry Pelham*, a Lawyer, was chosen in his Place, the eleven Members, who had withdrawn, were recalled, and the House of Lords having chosen the Lord *Willoughby of Parham* for their Speaker, both Houses appointed a Committee of Safety, and gave them Power to raise Men, and to name Generals and other Officers for commanding them, and to join with the City Militia for the Defence of the Parliament and City.

A Declaration
published by
the City of
London.

AT the same time it was ordered, that the Militia should guard all the Out-works, and that all that were capable of carrying Arms should appear in *St. James's Park*, in order to serve in such Stations as should be assigned them. The City being thus put in a Posture of Defence, made a Declaration, which the two Houses ordered to be published. The Mayor, Aldermen, and all the Common-Council of the City, therein solemnly protested, " That there was nothing they more earnestly
" wished for, than to see the King at full Liberty, and in a Condition
" to treat with Honour, and without Constraint, with the Parliaments
" of the two Kingdoms, about the Propositions that should be presented to him. For they plainly saw, that whilst his Majesty was
" invironed by an Army, and under their Power, he can neither freely
" grant, nor will there be Hopes of injoying what he grants in such a
" Condition. Therefore they were resolved inviolably to adhere to the
" Parliament, hoping that all good Subjects, who are touched with any
" Sense

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“Sense of that Duty and Allegiance, which, by the Law of God and
“Man, they owe unto their King, will unanimously join with them
“therein. They likewise with Grief declared, that ever since the Army
“had surprized the King in the Castle of *Holmby*, the Privileges of Par-
“liament have been violated, even to force the House of Commons to
“expel eleven of their Members, not only against the Opinion of the
“House, but likewise against the Laws of the Kingdom. That there-
“fore they humbly intreated, that the House of Commons would be
“pleased not only to recall the eleven Members, but all the others also,
“whom the Factions of the Army had forced to withdraw. Lastly,
“they desired, that it might be known to all the World, that the Rea-
“son why the Army had picked a Quarrel with them, was only, be-
“cause they neither could nor would submit the Militia of the City to
“be altered at the Will of the Army, after it had been settled in the
“Hands of such as were intrusted therewith for one whole Year, when
“there was a full and free Parliament.”

ALL the Companies of the City expressed a great deal of Zeal for its Interest, and a great Number, as well of the Officers and Soldiers of the Militia, and of the auxiliary Troops, as of the Apprentices, Sea-men, and Water-men, who make a great Body at *London*, joined in a League, and ingaged to make Use of all their Power, for having the King brought speedily to *London*, that he may there confirm all that he had granted to the two Houses, and for treating with them in all Freedom and Safety, about the Differences that remained to be decided. They also bound themselves with an Oath to maintain all the Articles of the Covenant between the two Nations, and not to stand neutral in that Quarrel, which was God's and the King's, and for the Good and Advantage of the Kingdom. Then they applied themselves to the Common-Council of the City, desiring that the League might be presented to the two Houses, and that the whole Body of the City might unanimously join therein. But the two Houses did not approve of that League. On the other Hand, the Army had a great many Partisans in the City. For besides that the Inhabitants of *Southwark* presented a Petition to the Common-Council, intreating, “That they might be freed from going forth in a hostile
“Manner under any Command, but such as should be approved of, by
“the Generality of that Borough, and that they might be left to defend
“themselves, and stand on their own Guard.” At the same time there was a very great Concourse of People of all Sorts and Conditions in *Guild-hall* Yard, in order to petition the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council to find out some Expedient for making up the Difference with the Army. And as these People were pressing for an Audience, General *Pointz*, with some other Officers of the Militia, came into the Yard amongst the Petitioners, and with their drawn Swords, very unseasonably, wounded many of them, and forced the rest to fly.

THE Army having heard what had passed both in the Parliament and City, since the 26th of *July*, and finding that every Thing had been done there, as they could have wished, for inabling them to bring their Designs to Light, the General caused the Army to be drawn together from their different Quarters, and gave Orders for marching towards *London*. He wrote a very sharp Letter to the Mayor and Aldermen, upbraiding them with the Affront that had been put upon the two Houses, and that their Guards not only did not endeavour to repel that Violence, but that some of their Common-Council-Men had encouraged the Mu-
tineers

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tineers and fomented the Sedition. He complained of their Declaration, and of the League of the Inhabitants, whereof he let their Deputies see the Copies that had been sent him. He concluded with telling them, that they were guilty of the new War that was breaking out, and which would again involve the Kingdom into Confusion and Blood. That it was what some factious Spirits, both in the Parliament and City, had for a long Time been contriving, as the Army had discovered, and given Account of it in their Remonstrances. Lastly, that the Interest of the two Houses being the same with that of the Army, since they had acknowledged it to them; and that they had made it appear they were so well satisfied with the Fidelity of the Army, that they had put all the Forces of the Kingdom under the Command of the General, that General was resolved to protect them, and revenge the Injuries that had been done them.

THE Army being drawn up in order of Battle, received the fugitive Lords and Commons, who approved of the Declaration, justifying the Proceedings of the Army, and their Resolution of marching to *London*. Besides, they passed an Act to live and die with the Army. In that Declaration the Council of War had made a long Recital of all that had passed between the Army and the two Houses, since it had begun to negotiate by Petition, in which it had desired the Concurrence of the City; and had taken Notice of the wonderful Providence of God, in the Preservation of the Army, in order to oppose the pernicious Designs which it had foreseen at a great Distance, and which were now breaking out. Then it was observed, that the eleven Members, and their Adherents, against whom the Army had given in its Complaints, had caused the Militia to be changed, in order to put it in the Hands of their Partisans; and that a Mayor and the Common-Council of the City had been chosen of Men, who were in the same Interest with those who had stirred up the Tumults, and fomented the Misunderstanding between the Parliament and the Army, the disbanding of which they had so much pressed for. The Council of War having set forth all these Things, assumed to themselves the supreme Power, passed Sentence upon the Members of the two Houses, and signified their Thoughts plainly, upon the Choice of Persons, in whom they had an intire Confidence, and by whose Advice they intended to manage the important Affairs of State. The same Council condemned the Election of the new Speakers, and declared void all the Ordinances made since the 26th of *July*, there not having been that Day, nor since any lawful Meeting of Parliament, which ought not to be confounded with the few Lords and Gentlemen that had continued at *Westminster*.

IT is a Thing well worth our Observation to find, that when the most part of the House of Peers, and a great Number of the most considerable Members of the House of Commons, retired to the King at *York*, they were exclaimed against, as Deserters, and now, those who continued at *Westminster* are treated in the same Manner, when the true Deserters pass for the most honest and best affected Men. Thus it is said in the Holy Scripture, that the Paths of the wicked are crooked, because being gone out of the straight Way of Reason and Justice, they use a thousand Shifts; and what they establish at one time, they overturn at another, in order to renew it again upon the first Occasion. In like manner, they commend and find Fault with the same Things, according to their Passions, and the different Relation they have to their Affairs.

THE two Houses, in order to divert the March of the Army, wrote to the General, that they had all the Reason in the World to be satisfied with the City, with Respect to what passed the 26th, because it had taken very good Care that the like may not happen any more for the future. The Common-Council likewise wrote thrice for their Part, with great Respect, and sent new Deputies to appease the Army. The Army was so far from having any Regard to those Letters, that they scorned to answer them. On the contrary, the General in all Haste sent a Detachment, which took Possession of one of the three Block-Houses at *Gravesend*. He sent Colonel *Rainsborough* with a Brigade to the Assistance of the Inhabitants of *Southwark*, who had put themselves under the Protection of the Army, and deserted the Interest of the City. And because there had been some auxiliary Troops raised in the City, the General, by his own Authority, caused some Militia to be raised in the Counties of *Kent*, *Essex*, and *Surry*, but he had no Occasion to make use of them. For the City submitted to the Will of the Army; the Divisions, which the General and the other Leading-Men had sown there, the Number of their Partisans, the different Sects, each of which was seeking after different Things, allayed its Resentment, and thus all of a sudden it was disheartened, and had not the Courage to defend itself; though if *London* had been united, as it ought to be, it might have more boldly sent the same Message to *Fairfax*, that the City of *Florence* sent by *Capponi*, a *Florentine*, to a great Prince, who was marching at the Head of a victorious Army, *If you beat your Drums, we will ring our Bells.*

ON the 5th of *August* six Aldermen and six Common Council-Men were sent to the General, humbly to beg of him, that he would be pleased to exempt the City from being pillaged. The General made no other Answer, but "That he would have all the Forts from *Tyburn* to the River to be delivered immediately to him: That the City must recall their Declaration, and quit the Pretension which they fancied they had over the Militia: That they must disband their Troops, and receive into the Lines such Detachments of Horse and Foot as he should judge necessary to post there for the Security of the two Houses. Lastly, That the eleven Members be arrested as soon as possible, as also General *Pointz*." All that was granted, and executed; so that the same Day the Militia quitted all the Forts, and drew off the Cannon. The Declaration was recalled, and the Troops disbanded. As for the eleven Members and *Pointz*, they had taken Care to secure themselves the best Way they could. At the same time, the General wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen, "That having advanced towards *London* with the Army, in order to restore the fugitive Members of both Houses to the Exercise of their Offices with Honour and Safety, he was glad to find their ready Compliance with the Demands of the Army; and he assured them, that the City should suffer no Violence, nor any of its Inhabitants the least Prejudice from the Army." He immediately sent Colonel *Hammond*, with two Regiments of Horse, and three of Foot, to take Possession of the Forts, and caused a Prohibition to be published, that no Soldier should enter the City, without express Orders, upon Pain of Death.

THE next Morning *Cromwell* had Orders to go and post Guards about the Palace of *Westminster*. He made the Troops to be drawn up in two

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Ranks

1647. Ranks in the *Palace-yard*, and from thence through the Hall, up to the Doors of the two Houses. Then the General, with two Regiments of Horse, and two of Foot, marched in order to convoy the fugitive Members of both Houses, who were waiting him in a Body, in the Earl of *Holland's* House near *Kensington*. He was met in *Hyde-Park* by the Mayor and Aldermen, who congratulated him upon the good Agreement between the Army and the City. The Common-Council received him at *Charing-Cross*, which had escaped the Fury of the first Reformation, but was pulled down by the new Reformers. It had been built of Jasper and Porphyry by King *Edward I.* in Honour of Queen *Eleanore*, his Wife, the Daughter of *Ferdinand III.* King of *Castile*, a Princess worthy of eternal Memory. That great Queen having followed the King, her Husband, into the Holy Land, it happened that in a Battle, where he was in Person, a Moor wounded that Prince with a poisoned Arrow. And as the Physicians could not clear the Venom from the Wound with all their Remedies, she applied one, made up of Love and Piety, which succeeded. For, every Morning fasting, she licked the King's Wound, and at last having, by that Means, sucked out all the poisonous Humour, she cured him by an admirable conjugal Love.

THE General being come to *New Palace-yard*, he alighted from his Horse at the House of Sir *Abraham Williams*, and the Members passed betwixt the two Ranks of Soldiers up to their Houses, where, without the least Dispute, the Earl of *Manchester* placed himself in the Speaker's Chair of the House of Lords, and *William Lenthall* sat down in the Speaker's Chair of the House of Commons, which they had been expelled, for having deserted them.

AFTER the Members of the two Houses had taken their Places, General *Fairfax* was made Constable of the Tower of *London*. And as in that Quality he could dispose of the Lieutenantancy, he turned out Colonel *West*, (though the City, when he went to take Possession of the Tower, had earnestly begged of him to continue him) and appointed Colonel *Tichburn* to be Lieutenant Governor. Then the two Houses ordered the 12th of the Month to be observed as a Day of Thanksgiving, for acknowledging God's Goodness in restoring the Members of the two Houses to their former Liberty, and the Injoyment of their Privileges, without Blood-shed. Afterwards they sent to thank the General for the good Services he had done the Kingdom, and particularly for that which he had just now done them, with so much Affection and Courage. The Earl of *Manchester* made a Speech to him in the House of Lords; and in the House of Commons a Chair was placed for him, wherein being seated, he heard his Panegyrick pronounced by the Speaker of the House. And that the Soldiery might likewise partake of the Bounty and Joy of that Day, a Month's Pay was ordered them as a Gratuity, besides their ordinary Pay. A Committee was likewise appointed, for discovering the Authors of the late Tumults, which tended to renew the War; and the House of Peers, which consisted but of fourteen Lords, which the Army had brought back, and of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who were all of one Mind, declared void all Ordinances made from the 26th of *July* to the 6th of *August*. However, that Affair did not pass in the House of Commons, without great Difficulty, which made the Army resolve to garble it a second Time, more strictly than formerly, as we shall see by and by.

ON *Saturday*, the 7th of *August*, a memorable Day, the whole Army ^{1647.} marched through the City of *London* in Triumph, every Soldier having a Branch of Laurel in his Hat. The General led the Van, being surrounded with his Life-guards, who were finely drest, and well-mounted, and those next his Person bare-headed. *Skippon* led the Main-Body, and *Cromwell* brought up the Rear. The Artillery closed the March, which lasted from Nine a-Clock in the Morning till Eight at Night; the Head Quarters were at *Putney*, and the Army incamped in *Surry*, *Kent*, and *Essex*. Those who saw this Tragi-comedy acted, without being biased to any Party, beheld how these People, who had driven the King both from the Parliament and City; who had made War against him, with all Manner of Hostility; who had defeated him by the Force of Arms, and who at last had confined him, as a Prisoner, in one of his own Houses, opened their Gates, laid down their Arms, made shameful Submissions, and gave honourable Receptions to their own Servants, and to those, whom they had taken from the Plough, and selling Old Shoes, to arm them against their lawful Sovereign. These foolish Men readily consented to have those, who were receiving their Pay, to be their Masters. They put them upon the Throne; they kissed the Chains, which they themselves had hammered. They made the Day on which they were enslaved, a festival Day. In fine having, as the Scripture sayeth, *rejected the Fig-tree with its Sweetness and good Fruit, they consented that the Bramble and Thorn should reign over them.*

The End of the Seventh B O O K.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
T R O U B L E S
O F
G R E A T - B R I T A I N.

B O O K VIII.

DURING all those Transactions, the King was in the Power 1647.
of the Army, who caus'd him to be so well guarded, that, according as they chang'd Quarters, they made him change Houses, sometimes lodging him in one of his own, and sometimes in one of the Nobility's that happened to be nearest them. Where-ever he pass'd, the People ran to see him, and strew'd the Road with Flowers and Branches of Trees, in that manner expressing both their Joy and Respect. It seem'd that they were asham'd to appear before his Majesty with empty Hands, and they reproach'd one another with their Want of Gratitude. There were even some Women, who drew the Rings off their Fingers, in order to make him a Present of them. The King thanked them all, with that Sweetness that was natural to him, and received with as good a Grace those little Marks of their Affection, as an Emperor heretofore received that of a Peasant, who having no other thing to offer him, fill'd his Hands with Water, and threw it on the Way as that Prince was passing. His Majesty's Satisfaction was so much the greater, that he perceived, that the Artifices which had been used for rendering him odious, and giving the People bad Impressions of his Conduct, in making them believe, that he would not fail to employ the Force of Arms, for revenging the

1647. Injuries they had done him ; on the contrary, serv'd rather to imprint in them Respect for his Person, seeing them almost all kneeling before him, in order to kiss his Hand, with an Eagerness not to be express'd. Besides, the Respect which People naturally have for their Sovereigns, is always so deeply rooted in their Hearts, that the Malice of Men can hardly deface it. They may indeed raise Jealousies, but the Presence of the Prince removes them ; and the Power of the Divine Character which they carry on their Foreheads, makes all those false Fears, of which the People are so susceptible, and with which they are likewise very often alarm'd, vanish.

THE Army treated the King very civilly, and permitted all Sorts of Persons to see him. They even consented, that his Majesty might have two of his Chaplains in Ordinary to attend him ; which the Parliament never would grant him. They likewise allowed, that he might have the Comfort of seeing his Children, for which the General himself solicited the Army, and gave his Promise to the two Houses, that the Princes should return to *London*.

THE Queen and the Prince of *Wales* hearing that the King was kindly used, both by the Soldiers and the Officers of the Army, since they had brought him from the Castle of *Holmby*, sent into *England* Sir *Edward Ford*, *Ireton's* Brother-in-Law, and Mr. *Denham*, who, during his Imprisonment, had contracted a particular Friendship with *Hugh Peters*, the most zealous of all the Independent Ministers, in order to sound the Intentions of the Army, and find out if the Time was favourable for mediating an Accommodation between his Majesty and the Army. It is true, that in these Beginnings there was great Reason to expect it ; because the King not having so particularly oblig'd any of the Independent Party, as he had favour'd many of the Presbyterians, the Independents might expect more easily to get good Conditions from his Majesty, than the Presbyterians, who had shewed themselves so ungrateful, and unworthy of the Favours they had already received. There was yet more, for the Presbyterians having begun the War, under specious Pretences of procuring all manner of Advantages to the King, according to their wonted Practice, they likewise protested to make him the most glorious Prince that ever ruled over *Great-Britain*. They had debauch'd a great many well-affected People, and brought about deep and difficult Designs. But the Mask was taken off, the Cheat was discover'd, and all the World saw very well then, that they had never fought after any thing but their own Interests. And as, by an usual Vicissitude of all human Affairs, the Power was so far from being then in their Hands, that there was scarce any body that either courted or feared them : So the Independents, who had brought them low, could never have thought on so fair and prudent an Expedient for establishing themselves, as in performing the things which the Presbyterians had promis'd. It was their true Interest to restore both the King and the People to their antient and lawful Rights, according to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. For by that Means they infallibly gain'd the Favour of both Parties, and might have promised themselves the Good-will of the People, and the King's Confidence.

THESE Considerations obliged the Queen and the Prince of *Wales* to send once more into *England*, some Persons, who were thought by every body to have more Credit with their Masters than the two first Messengers

gers had. They employ'd in this second Message, Sir *John Berkeley*, 1647. who had been Governor of *Exeter*, who was very soon follow'd by *John Ashburnham*, who had likewise done Services considerable enough to make him be regarded by his Majesty. *Berkeley* having taken Shipping at *Dieppe*, landed at *Hastings*, in the County of *Sussex*. It was near that Place, that *William* the Conqueror having landed his Troops at *Pevensey*, caused his Ships to be set on Fire, in order to give his Soldiers to understand, that they must either vanquish or die, and that there was no Safety to be expected but in getting the Victory over their Enemies. And having drawn up his Army in Order of Battle, upon a Plain, he fought with so much good Luck, that he defeated King *Harold* in such a Manner, that the End of that Battle was also the End of the *Saxon* Monarchy.

BERKELEY going strait from thence to *London*, met upon the Road Sir *Allen Apsley*, who had been his Lieutenant in *Exeter*. He had been sent by *Cromwell*, and some other Officers of the Army, to wait upon *Berkeley*, and deliver to him some Letters and a Cypher. By these Letters they intreated *Berkeley* to offer their Services to the Queen and Prince of *Wales*, and that they intreated them not to condemn them altogether, but to suspend their Judgment a little, and put off forming it till they should see what might happen, rather than to judge of things by what is past, since they had already given Proofs of the Sincerity of their Conduct, hoping still to give much greater in time. They added, that after he had done them this good Office, he might come himself to *England*, to be Witness to all their Proceedings. *Berkeley* took this Meeting for a Token that his Journey would prove successful, since the Officers of the Army had prevented the Queen's Desires, in their demanding what he was going to endeavour to obtain of them, by her Majesty's Order.

BERKELEY having discoursed with some of the Royal Party at *London*, went to the Head Quarters of the Army, which were at *Reading*, where he found *Ford* and *Denham*, who told him, " That the King had been brought from the Castle of *Holmby* against his Will : " That he would by no means go to the Army, tho' the Officers had " earnestly intreated him to go : That he had consented to the Order " of the two Houses for his going to *Richmond*, where he would have " been out of the Power of the Army, who had strongly oppos'd it, " without having been able to make the King alter his Resolution, " 'till they had forc'd the two Houses to recal the Order. That he " still had a mind to go to *Windsor*, contrary to the Opinion of the " Army, who not being able to dissuade him from it, forc'd him to " alter his Mind, and so much the more, because his Majesty would " not consent to see the Army in passing. In short, that the Army was " persuaded, that the King gave Ear to some Proposals, which the Presbyterian Party made him under-hand, and that his Intention was " certainly to oblige the Parliament to come to an open Rupture with " the Army : That *Ireton* having smelt it out, had told the King very " bluntly, *Sir, You have a Design to make yourself Umpire betwixt us " and the Parliament, and we intend to perform that Office betwixt your " Majesty and them.*"

As soon as *Cromwell* had heard that *Berkeley* was come to *Reading*, he sent an Officer to make his Excuse for not being able to wait upon him before

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before ten o' Clock at Night, because he was engag'd 'till that Hour, in a Conference with the Commissioners of the Parliament. He did not fail to go at that Hour to *Berkeley's* Lodgings, accompany'd by Colonel *Rainborough* and Sir *Hardress Waller*, where, after some mutual Compliments had pass'd, *Berkeley* let him see his Instructions, which were ;
 " That he might assure the Officers of the Army, that the Queen and
 " the Prince of *Wales* bore no Hatred against them, nor had they any
 " particular Friendship for the Presbyterians: That then he should do
 " his utmost to persuade the King to come to an Agreement with the
 " Officers of the Army, so far as his Conscience and Honour would
 " permit him ; and lastly, that he should likewise persuade them, not
 " to press his Majesty to do any thing that was incompatible with his
 " Conscience and Honour." *Cromwell* answer'd, " That whatever Opin-
 " ion People might have of them, it should be seen, that in all their
 " Conduct, they had never had any other Interest that concern'd them
 " in particular, but that of being able to live as faithful and loyal Sub-
 " jects ought to do, however, in preserving still the Liberty of their
 " Consciences." He added, " That he did not believe that any Person
 " could be sure of his Life or Goods, if the Royal Authority was not
 " restor'd, as the Army had very well explain'd themselves in the Pro-
 " positions which they had lately caus'd to be presented to the Parliament,
 " wherein they had comprehended as well the Interests of those who
 " were engag'd in the Royal Party, as of those who had follow'd that
 " of the Independents or Presbyterians, as much as those different Inte-
 " rests could allow of."

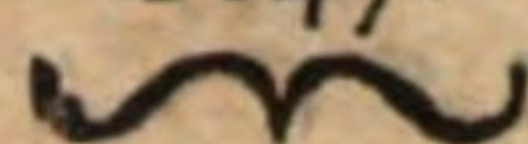
THE next Day *Berkeley*, by the Advice of *Cromwell*, paid a Visit to *Fairfax*, and got Liberty from him to go to see his Majesty, who was then at *Caversham*. The King having seen *Berkeley's* Letters and Instructions, told him plainly, that he distrust'd the whole Army ; his Majesty excepting only from that Generality one Officer, named *Huntington*. The Reason of the King's Diffidence was, that the Officers were all obstinate, in not receiving any Favour from his Majesty. He had good Reason, not easily to trust Men, whose Hands were still stain'd with the Blood of his faithful Subjects, which they had spilt. But it was fitting wisely to dissemble, whilst his Majesty was in their Power, that he might the more easily and quickly get out of their Hands. For which End, *Berkeley*, among other Expedients, propos'd to him, to satisfy *Peters's* Ambition, in allowing him to preach before his Majesty, and to give the Officers of the Army free Access to his Person, and, above all, to gain the Friendship of the most active of the Agitators, who then had really the greatest Ascendant over the Officers. But the King did not approve of that Advice : Which made *Berkeley* earnestly wish for *Asburnham's* speedy coming, believing that he might, with a better Grace and more Success, lay before his Majesty the Things that concern'd his Service, than he had done.

IN the mean time, by the Means of Major *Huntington*, he got intimately acquainted with two of the best-affected Officers of the Army, who, in the Conferences he had with them, assur'd him, " That all the
 " Troops had a very great Inclination to come to an Agreement with
 " the King ; and that if *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had other Thoughts, they
 " were great Dissemblers. That at least they durst not open their Minds
 " to the contrary, because they saw very well, that the Army was wholly
 " intent upon an Accommodation, and that it would easily be discover'd,
 " if

“ if they had other Designs ; and to bring it about, many of the Agita-
 “ tors offer’d their Assistance.” *Berkeley* being pleas’d with the Account
 they gave him of the Disposition of the Army, told them, “ That he
 “ foresaw some Difficulties which might spoil all ; and that, perhaps,
 “ the Army might press the King to grant them, not only the Liberty
 “ of Conscience, but likewise a total Alteration of the Ecclesiastical
 “ Government, which, indeed, he did not believe could be done. And
 “ that not content with having some Lords of the Court remov’d, they
 “ would have both them and their Families absolutely ruin’d ; to which
 “ his Majesty would hardly consent. Lastly, That, perhaps, the Army
 “ would also be obstinately bent upon having, not only his Majesty, but
 “ likewise his Posterity, stripp’d of all Power that belong’d to him
 “ over the Militia, which was the brightest Gem in the Crown.”
 These Officers answer’d him, “ That they could assure him, that the
 “ Army had not the least Thought of speaking of those Things to the
 “ King, and that *Ireton* had drawn up some Propositions to be presented
 “ to his Majesty, which, without Doubt, would be approved of by the
 “ whole Army ; That these Propositions contain’d not so much as one
 “ of the Things which they were afraid to have found in them ; That
 “ if the King accepted them as they were, there would be nothing
 “ more to do, but to sing *Te Deum*, for the Re-establishment of the
 “ Peace of the Kingdom : But it concern’d the King, and all his
 “ faithful Servants, that his Majesty let not slip so fair an Opportunity
 “ for getting out of so many Troubles ; because the Army, who very
 “ often alter their Resolutions, perhaps may likewise alter their Design,
 “ if the Matters in Question should be any longer delay’d.”

BERKELEY ask’d if they could let him see the Propositions. The
 Officers answer’d him, That he should see them immediately, if he
 pleas’d, and carry’d him forthwith to *Ireton*, who not only caus’d them
 to be read to him, but, at his Desire, struck out whole Articles of them,
 and likewise soften’d others, because he found them a little too hard,
 and that he thought they might shock his Majesty, as there was some
 Reason to apprehend it ; for, among other Things, it was therein pro-
 pos’d, that, whatever two subsequent Sessions of Parliament should
 ordain, should have the Force of Law, though the King should not
 give his Assent to it, which destroy’d his Majesty’s negative Voice. For
 which Reason, that Article was struck out, as was likewise that for the
 Sale of the Lands belonging to the Bishops and Chapters ; though, shortly
 after, when the Army and Parliament join’d together, the Army got
 the Ordinance pass’d. It was likewise therein demanded, that those who
 had carry’d Arms against them, should not possess any Office in the
 State during ten Years ; but the ten Years were reduced to five. Besides,
 there was an express Article for abolishing Episcopacy ; but the Proposi-
 tions contain’d only, that the Power of it should be limited, as it had
 been by the two Houses the first of *August* 1641. *Berkeley* having
 earnestly sollicitated *Ireton* to alter other two Articles, which excluded
 from the Indemnity seven Persons that were not nam’d, and also declar’d
 all those of the Royal Party incapable of sitting in the next Session of
 Parliament, as the original Propositions contain’d, which the Army had
 just presented to the Commissioners of the two Houses, of which those
 that *Berkeley* had seen, were but an Abstract. To the first of these Ar-
 ticles *Ireton* answer’d, “ That those of his Party having been victorious
 “ by their Arms, if they did not make some remarkable Distinction
 “ between them, and those who had been subdued, who had commonly

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“ the Blame of all publick Quarrels laid upon them, he himself, his
 “ Relations, and even his Friends had so many Enemies, that they
 “ would be accus’d every where of having betray’d their Party, and
 “ preferr’d their own private Interest to every thing else, and even of
 “ having sought after it by Means altogether inconsistent with Honour.”
 As to the other Article, he answer’d, “ That he could not conceal the
 “ Truth, that a Session of Parliament, wherein those of the royal
 “ Party should be the Majority, would fright him: But that if, the
 “ Agreement being made, the royal Party and theirs should join together
 “ as sincerely and cordially, as it would be necessary for them to do,
 “ there would be nothing more easy, than to satisfy the King as to the
 “ two Articles in Question. ” Lastly, he conjur’d *Berkeley* by all the
 Passion he had for his Majesty’s Quiet, “ To do his utmost for getting
 “ him quickly to consent to these Propositions, that they may after-
 “ wards be the more boldly presented to the two Houses, and by that
 “ Means a happy End may be put to the many Troubles that were dis-
 “ tracting the Kingdom. ”

IF *Ireton*, *Cromwell*’s Son-in-Law, express’d so great a Concern for
 the King, and the Peace of the Kingdom, *Cromwell* express’d yet more,
 and seem’d to exceed all the rest of the Army in the Passion he discover’d,
 that all things might be decided, as much as possible, to the Satisfaction
 of every Body. Sometimes he complain’d, that the King did not deal
 freely enough with them, and that his Majesty was too much wedded
 to certain Maxims that were too precise: Sometimes he blam’d *Ireton* for
 being so long about drawing up the Propositions, and for Want of
 Complaisance for the King, seeming always to be afraid, that the Army
 would not continue long in the Affection they had for his Majesty: And
 when *Berkeley* met him, as he was returning from *Caversham*, where
 the King then was, *Cromwell* told him, “ That he had but just now
 “ seen the thing in the World, that had touch’d his Heart the most,
 “ which was the Meeting of the King and his Children, which he could
 “ not mention without shedding Tears. ” And then he added, “ That
 “ no Man had ever been so grossly mistaken as he had been, in the bad
 “ Opinion which he had formerly conceiv’d of the King, whom he now
 “ knew to be the most upright and most religious of all the Men in his
 “ three Kingdoms. That the Independents found themselves infinitely
 “ oblig’d to his Majesty, that he had thought fit not to consent to the
 “ Propositions which were presented to him by the Covenanters at
 “ *Newcastle*, tho’ it seem’d that his own Interest ought to have induc’d
 “ him to accept them at that time, which would have quite ruin’d the
 “ Independent Party. ” At last he ended his Discourse with saying,
 “ That he wish’d that God might never have Mercy upon him, if he
 “ was not speaking in the Sincerity of his Heart, and if he bore any secret
 “ Malice to his Majesty. ”

Cromwell’s
Discourse to Sir
John Berkeley.

HE was no sooner gone, but *Berkeley* went to give the King an Account
 of what had pass’d. But his Majesty did not express much Satisfaction
 in it, still believing that those Testimonies of so much Affection proceeded
 only from the Necessity, to which the Army saw themselves reduc’d,
 of making their Court to him, as the Earl of *Lauderdale* and *Bamfield*,
 who saw his Majesty very often then, endeavour’d to persuade him, out
 of Favour to the Presbyterians of the two Kingdoms, who had plainly
 perceiv’d, that a good Understanding between the King and the Army
 could

could not but be fatal to them, and that it would ruin the Covenant, which they look'd upon as the *Palladium* of their Party.

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Now, at the same time that the Dispute between the Army and the House of Commons, on Account of the eleven Members, was at the hottest, the Army march'd from *Reading* to *Bedford*, and the King, as formerly, taking the same Rout, was lodg'd with his usual Guard at *Woburn*. It was there that *Berkeley* shew'd the King privately the Propositions of the Army, about eight Days before they were publickly presented to his Majesty. The King was very ill pleas'd with them, and said, "That if it was true, that the Officers of the Army design'd to come to an Agreement with him, they would not impose so hard and unreasonable Conditions upon him." *Berkeley* answer'd, "That as for him, he should not think that they were dealing sincerely with his Majesty, if they demanded less than they had done, because it was not to be expected, that People, who having run so many Hazards in a long War, and who had at last gain'd so great Advantages by their Arms, would ever lay them down upon less Conditions, than those they had demanded of his Majesty, as Matters stood. Besides, perhaps it never had been seen, that a Crown, so tottering as that of his Majesty then was, had ever been settled by more gentle Means, than those which the Officers of the Army had propos'd to him." The King, who was of a contrary Opinion, reply'd, "That they could not subsist without him, and therefore he hop'd, that in a short time they would be oblig'd to be satisfy'd with more reasonable Conditions."

Then he complain'd, "That they had excepted seven Persons out of the Act of Oblivion, That they had excluded all those of his Party from the next Session of Parliament, and also, That the Army put off so long giving an Answer to the Article concerning the Ecclesiastical Government." To which *Berkeley* answer'd, "That after the Agreement betwixt his Majesty and the Army should be concluded, it would not be impossible for him to get them to abate of their Rigour against private Persons, whom they had not as yet nam'd; and when the worst comes to the worst, after that his Majesty should be restor'd to his Authority, it would be no hard Matter for him to maintain six or seven Persons beyond Sea, and even to maintain them in such a Manner, as that their Exile should not be uneasy to them, till a favourable Opportunity. That it would be an Advantage to all his Party, and to his Majesty in particular, not to be present in the next Session of Parliament, because being oblig'd to lay on heavy Taxes upon the whole Kingdom, for the Payment of the publick Debts, he would gain the Hatred of all the People. In short, as to what concern'd the Ecclesiastical Government, its Security was in the Laws, which continu'd still in Force; and that it was an Happiness that could not have been expected, to see, that those who had been so much against that Government, were silent, now that they were Masters of all." These Answers seem'd to be sufficient for persuading the King, yet his Majesty did not yield to them; on the contrary, in retiring, he repeated once more what he had formerly said, "That in a short time the Army would be reduc'd to such a Condition, as to be very glad to make him more reasonable Propositions, than any they had made him hitherto."

ASHBURNHAM,

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ASHBURNHAM, who was to negotiate jointly with *Berkeley*, being come, and *Berkeley* having told him in what State Affairs were, he at first approv'd of all his Conduct: but after he had discours'd a long time with the King in private, he was of Opinion, that those brutish Agitators, whom he look'd upon to be void of common Sense, ought to be despis'd, and that Application must be made to the Officers only, who, without Doubt, would be able to bring the Army to Reason, and make them submit to whatever they pleas'd, if they were once drawn in, and join'd in the same Interest with his Majesty. *Ashburnham* then having apply'd himself to the Officers only, he first contracted a Friendship with Colonel *Whaley*, who commanded the King's Guard; and then he got into *Cromwell's* and *Ireton's* Favour: So that almost every Day he did nothing but go and come between the King and the Headquarters. *Berkeley* accompany'd him sometimes; but as it was *Ashburnham* who was trusted with the Secret, so he was always the Spokesman.

Now, whether by *Ashburnham's* Negotiations, or by the Messengers that went often to and fro on the Part of the Presbyterians of both Kingdoms, and of the City of *London*, who express'd a great deal of Contempt for the Army, and a strong Resolution of putting them to a Non-plus, the King seem'd to be so much encourag'd, that when the Propositions of the Army were in a solemn Manner presented to him, and that his royal Consent was with great Submission and Sincerity ask'd, as far as can be judg'd of the Hearts of Men, the King receiv'd them with much Indifference, and it may even be said, very ill; which very much surpriz'd *Ireton*, and the rest of the Deputies of the Army, to whom his Majesty always spoke with a great deal of Bitterness. He told them positively, "That he never would consent that any Person should suffer on his Account; That nothing had ever griev'd him so much in all his Life, as his having consented to the Death of the Earl of *Strafford*." In short, he told them, "That he was absolutely determin'd, that the Propositions should contain the Re-establishment of the Ecclesiastical Government according to the Laws." The Deputies answer'd, "That that was none of their Business, and that they thought they had done enough both for themselves and his Majesty, in having pass'd over that Article without making the least Mention of it, since he himself had acted in the same Manner in *Scotland*." The King reply'd, "That he believ'd God had forgiven him that Sin." And then he often repeated, "That they could not subsist without him, That they would come to Ruin, and that their Destruction was inevitable, if he did not support them with his Authority, and espouse their Interest."

THE Deputies, surpriz'd to hear the King speak after that Manner, were going to withdraw; but *Berkeley* drew nigh his Majesty, and whisper'd in his Ear, that he spoke as if he was sure of some considerable Assistance, which he had hitherto conceal'd from his Servants; that if it was so, it had been to be wish'd, that he had likewise conceal'd it from the Deputies of the Army. The King immediately recover'd himself, and, with a Grace and Eloquence intirely peculiar to him, endeavour'd to mend what he had said; but it was too late, because in the midst of their Conference, *Rainsborough*, who, to tell the Truth, had no great Mind to come to an Accommodation, having stolen away, in all

all Haste ran to the Army, which he prepossess'd, and maliciously exasperated against the King. Which was the Cause, that when *Berkeley* went thither a little after, some of the Agitators came to him in great Passion, and ask'd him, "What Reason could have induc'd the King to treat the Deputies of the Army so ill as he had done." *Berkeley* told them, "That *Rainsborough* was in the wrong, that he had impos'd upon the Army, and that he had related the things quite otherwise than they had pass'd." And as he wanted to undeceive them, he desir'd a Conference with *Ireton* and the other chief Officers; which having been instantly granted him, he ask'd them, "What Benefit could be expected from the Propositions, in case that he should persuade the King to consent to them?" They answer'd, "That they would then present them to the two Houses." To which *Berkeley* reply'd, "That he desir'd to be inform'd what they design'd to do, if the two Houses should reject them." They answer'd, "That that was pushing them too far, and that it would not be handsome in them, to tell what they would do in that Case." However, they gave a sufficient Hint, that they were morally assur'd of getting the Parliament to consent. *Rainsborough* seeing that *Berkeley* was not fully satisfy'd with that Answer, did not mince the Matter, but told him plainly, "That if the Parliament should refuse to consent to them, they would make them do it in Spite of their Teeth;" for which all the Leading Men that were present, commended him.

BUT the King, far from being come to a Resolution, call'd a Council, which he had made up of Men learned in the Law, in order to give their Judgment upon the Propositions; tho' that Affair was of such a Nature, as that the Resolution ought to have been taken immediately, so as to come quickly to a Conclusion. In the mean time, there were a great many Men, who lost no Time in labouring to make up the Differences between the Army and the Parliament. In short, that Negotiation not having succeeded, the Army advanc'd towards *London*. The Head-Quarters were at *Windſor*, and the King lodg'd at *Stoke*. It was then that the Officers, who were best affected to the King, express'd a great deal of Grief for the Averseness which the King had to be reconcil'd with the Army; and it affected them the more, that they certainly expected to be very soon Masters of *London*, which they were afraid might alter the good Will which the Army had for his Majesty. Above two Days before the News was spread in the Army, all the chief Officers were assur'd that they should be very soon Masters of *London*. For which Reason *Cromwell* and *Ireton* dispatch'd an Express to *Berkeley* and *Asburnham*, to give them Notice of it; and that, since the King would not consent to the Propositions, they might at least persuade him to write a Letter of Civility to the Army, before it should be publickly known, that *London* was resolv'd to submit to them. The King's Council spent too much Time in concerting that Letter, with which both *Berkeley* and *Asburnham* were charg'd. They met on the Road some Messengers for hastening them; but before they could get to *Sion*, the Deputies of the City were already come thither to make the Submission of the City; so that the Letter, which contain'd a Disowning of the late Tumults in *London*, and a Protestation that his Majesty had never thought of returning thither by those Means, was then too late. 'Tis true, the King had not the least Knowledge of what was a doing, when his Majesty sign'd the Letter: But as it did not arrive, till the thing had been publick all over the Army, it lost all its Grace, and was no more of any Use. However, the Officers of the Army did all that was in their Power, to keep the Army still firm to the King's Interest. And when they re-

1647. turn'd Thanks to God for that happy and truly great Event of the Submission of *London*, the Officers spoke to the Soldiers, and earnestly exhorted them not to be puff'd up with vain Glory, and to continue stedfast to that Engagement they had with his Majesty ; and told them, that, above all, they must once more confirm the Propositions which had been presented to him, which was solemnly done that very Instant.

THE Army having enter'd *London*, the King, without being brought near the City, was conducted to *Hampton-Court*, the stately Palace, which Cardinal *Wolsey* caus'd to be built, and which he afterwards gave to King *Henry VIII.* his Master. The Officers of the Army were then in too good an Understanding with the King, to make his Majesty serve as an Addition to the Pomp of their Triumph, and, perhaps too, they were afraid that his Presence in the City might occasion some Tumult, that might have made that Day fatal. The Army had good Reason to be satisfy'd then with having him in their Power, and both the Parliament and City under their Subjection ; for, after that, neither of the two acted any more, but according to the Orders and Inclination of the Army. They press'd hard upon the House of Commons to consent to the Bill of the Lords, which had declar'd void and abusive all that had pass'd in the two Houses, since the 26th of *July* to the 6th of *August*. That Bill was presented to them five different times, and they still rejected it. The Party, that stood up for the Army in that House, represented, " That they were all engag'd to live and die with the Army, (as
 " the Commons themselves soon after join'd with them in that) and
 " that it was hard to please them otherwise than in passing the Bill, as the
 " Lords had plainly seen, that it was proper to do it: That, after all,
 " they might assure themselves, that the Army would never put up the
 " Affront." They were answer'd, " That acting in that manner, was
 " properly appealing from the Parliament to the Army, and taking the
 " Liberty of Voting intirely away : In a Word, it was destroying the
 " Power of the two Houses." To which they added, " That the
 " Tumult having been at an End on *Monday* the 26th of *July*, the City
 " took Care of their Security, in such a manner, that their Meetings
 " were held the rest of the Week, as peaceably as they could have wish'd :
 " But that though the Tumult had continued, it would be very Unbe-
 " coming in the Parliament, to be willing to have it thought, that they
 " had been forc'd ; since it will always be presum'd, that they are com-
 " pos'd of Men of Honour, who would rather lose their Lives, than
 " fail in their Duty. Which was not without a Precedent ; for it had
 " been seen, that when the King, follow'd by a great many Noblemen
 " and Gentlemen, came to the House of Commons to demand the five
 " Members, and when the People flock'd in a tumultuous manner to the
 " House of Lords to demand Justice upon the Earl of *Strafford*, the two
 " Houses still continu'd to vote, and decide the Affairs that came under
 " their Deliberation, without ever having it in their Thoughts to annul
 " their Votes." They likewise said, " That it was a Thing of very dan-
 " gerous Consequence, to cloke the Nullity of the Votes of the two Houses,
 " under a Pretence that they had been forc'd ; because it might as well
 " be maintain'd, that the King had been forc'd to consent to the Bill for
 " Triennial Parliaments, and to that for the suppressing of some Courts,
 " and likewise to many others ; which, however, were look'd upon to
 " be very advantageous to the Publick Good : And if the King should
 " ever recover his Authority, he might, upon the same Grounds, declare
 " void all that has been ordain'd by this Meeting of Parliament, and in
 " the

“ the same manner might shake the fundamental Laws of the State, such
 “ as *Magna Charta*, for the Liberty of the Subjects, and *Charta de*
 “ *Forestis*, which the Kings his Predecessors did not confirm ’till they
 “ were forc’d to do it. In fine, they concluded, that the People ought
 “ then to be allow’d to judge of the Validity or Invalidity of their Ordi-
 “ nances : since it was acting contrary to all Reason and natural Equity,
 “ to oblige Men to obey them blindly, and yet to make their Obedi-
 “ ence criminal, whenever the Humour should take the two Houses to
 “ declare their Ordinances to have been void from the Beginning. 1647.

THE Speaker did not mind these Reasons, but comply’d in every Thing with the Will of the Army, which was then the convincing, though not the satisfactory Reason. The Speaker, for that End, took a Letter out of his Pocket from the General, and the general Council of the Army, (it was then that the Council of War began to be so call’d) accompany’d with a Remonstrance full of Threatnings against the Members that had continu’d in the House during the Speaker’s Absence, whom they call’d Perfidious and Traytors, and vow’d, that if they were so bold as to take their Places there, before they had clear’d themselves, and made it appear, that they had not consented to the pretended Bills that had been pass’d there, they would do themselves Justice ; and that it was in their Power, not to suffer them to be Judges in their own Cause, nor to be their Masters, they, whom they might have treated as Prisoners of War, if they had thought fit to decide the Quarrel by Arms.

AT last this Medium was found out, that all the Ordinances, which the Army desir’d to be repeal’d, should be declar’d void, as having been extorted by Force, at a time when the two Houses were, in a manner, besieg’d, and Prisoners under the Power of a Multitude of seditious Men ; provided, nevertheless, that none of those, who had acted by Virtue of those Ordinances, should be molested, if it were not some, who had been convicted of having had a hand in the Sedition. But the Honour of the two Houses would have been much better preserv’d, if they had follow’d the Example of the Parliament which met the first Year of *Henry VII.* For that Prince having press’d the two Houses to declare void all the Acts made under *Richard III.* they refus’d to do it, because, said they, by that Means, all such as had obey’d, wou’d become Criminals, and there would also be a Pretence for punishing them : but, in order to extinguish the Memory of that cruel Parricide, they repeal’d them all.

THE Commissioners appointed for discovering the Authors of the late Tumults, were about it at the same time, but contrary to all the Forms of Justice. They had a particular Grudge against the Members of the two Houses, who were of the Committee of Safety. It had been appointed, from the Time that the two Houses, being threaten’d by the first Approach of the Army, were oblig’d to think of Means for defending themselves against that Violence ; and having been suppress’d, at the urgent Sollicitation of the Army, when they remov’d to a greater Distance from the City, it was renew’d as soon as the Army, having drawn nearer, threaten’d more boldly than before, both the City and Parliament. The Commissions that were deliver’d out then for the Security of both, were interpreted by the Army to have been done with Design to renew the War : So the Members who had sign’d them, and those of the Common
 Council

1647. Council of the City, who had acted in Concert with them, were dealt with as Criminals. Nevertheless, the Commissioners that were appointed for prosecuting them, produced no Witnesses that were brought Face to Face with them, and against whom they might have excepted: But those hired Evidences, having depos'd against some particular Men, whom they describ'd by their Size, by the Colour of their Hair, and by that of their Cloaths, the Commissioners, in making their Report apply'd those Marks to such as the Army hated most. Thus, without any Form of Justice, some were expell'd the House of Commons, and others were impeach'd of High Treason before the House of Peers, and sent Prisoners to the Tower. The Mayor and four Aldermen were likewise imprison'd, and another Mayor was elected in his Place. Of the House of Lords, the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Lincoln* and *Middlesex*, the Lords *Berkeley*, *Willoughby of Parham*, *Hudson* and *Maynard*, were put in Custody of the Black Rod. And the more to authorise the Imprisonment of the Members of the two Houses, the Officers solicited Petitions from several Counties, against those who had sate there, whilst the rest were sheltering themselves in the Army.

'T is hardly possible, in a great Assembly, let it be never so corrupted, but some may be found, who have the Courage to give their Opinion like honest Men, whom neither Fears nor Hopes can oblige to prostitute their Honour and Conscience; there were such in the House of Commons, who were for remitting those Members to the *King's Bench*, where their Indictments would be enquired into by a Jury of twelve Men, their Peers and Equals, chosen in the Neighbourhood, according to the Laws of the Kingdom; and they likewise said, That the Lords of the Upper House were not, nor could be thought to be the Peers of the Commons. To which they added, That that House was not a Court: That the Lords, of which it was compos'd, did not sit there in the Quality of Judges; and that they had no Power to judge, without the King's special Commission for that Purpose. They prov'd it thus: First, when the King gives the Great Seal to the Lord Keeper, he likewise makes him Keeper of his Conscience, with respect to Matters wherein there is room for making use of Equity, and abating the Rigour of the Laws in Civil Causes: And when his Majesty gives his Letters Patent to the Judges of the *King's Bench* and *Common Pleas*, he, indeed, makes them Expounders and Administrators of the Laws: But the King reserves always to himself the Power of pardoning and remitting the Rigour of the Law in criminal Cases, without ever intrusting any Person with that Power. And though the Lord Keeper was generally Speaker of the House of Lords, yet he was not a Member, because of his Office. Neither did the other Judges sit there as Members, but only as Assistants; so that there was not one Person in the House of Lords, who, in the Quality of Peer, was vested by the King with the Administration of Justice. In the second Place, when a Peer of the Realm is to be try'd, the Peers alone cannot try him, because on such Occasions, there must be a superior Judge to preside. It was on that Account, that the King gave a Commission to the Earl of *Arundel* to be Lord High Steward, and in that Quality to sit in the House as Judge, when the Earl of *Strafford* was try'd; so that the other Peers assisted there but as the Jury. By which Procedure 'tis very plain, that the King's Commission made that Distinction, and gave Authority to the whole Trial. And as both Houses pass'd a Vote, whereby all the Subjects of the Kingdom were forbidden for the future to make any more Addresses to the King, they

they themselves damm'd up the Fountain, from whence all their Power, which they had in the Quality of Judges, flow'd.

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BUT the Noise of Arms silenc'd the Laws. It was resolv'd, that the Lords, who remain'd in the House of Peers, and were all engag'd to live and die with the Army, should try the impeach'd Members: And without Doubt, some Heads would have been cut off, if the News of the Discontent, and warlike Preparations of the *Scots*, had not oblig'd both the Army and the Parliament to think of something else. What concern'd the Pay that was due to the Troops, and the Course that was necessary to be taken for their Subsistence, employ'd both the one and the other, the Affair being of so great Consequence, that they were wholly taken up with it. On the seventeenth of *September* was read in the House of Commons the Opinion of the Officers of the Council of War, as well about the Troops that ought to be maintain'd in *England*, as about those which ought to be sent to *Ireland*. They thought it necessary to send thither six thousand Foot, and two thousand four hundred Horse, to be drawn out of the supernumerary Forces, and that in the Kingdom there should be maintain'd ten thousand Foot, and seven thousand two hundred Horse, with a thousand Dragoons, at the Rate of two Shillings a Day for each Light Horse-man, and Eight Pence for each Foot Soldier. Lastly, that the Foot should be distributed amongst the Garisons, but in such a Manner, that upon any Occasion, six thousand might take the Field. Whereupon the Independents represented, That the Army had no Mind to go to *Ireland*; on the contrary, That they were resolv'd not to go; so that, if it should be propos'd to send thither, or disband a Part of them, they would believe, that the first Design of disbanding the whole was about to be put in Execution. That it was not a proper Time to give them any Cause of Discontent, since the Answer which the King had given to the Propositions of the two Houses, tended to take the Army off from their Interest, and that the People in general had declar'd for the Army, and forsaken the Parliament. On the other hand, the Presbyterians said, That the Resolutions of the Army ought not to be a Rule to the two Houses, and that some Remains of Authority must be left them, and not prostitute themselves so much, as to put it wholly in the Hands of the Council of War. That there was no Reason for maintaining more Troops, than what the two Houses had resolv'd should be kept standing; and what would be necessary for subsisting the Armies then, as well in *England* as in *Ireland*, amounted but to fifty thousand Pounds a Month, which was all that the People could reasonably bear; whereas now it amounted to an hundred and five thousand, six hundred and sixty six Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence, which the Counties could never pay without being plunder'd, and laid quite waste; so much the more still, because the Officers of the Army, whose Requests were become Laws, had been allow'd to levy the Sums themselves, which were appointed for paying the whole Army. That in short, the Pay that had been agreed to be paid, would not hinder the Soldiers from living at Discretion, nor from despising the Allowance given them upon their March; and that having Lodging, Coal, and Candle over and above their Pay, they would, with Impunity, oblige their Landlords to give them something besides, knowing well, that in the present Juncture of Affairs, the poor Country People durst not so much as complain of it. At last they concluded, that if the Parliament design'd to govern by Force, their Army was too weak, if by the Laws of the Kingdom, it was too strong.

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THE Independent Faction had the better of it, and caus'd the Militia of *London* to be chang'd. That of the Tower-Hamlets was disjoin'd from it, and put under the Command of the Commissary of the Stores. Commissioners were likewise appointed for regulating the Militia of *Westminster*, and of the Suburbs of the City, and by a Vote of the two Houses, all the Out-works thereof were demolish'd. And as the Parliament had done so many things for pleasing the Army, the Council of War could do no less than turn an Officer out of it, for having said with a loud Voice: *That henceforth no Authority would be seen in the Kingdom; but the Power of Arms*: And to declare, That they were very far from having the least Thought of raising themselves above the supreme Power of the State, which the Army were resolv'd to support with all their Might.

IN the mean time, the King continu'd his Correspondence with the Army, and frequently sent *Ashburnham* to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, who were very much taken up with Business, as well in the Parliament, which was full of Presbyterians, as in the Council of the Army, where those fantastical Men, the *Levellers*, of whom we shall have Occasion to speak by-and-by, were beginning to multiply. Every Body was jealous of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, whom they suspected of having a secret Treaty with the King. Those Jealousies were still increas'd by the frequent Conferences which *Ashburnham* had with them, and by the Report that was spread, of the great Advantages they were both to reap by that Treaty. It was said in particular, that the King would make *Cromwell* Earl of *Essex*, and Captain of his Guards. So that the Agitators, who still complain'd that *Cromwell* went on too slowly with the King, began to alter their Note, and to complain that he had got the Start of them, and left them too far behind. They likewise grumbled at the Familiarity which *Berkeley* and *Ashburnham* had in the Army, and at the Access they had at all Hours to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, while they were shut out. In short, that they did not understand why the Malignants were receiv'd with so much Freedom in the Army, nor why they were allow'd so much Liberty with the King. *Cromwell* declar'd boldly both in publick and private, that the Discourse of the Agitators did not at all please him: And when he could carry any thing among them for the King's Advantage, he did not fail immediately to acquaint *Berkeley* and *Ashburnham* with it, but privately; and found himself oblig'd to tell them at the same time, that if he was a Man of Honour and Honesty, he had said enough for explaining the Sincerity of his Intentions towards the King; and if he was not, he could say nothing more. Upon that Principle, he conjur'd them, by the Affection which they had for his Majesty's Person and Service, to send him privately whatever they should have to communicate to him, and not to come to his Quarters so often as they us'd to do, because the Jealousies that were conceiv'd of him, were gone so far, that he durst no longer lodge there.

ABOUT three Weeks after the Army's triumphal Entry into *London*, the Commissioners of the *Scots* Covenanters oblig'd the two Houses, jointly with them, to send once more to the King, in order to make the last Effort with his Majesty, that he would be pleas'd to accept the Propositions of *Newcastle*. They were presented to him with great Zeal and Affection, by the Commissioners of both Kingdoms, the seventh of *September*. The Army declar'd strongly against that Resolution, and all the King's Council were unanimously of Opinion, that it was dangerous for his Majesty to close with the Enemies of the Army, while his Person was so well guarded there,

there, and it was found better, to follow the Advice of the leading Men of the Independent Party. So the King persisted in refusing to accept the Propositions of *Newcastle*, and desir'd that he might treat in Person upon the Propositions of the Army, which he thought more reasonable than those which the Parliament of *England*, and the Covenanters of *Scotland*, had so often made him.

THE General Assembly, which had met at *Edinburgh* the 13th of *October*, being inform'd of the King's Answer, express'd a great deal of Grief for it, as well as all the Commissioners, who found it to be of a very dangerous Consequence to Religion. They thought fit to make a Remonstrance about it to the Committee of the Parliament of the Kingdom. In the first Place, they took Notice, "That the King had said, "that his Conscience and Honour having hinder'd him from consenting "to some of the Propositions, when they were presented to him at "*Newcastle*, he could as little now consent to others, which he found "more contrary and disproportionable to the present State of his Affairs, "than they were then, inasmuch as they ruin'd the chief Concerns of the "Army; so that the King made it appear, that he was more alienated "from the Covenant, and had a greater Aversion to it than before; "besides, that he preferr'd the private Concerns of the Army, full of "Sectaries, to the publick Interests of the two Kingdoms, which they "had jointly represented to him, in the Propositions they had agreed "upon." In the second Place, they took Notice, "That the King having "desir'd to treat with the two Houses, upon the Propositions of the "Army, besides that the Wishes of the two Kingdoms, for the Establish- "ment of Religion, were therein neglected, they again open'd a Door "to Episcopacy. That those very Propositions imply'd a Toleration for "all Sorts of Heresies and Sects, and tended directly to repeal the Ordinance, which oblig'd all his Majesty's Subjects to sign the Covenant." In a Word, they complain'd, "That the King divided the common "Interest of his Kingdoms, in the Uniformity of Religion: That, by "their joint Requests, they had desired of his Majesty, that it might be "establish'd according to the Covenant, in all his Dominions; and "therefore the King ought not to treat about it separately with the Parliament of one of the Kingdoms, without calling for the Commissioners "of the other to assist therein." And as the Clergy were still incensing the secular Magistrates against all those of the Royal Party who fell into their Hands, *Leith* of *Hartbill*, who had perform'd very gallant Actions under *Montrose*, having been taken in making the Retreat of *Huntley's* Troops, and sent to *Edinburgh*, whither *Huntley* himself follow'd soon after, having been betray'd in one of his own Houses; he was immediately try'd, and about the End of the Month, with a great deal of Courage and Pleasure he seal'd with his Blood the Fidelity which he had always preserv'd to his Prince.

BUT if the King's Answer had displeas'd the General Assembly of *Scotland*, it was very agreeable to the Army of *England*. For *Berkeley* and *Asburnham* having shewn it to their Friends in the Army, before it was sent to the two Houses, they were extremely pleas'd with it, and promis'd to use all their Interest, for getting the Personal Treaty granted, as the King desir'd. They perform'd their Promise very punctually, and not only *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, but likewise *Sir Harry Vane*, with all their Friends, with great Zeal seconded the King's Desire; but, contrary to their Expectation, the House of Commons in general oppos'd their Design.

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Design. The King's very Answer confirm'd the Suspicion, that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had treated under-hand with the King; insomuch, that the more they press'd for having his Majesty's Desire granted, so much the more was the Proposal rejected by the other Members, who look'd upon *Cromwell* and *Ireton* as Traitors. The Army, which was incamp'd in the Neighbourhood of *London*, was no less displeas'd with it. The Officers had News daily from the City, which increas'd their Jealousy, insomuch that *Cromwell* did not think himself safe in his Quarters, at least he was willing that it should be so believ'd.

At last, to crown the Work, the Agitators began to complain as well of the King, as of the Malignants that were about his Person, and resolv'd to have *Berkeley* remov'd from him amongst the first, and accordingly he retir'd to *London*. A Fortnight after, *Ashburnham* was likewise order'd to depart. These Furies said in their Council, That the King having refus'd their Propositions, they were no longer tied to them; on the contrary, they were oblig'd to mind their own Safety, and that of the whole Kingdom, and henceforth to procure it by all the Means which they should judge reasonable. And because *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, as well as the greatest Part of the General Officers, vigorously oppos'd them, they held many private Meetings in *London*, where they humbled themselves before God, for seeking his good Will, supplicating him to reveal it to so many Saints, who were burning with Zeal for his Glory. These Men, plung'd into a terrible Blindness, and powerfully seduc'd by the Spirit of Error, were strongly perswaded, that, on the one hand, God had blinded the King, and hardened his Heart, not to consent to the Propositions which had been made him: That they ought to present no more to him, being fallen into a reprobate Sense: And that, on the other hand, God had led the Captivity captive, and put all Things under their Feet, so that they thought themselves strictly bound to finish the Work of the Lord. By that execrable Work, they meant to change the Government, and, for that End, to take the Person of his Majesty out of the Hands of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. This strange Procedure struck Terror into all the other Officers, who were well-affected to the King, and who were for appointing a general Rendezvous for all the Army, in order to endeavour to engage them once more to stand steady to the Propositions, which they had so often and so solemnly approv'd of. But the Agitators having Notice of it, resolv'd, before that Time, to seize upon his Majesty's Person.

In order to prevent this fatal Design, about eight or ten Days before the Army was to march to the Rendezvous, *Ashburnham* sent Word to *Berkeley*, that he desir'd to speak with him on Sunday the 7th of November, at *Ditton*, which is a Village situate on the other Side of the River, opposite to *Hampton-Court*. As soon as *Berkeley* came there, *Ashburnham*, and Colonel *Legg*, formerly Governor of *Oxford*, and now of his Majesty's Bed-chamber, took him aside, and told him, That the King having just Apprehensions, that the Mutineers in the Army design'd his Murder, he was resolv'd to make his Escape, and that they had Orders from his Majesty to command him to accompany him in his Retreat. *Berkeley* look'd upon it as an Honour to be one of the Company; but not knowing what Care they had taken for putting the Design in Execution, which to him seem'd to be dangerous, he thought that, first of all, *Ashburnham*, who kept the King's Purse, ought in all haste to send a Man that was well acquainted upon the Sea-coast, in order to
secure

secure three or four Ships in different Ports, and that they might be ready, whatever should happen. That Advice appear'd to them to be very good, but it was not at all follow'd, which was a very great Oversight. He likewise thought that it was necessary, that, before he engag'd in it, he should receive the Orders from his Majesty's own Mouth. He was humour'd in that; for on the *Tuesday* at Night, *Legg* carry'd both him and *Ashburnham* to *Hampton-Court*, and made them enter the Palace by a Back-door, where the King told him, that his Life being in Danger, he had a Mind that he should assist him in his Escape; and as he had ask'd his Majesty what Road he design'd to take, the King, who was very close, answer'd in Presence of *Ashburnham*, that *Legg* would let them both know it.

IT had been strongly debated, whether the King ought not to go privately to *London*, and appear in the House of Lords in a full Meeting of the Peers; but that Proposal was rejected, as a thing of most dangerous Consequence; because the Army being absolute Masters both of the Parliament and City, would have infallibly made the King Prisoner; and if, during the Fray, any Body should have flown out into a Passion, and drawn his Sword, the Army would have charg'd the King with having form'd a Party for renewing the War, which would have irrecoverably ruin'd his Majesty's Affairs. Then the Isle of *Wight* was propos'd, of which Colonel *Hammond* had been appointed Governor; and *Ashburnham*, who had discours'd with him but a few Days before, was in great Hopes, that he would not be against the King's Design, tho' he durst not undertake for him. At last his Majesty resolv'd to retire into that Island, tho' he had but very slight Conjectures of the good Reception that *Hammond* might give him.

'TIS truly very surprizing, that the King did not chuse to secure his Retreat, in leaving the Kingdom altogether. Those who had the greatest Share in his Majesty's Confidence, alledg'd two Reasons for that. First, that in eight Days the Army was to march to the Rendezvous, and that the King had no Mind to leave it, till that Meeting should be over, because, if the Officers got the better of it, as it was likely, they would be in a Condition to make good the Engagement which they had with his Majesty; and if, on the contrary, it happen'd that they got the worst of it, they would be forc'd, for their own Security, of Necessity, to follow his Interest. The second Reason was, That the Treaty between the King and the *Scots* Covenanters was far advanc'd, and that the strong Desire alone, which they had of disuniting his Majesty and the Army, induc'd them to hasten the Conclusion of it, and to yield many things; so that if the King left the Army, before the Treaty was concluded, they would start new Difficulties, and be obstinately bent upon having his Majesty take the Covenant. These were weighty Reasons, if the King's Person had been in Safety; but as in that Juncture of Time, it was threaten'd and expos'd to evident Danger, it ought to have been taken care of preferably to all things.

BERKELEY and *Ashburnham* having had Orders to send, on the *Wednesday* following, fresh Horses to *Sutton* in *Hampshire*, on *Thursday* the eleventh of *November*, in the Dusk of the Evening, the King left *Hampton-Court*, accompany'd by *Legg*. They all four took the Road to *Oatlands*, crossing the Forest, where the King himself was Guide. But the Weather was so gloomy, that they frequently lost their Way in it, so that, whereas his Majesty thought to have arriv'd at *Sutton* three Hours before Day, it was Break of Day, when he came thither. By the Way,

*The King
escapes from
Hampton-
Court.*

1647. the King complain'd heavily of the Commissioners of the *Scots* Covenanters, who had been the first, and most warm, in representing to him the Danger that he ran in the Army, and in proposing Expedients for getting him out of it; but that, as soon as he seem'd to embrace any of them, they still started new Difficulties. They had told him, that to go to *London*, was a desperate Undertaking; and that to think of being able to conceal himself in any Part of *England*, was a mere Chimera; and that, in short, if he design'd to fly into *Jersey*, he was prevented, *Berkeley's* Ship having been discover'd. Whereupon the King ask'd *Berkeley*, "If he had caus'd a Ship to be got ready in any Place." He answer'd, "That it had not been in his Power; but as he had thought the thing most necessary, he had frequently recommended it to *Asburnham*." The King ask'd him again, "What he thought then could be the Reason why the Covenanters had spoken so of it?" *Berkeley* answer'd, "That he could not easily find out what their Meaning was, either in that Matter, or in all their Proceedings with his Majesty: However, it might be, that having a strong Inclination to see him out of the Hands of the Army, and having no less to see him throw himself into theirs, they had not the Confidence to propose it to him, because they had dealt too harshly with him, the last time that they had him in their Power: That therefore they themselves had rais'd Objections against their own Expedients, having rejected them, either as rash, or impossible to be put in Execution: And because they could say nothing against his Majesty's retiring into the Isle of *Jersey*, in order to make him give over that Design, they had contriv'd the Discovery of the Ship, in which he was to transport himself thither; thinking, that after the Army had once remov'd from about his Majesty, he should not be able to join it again, to contradict them: So they hop'd, that after they had let the King see the Impossibility of all other Means of escaping from the Army, he would be forc'd to turn his Thoughts towards *Scotland*." The King agreed with him in that Conjecture, which appear'd very probable, and which likewise seem'd to discover the Bottom of the Covenanters Design, whom a secret Remorse of their gross Fault had fill'd with Confusion, being asham'd to offer the King the Shelter, which they passionately wish'd he would take amongst them.

THEY had no sooner got into *Sutton*, then their Servants came and told them, that there were some Commissioners of the Parliament, who had alighted in that Place, for the Affairs of the County. That News oblig'd them immediately to mount on Horse-back, and to take the Road to *Southampton*. The King resolv'd to go with *Legg* to *Titchfield*, a Seat of the Earl of *Southampton's*, and to send *Berkeley* and *Asburnham* before into the Isle of *Wight*. He gave them these Instructions by Word of Mouth; "That they should carry to the Governor a Copy of a Letter from his Majesty, directed to the two Houses of Parliament, which he had left behind him at *Hampton-Court*; and Copies of two others, which had been written to him, one by *Cromwell*, and the other without a Subscription." These two Letters imported, "That it was very much dreaded, that the Agitators and Levellers in the Army had bad Designs against his Majesty, and that in two Days they would change his Guard, and put another upon him, all made up of their own Party." The King's Letter was to this Effect, "That having just Ground to mistrust the Mutineers in the Army, he was forc'd to provide for his own Safety; and that he would do it in such a Manner, that he should not abandon the Interest of the Army. After the Governor shall have read these Letters, they were to add, That of all the Officers of the Army, the King had look'd upon him, as a
" Gentleman

“ Gentleman full of Honour, in whom his Majesty might intirely confide : And tho’ he had been of the contrary Party in the War, yet his Majesty was inform’d, that he had always acted therein like a good Man, without shewing any Hatred against, or Aversion to his Person. But as his Majesty was unwilling to surprize him, he had sent them into the Island, in order to give him this Account, and to desire his Promise to protect the King, and his Servants, so long as they should be in his Power ; and in case he should find, that it was not in his Power to do it, he should promise to leave them in the same Condition he had found them ; that is to say, that he should suffer them freely to provide for the Safety of their Persons. ” Having receiv’d these Instructions, they took leave of the King : But *Berkeley*, after he had gone a little Way, return’d to tell his Majesty, that as he was not at all known to the Governor, it might happen that he would arrest them both in the Island. So he warn’d the King, that if they did not return the next Day to his Majesty, he should mind them no more, but think of making his Escape by some other Means, as soon as possible. The King thank’d him for that Advice, and continu’d his Journey to *Tickfield*.

THE Messengers rode directly for *Lemington*, where the Passage was shortest ; but because of a great Storm, which happen’d then, they could not pass till the next Morning ; when, about ten o’ Clock, they came to *Carisbrook* Castle, from whence the Governor had but just gone towards *Newport*. As soon as they had overtaken him, *Ashburnham* desir’d *Berkeley* to propose the Affair to him, and then he would second him. *Berkeley* then having taken him aside, told him their Message in the very same Terms as the King had order’d them : But as he was still speaking, the Governor grew so pale, and was seiz’d with so great a Trembling, that *Berkeley* expected every Moment, that he would have fallen from his Horse. In that Disorder, he sometimes cry’d out, “ That they had undone him, by bringing the King into the Island, if it was true that he was there : That if he was not there, he conjur’d them never to think of it : That he should be put to a Puzzle on both Sides ; because he was sensible, that he ow’d all manner of Respect to the King ; but that he likewise lay under great Obligations to the Parliament and Army, for that Mark of Honour and Confidence, which he had but just receiv’d from them, and that he did not see how he could perform his Duty to them both. ” Sometimes he said the quite contrary, and spoke a long time alone, like a Man that was beside himself, having his Mind toss’d with different Passions.

BERKELEY, in order to remove his Fears, told him, “ That there was no Harm done to any Person : That the King design’d to do him a Favour, of which his Posterity might be sensible, since his Majesty offer’d him so fair an Opportunity of obliging him in the most sensible Manner that ever could happen ; and what the King requir’d of him, did not clash with his Obligations to the Army, who had solemnly engag’d to stand by his Majesty : But if he was of another Opinion, the King had no Mind to put him to any Trouble, nor to come within his Government. ” He answer’d, “ That he should be always in Pain : For, if any Misfortune should befall the King, he could not answer, either to the Army, or the Kingdom, for having refus’d to receive his Majesty. ” *Berkeley* was pleas’d to reply to that, “ That he had not refus’d to receive the King, since he was not come ; nor ought he to believe, by their coming into the Island, that the King was the nearer it for that. ” He began then to be a little cool, and to say, that he wish’d
the

1647. the King had trusted entirely in him, and that it would have been for the Good of both Parties.

BERKELEY broke off the Conversation there, and went to tell *Ashburnham*, that *Hammond* was not their Man, and that he would never consent that the King should trust to him. *Ashburnham* agreed, "That as little did he like that Distrust, but at the same time, he was afraid what should become of the King, if he came to be discover'd before he had made the Innocence of his Intentions appear, because, otherwise, his Enemies would be bold enough to accuse him of all that their Malice could invent." *Berkeley* answer'd, "That if they did not return to the King before that Day was over, his Majesty would be imbarc'd, in order to transport himself beyond Sea." *Ashburnham* did not relish that, but resolv'd, in his Turn, to speak to the Governor in private. After they had discours'd for some Time, the Governor stept in between them, and said, "That since he believ'd that the King had made choice of him, as a Man of Integrity and Honour, to intrust him with the Guard of his Person, he would not be afraid to tell them, that he should not deceive his Majesty, in the good Opinion, which he plainly saw he had conceiv'd of him." *Berkeley* answer'd, "That that Expression was too general, and did not come up to their Instructions." The Governor reply'd, "That he was harder to be pleas'd than *Ashburnham*, and that, in his Opinion, the King would more easily be pleas'd than either of them." He concluded, That *Berkeley* should go into the Castle, and that *Ashburnham* should go to give the King an Account of what he had said to them." *Berkeley* agreed to the Proposal, and very frankly pass'd the Draw-Bridge, though he had abundance of Reason to be afraid, that, perhaps, he should never repass it, but to mount a Scaffold. *Ashburnham* having gone about a Pistol-shot from the Castle, the Governor, who was standing at the Gate, call'd him back, and having talk'd with him a long Time, he call'd *Berkeley*, and having taken him by the Hand, said to them both, "That he would give them a Promise, which might satisfy reasonable Men, which was, That if the King trusted to him as a Gentleman, he engag'd faithfully to perform all that could be expected from a Man of Honour." *Ashburnham* answer'd, "That he ask'd no more;" and the Governor added, "Then let us go to the King all together." To which *Ashburnham* agreed: But *Berkeley* having taken him aside, told him, "That he did not consider the Consequence of carrying *Hammond* to the King, before he knew whether his Majesty would approve, or not, of what had pass'd between them; and that, without doubt, such a Procedure would very much surprize the King." *Ashburnham* having told him, "That he would answer for That;" *Berkeley* begg'd of him to remember it then; "and that, as for himself, he would not see his Majesty, until he had been satisfy'd with all his Proceedings with the Governor, and desir'd that, at least, he would not suffer the Governor to carry any Men with him; that, whatever happens, they might be able to secure him, if there should be Occasion for it." Nevertheless, when they came to the Place where they were to take Boat, *Hammond* carry'd *Basket*, the Governor of *Cowes Castle*, with him.

BEING arriv'd at *Titchfield*, *Ashburnham* went up to the King's Apartment, to give him an Account of their Negotiation, and left *Berkeley* with *Hammond* and *Basket* below. After he had made a Report of what had pass'd, and had added, That the Governor himself was come, to perform

perform what he had promis'd; the King, struck with Amazement, said, "That he had undone him, in bringing *Hammond*, because there " was no Room left for him now to retract." *Asburnham*, touch'd with that Word, answer'd, "That if his Majesty had the least Suspicion of " *Hammond*, he would quickly dispatch him." The King reply'd, "That all the World would justly find fault with that Action; and that, " if he consented to that, it would be said, that *Hammond* having ven- " tur'd his Life for him, he had basely robb'd him of it: That the " Thing was so far gone, that there was no other Course to be taken, " but to go into the Island with the Governor, and to leave the Event " to God." *Asburnham* having nothing to reply to the Reasons which the King had to be amaz'd at his Blunder, was like to melt in Tears: Not that *Asburnham* wanted Tendernefs for the King's Person, and Zeal for his Majesty's Service, having been always look'd upon as one of his most faithful and affectionate Servants; but he thought that the King's Affairs would be entirely ruin'd, if he left the Kingdom before coming to a Conclusion with the *Scotish* Covenanters, and making Advantage of the Disorders of the Army: And as, in the mean time, he saw not a more secure Retreat than the Isle of *Wight*, he hop'd that the Governor would do what was desir'd of him, with a better Grace than he had promis'd, and that his Majesty would run no Risque.

IN the mean time, *Hammond* and *Basket* were so impatient, to wait so long in a Yard, that *Berkeley* was oblig'd to desire one of the Earl of *Southampton*'s Gentlemen to go to *Asburnham* and tell him, to remember those whom he had left below. Soon after, the King caus'd them all to be call'd up; but before the two Governors kiss'd the King's Hand, he beckon'd to *Berkeley* to come to him, and ask'd him, "if he thought he had punctually follow'd his Instructions" *Berkeley* answer'd, "No; but that it was not his Fault, having even expos'd his " Life, in order to prevent that which displeas'd his Majesty." Then the King seeing that there was no help for it, advanc'd towards *Hammond*, and receiv'd him so courteously, that he promis'd much more to his Majesty than he had done to his Messengers. So that that very Night of the 13th of *November*, they all went over into the Island, and lay at *Cows*. The next Morning the King went with *Hammond* to *Carisbrook* Castle, accompany'd by many Gentlemen of the Island, who came to meet his Majesty. These Gentlemen told his Servants, "That they " were happier than they imagin'd; because, except *Hammond* and his " Chaplain, all the Island was intirely for the King: That there were " only twelve Invalids in the Castle, who had serv'd under the Earl of " *Portland*, and who were all well-affected to his Majesty: That *Ham-* " *mond* might be easily prevail'd upon, or else more easily compell'd, " the Castle being always full, both Day and Night, of faithful and " loyal Subjects to his Majesty: In a Word, That as the King would " have liberty to ride about the Fields, he might chuse his Time, when " he thought fit, to go out of the Island." Indeed, the Governor gave the King no reason to complain of him, having desir'd no other Thing of his Majesty, but only that he would be pleas'd to write civilly to the two Houses of Parliament, to make it appear to them, that he still desir'd Peace: Which was immediately done; so that not only the King and those of his Retinue, but many others, who were at a Distance from him, by their Letters, approv'd of the Resolution he had taken to retire into that Island.

1647. Now the two Houses having been inform'd, as well by *Fairfax's* and *Cromwell's* Letters, as by their Commissioners, who resided with the King, after what manner he had retir'd from *Hampton-Court*, sent Orders to lay an Embargo upon all Ships in the Cinque-Ports for some Time, and to suffer no Person to go beyond Sea, whatever Passport he might have. They likewise order'd the Rear-Admiral to board all Ships and Boats that were crossing betwixt the two Sea-Coasts, in order to search for the King, and to stop him, in case he was aboard of any Vessel; and having had Information that he was in or near *London*, they order'd, that it should be the Loss of Estate and Life, for any one to harbour the King's Person, and not to discover it to both Houses of Parliament. But two Days after, Colonel *Hammond* clear'd that Doubt to them, and acquainted them with the King's Arrival in the Island, and sent them an Account of the three principal Things that had pass'd between him and his Majesty's Messengers. In his Letter, he crav'd the Orders of the two Houses, with respect to the King's Person, which he thought he was oblig'd to receive with Honour, and for the Security of which, he should be answerable to the Parliament. Whereupon it was resolv'd, That the King should reside in *Carisbrook* Castle: That the Governor should not suffer any of those, who had carry'd Arms against the Parliament, to stay in the Island, if he had not compounded with them; nor allow any Stranger to come near the King, without Permission from the two Houses; and that he should take all the Care imaginable of his Majesty's Person. *Hammond*, agreeable thereto, sent Orders to all the Ports of the Island, which contain'd, That except the Inhabitants, all such as should land, should be brought to him, in order to avoid all Surprize, and to prevent Factions from being form'd in the Island.

AFTER the King had pass'd three Days there, the two Houses sent, by an Express, That *Ashburnham*, *Berkeley*, and *Legg* should be sent to them: But the Governor put off the Execution of his Masters Orders, and wrote them, "That the King having express'd more Good-Will than ever for the Pacification of the Kingdom; if, at the same time, his Servants were taken out of the Island, in order to be put in Prison, it would vex him very much, and make him apprehend the like Treatment; besides, that these Gentlemen having cast themselves into his Arms, no Violence could be offer'd them, without wounding his Honour: That if he might be allow'd to give his Opinion, he thought, that by all manner of Civilities, the King ought to be kept in the good Inclination which he seem'd to have, as well for the Army as for the Parliament." And indeed, in the Letter, which he wrote them the 16th of *November*, he made Overtures for Peace more than reasonable, if they had been accepted.

The King's Letter from the Isle of Wight to the two Houses of Parliament, was to this Effect.

"THAT he supposeth they had receiv'd the Letter which he left behind him at *Hampton-Court*; according to which, and being in a Place of more Security, than he was there, he still desires and endeavours the Settlement of a happy Peace; and because Religion is the best and chiefest Foundation of Peace, he begins with that Particular:

"THAT for the abolishing of Archbishops and Bishops, &c. he clearly professeth, that he cannot give his Assent thereunto, as he is a Christian, and a King. Not, as he is a Christian; for he avows, that he is satisfy'd in his Judgment, that this Order was plac'd in the Church

“ Church by the Apostles themselves ; and ever since their Time, hath
“ continued in all Christian Churches throughout the World, until this
“ last Century of Years ; and in this Church, in all Times of Change
“ and Reformation, it hath been upheld by the Wisdom of his Ancestors,
“ as the great Preserver of Doctrine, Discipline, and Order in the Service
“ of God : That as a King, at his Coronation, he hath not only taken
“ a solemn Oath to maintain this Order ; but he, and his Predecessors,
“ in their Confirmation of the great Charter, have inseparably woven
“ the Rights of the Church, into the Liberties of the Subject : That
“ yet he is willing it be provided, that the particular Bishops perform
“ their several Duties of their Callings, by their personal Residence,
“ and frequent Preaching ; and exercise no Act of Jurisdiction or
“ Ordination, without Consent of their *Presbyters* ; and will consent,
“ that their Powers in all Things be so limited, that they be not grievous
“ to the tender Consciences of others ; and sees no reason, why he alone,
“ and those of his Judgment, should be press’d to a Violation of theirs.
“ Nor can he consent to the Alienation of Church-Lands, a Sin of the
“ highest Sacrilege, and that subverts the Intentions of so many pious
“ Donors, who have laid a heavy Curse upon all prophane Violations ;
“ which his Majesty is very unwilling to undergo, and believes it to be
“ a Prejudice to the Publick Good ; many of his Subjects having the
“ Benefit of renewing Leases at much easier Rates than if the Lands were
“ private Mens, not omitting the Discouragement it will be to all Learning
“ and Industry, when such eminent Rewards shall be taken away, which
“ now lie open to the Children of the meanest Persons : Yet, to satisfy
“ his two Houses, he is content that the *Presbyterian* Government do
“ continue as it is now settled for three Years ; provided that he, and
“ those of his Judgment, be not compell’d to comply therewith ; and
“ that a Consultation about the Settlement of Church-Government, be
“ by the Assembly, with twenty Divines to be added to them, of the
“ King’s Nomination. That in the Settlement of the Church-Govern-
“ ment, there be full Liberty to all those, who should differ on con-
“ scientious Grounds, from that Settlement ; provided that nothing be
“ understood to tolerate those of the Popish Profession ; nor exempting
“ any Popish Recusant from the Penalties of the Laws, or to tolerate
“ the publick Profession of Atheism and Blasphemy, contrary to the
“ Doctrine of the Apostles, *Nicene*, and *Athanasian* Creeds, they having
“ been received and had in Reverence by all the Christian Churches,
“ and more particularly by this of *England*, ever since the Reformation.
“ As to the Militia, which he avows an inseparable Right of his Crown,
“ he cannot divest himself and his Successors of the Power of the Sword ;
“ yet he will consent to an Act of Parliament, to place the Power of
“ the Militia, during his Reign, in the two Houses of Parliament, and
“ after his Reign to return to the Crown. As to the Payment of the
“ Arrears of the Army, he will consent, if the Houses will remit to him
“ some Benefit of Sequestrations, Compositions, the Assistance of the
“ Clergy, and the Arrears of his own Revenue, to pay within eighteen
“ Months four hundred thousand Pounds to the Army ; and if that be
“ not sufficient, he will give way for the Sale of Forest-Lands, for that
“ Purpose. For Payment of the other publick Debts, he will consent
“ to such Acts as the Parliament shall agree upon ; and to an Act for
“ the naming of Officers of State, and Privy-Counsellors, during his
“ Reign, by both Houses of Parliament ; the Commissions to be in his
“ Name ; and after his Reign, this Right to return to the Crown. He
“ will consent to the taking away of the Court of Wards, so as a full
“ Recom-

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“ Recompence be settled upon him in Perpetuity. That he will consent
 “ to an Act to make null all Declarations, &c. and to an Act of Oblivion:
 “ That he will give Satisfaction concerning *Ireland*; and although he
 “ cannot in Honour consent to make void all his own Grants under his
 “ Great Seal at *Westminster*, yet he doubts not, but upon some Proposals,
 “ to give Satisfaction therein to the two Houses. He earnestly desires a
 “ Personal Treaty at *London*, in Honour, Freedom, and Safety with
 “ his two Houses, as the only Means to settle Peace. And then he
 “ desires, that the Proposals of the Army, as to the future Parliaments,
 “ and Elections, may be consider’d.

IN the Letter which the King sent to the two Houses, the 12th of *May*, he did not, by much, come so near their Desires; and yet the People were so well satisfy’d with the Offers which his Majesty had made them, that they oblig’d them to pass the Bill for his returning to *London*. It might have been expected then, that the King having stript himself, by this Letter of the 16th of *November*, and desiring to go to the Parliament rather as a private Man than a King, the Parliament would have invited him chearfully, and receiv’d him with open Arms, and that the People ought to have carry’d him thither on their Shoulders: But the Case was alter’d; the People had no longer liberty to petition, nor the Parliament to vote; they were both groaning under the Tyranny of the Army, which had become their absolute and insolent Master; and the Traitors, who govern’d it, were ready to bring to Light the fatal Design, which, for a long Time, they had been hatching in their Hearts.

AFTER the King had dispatch’d his Letter, he had Advice, that the Officers had got the better of it: That one of the Mutineers had been shot, and eleven others made Prisoners. This Mutiny had been rais’d in the Army by the Agitators of the nine Regiments of Horse, and seven of Foot, who, some Days before, had presented a very extravagant Letter to the General, accompany’d with these Propositions; “ That the
 “ Election of the Members of the House of Commons be no more by
 “ Counties and Towns, but that they be taken indifferently out of all
 “ the Inhabitants of the Kingdom, proportionable to their Number.
 “ That, in order to prevent the Inconveniencies that would happen, if
 “ the Authority were left long in the Hands of the same Persons, this
 “ present Parliament be dissolved by the last Day of *September* 1648.
 “ That every two Years the People may call a Meeting of Parliament
 “ in such a Place as they shall think fit. That this Representative Body
 “ be subject to none but the Body of the People, and that without stand-
 “ ing in Need of the Consent or Concurrence of any Person, it may have
 “ Power to repeal Laws, and to make others in their Place, to establish
 “ and suppress Courts of Justice, to create and to turn out Magistrates
 “ of what Dignity soever they may be, and to make them accountable
 “ for all that had been committed to their Charge. To make Peace
 “ and War, and to treat with Foreigners. That as to Religion, and the
 “ Service of God, it was a Thing that was not in the Power of Men;
 “ every one being oblig’d, upon Pain of Sin, to follow the Dictates of
 “ his own Conscience, and what he believes to be the Will of God.
 “ That the publick Manner of Instructing the People, be committed to
 “ the Direction of the Representative Body, provided it be not com-
 “ pulsive. That none be forc’d to go to the War. That the Laws be
 “ equally binding upon all Sorts of Persons, and that neither the Birth, nor
 “ the

“ the Dignity, nor the Condition of any Man, can exempt him from the
 “ ordinary Course of Justice. ” It was from this airy Notion of settling
 all Ranks of People in the Kingdom upon the same Level, that they were
 call'd Levellers, of whom *Lilburn* was the Head; if a Body, where Equa-
 lity is the Proportion of all the Members, may be said to have a Head.

THE Day of the Rendezvous between *Hertford* and *Ware*, which was
 the fifteenth of *November*, the Mutineers appear'd, having all a Paper upon
 their Hats, wherein these Words were written, *The Privileges of England,*
and the Consent of the People. And it was observ'd, that *Rainsborough* was
 the Promoter of a Petition, wherein a Democracy was demanded; and
 that Colonel *Eyre* and Major *Scot* went from Regiment to Regiment, in
 order to stir up the Soldiers against the General and chief Officers. But
 these broke his Measures, oblig'd the Soldiers to tear the Paper they wore, as
 a Mark of Sedition, seiz'd the principal Authors, and, in a Court Martial,
 condemn'd three of the most obstinate to be shot; who having cast Lots,
 one of them was shot upon the Spot, and some others ran the Gantlope.
 The two Houses being inform'd of it, order'd *Rainsborough* not to officiate
 as Vice-Admiral, till he had given Account of his Conduct at the Rendez-
 vous of the Army. And at the same time, they wrote Letters of Thanks to
Cromwell, who had appear'd with the most Zeal, for assuring the General,
 that the two Houses should be always ready to receive and answer, in a
 suitable Manner, all the humble Petitions of the Army, which should be
 presented to them from his Excellency.

AFTER the agreeable News of the Disgrace of the Agitators, which
 very much confirm'd his Majesty in the Resolution he had taken, the Go-
 vernor having had several Conferences with *Ashburnham*, seem'd to be
 very much for having the Army resume its former Discipline, and, once
 for all, to get rid of those troublesome and impertinent Agitators, whose
 Authority had been always odious to him. For which End, he dispatch'd
 his Chaplain to the Officers of the Army, in order to conjure them to im-
 prove the Advantage they had got over the Agitators; and he most humbly
 intreated the King to send thither one of his own Servants, with Letters of
 Compliment to the General, but to write confidently to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*,
 to whom he likewise wrote. He did it very sincerely, and conjur'd them by
 their Engagement with the King, by their Interest, by their Honour, and
 by their Conscience, to come to a speedy Conclusion with his Majesty, and
 not to expose themselves any longer to the extravagant Levity of the Agi-
 tators.

BERKELEY, who was pitch'd upon for carrying these Letters, took
 with him his Cousin-German *Henry Berkeley*; for whom he got a Passport
 from the Governor of *Cowes*, that he might return in four or five Days.
 Having cross'd over to the main Land, he took the Road to *Windsor*, which
 was then the Head-Quarters, and met *Hammond's* Chaplain, who was
 returning from it. He told him nothing that gave him Reason to expect
 any Good by his Journey, having no other News, save only that the Army
 had not as yet taken any Resolution upon what concern'd the King's
 Interest. As *Berkeley* was about half Way between *Bagshot* and *Windsor*,
 he was overtaken by *Joyce*, that furious Agitator, who commanded the
 Party that carry'd away the King from *Holmby*. *Joyce*, surpriz'd that
Berkeley went so freely to and from the Army, gave him to understand, that
 the Agitators had taken into Deliberation, whether, for their own Justifi-
 cation, they ought not to order out a Summons against the King for his
 personal

1647. personal Appearance; and own'd frankly, that he had given his Opinion, that it must be done. However he added, that he did not desire that his Majesty should suffer the least Affront, not so much as to lose one Hair of his Head. These are the Terms he made Use of to express his Sentiments. He added, that he was of that Opinion, only to shew, that they had been found Fault with without Reason. *Berkeley* could not get rid of this impertinent prating Fellow, till he reach'd *Windfor*; where the phrenetick Agitator did not fail to observe the Inn where he alighted. *Berkeley*, after having taken a little Refreshment, went strait to the General's Quarters; where he was told by his Guards, that all the chief Officers were met there. After having waited about an Hour, he had an Audience in full Meeting; where having made his Compliments, and presented the King's Letters, he was desir'd to withdraw for a little time. About half an Hour after, he was call'd in again; and being enter'd, the General, putting on a stern Countenance, told him, "That being the Parliament's Army, as they were, they could give no Answer to the Overtures of Peace, which the King had sent them; and that, referring them to the two Houses of Parliament, they should send them his Majesty's Letters." Then *Berkeley* turn'd towards *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the rest of his particular Acquaintance; who indeed saluted him, but so coldly, that they made as if they had scarce ever known him. Besides, with a disdainful Smile, they shew'd him the Letter which *Hammond* had written them. *Berkeley* finding that there was no Good to be expected from them, retir'd to his Inn; where he staid from four till six o' Clock at Night, without receiving a Visit from any Person. 'Tis not to be doubted, but the Time lay heavy upon him, and he was musing upon things, that could not but be very afflicting, as Matters then stood.

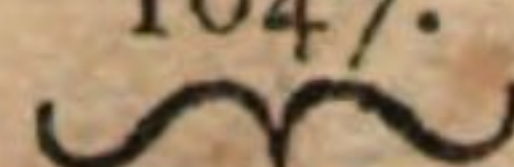
At last, not knowing which way to turn himself, he sent out his Servant, to endeavour to find out in the Streets some of his Friends, who perhaps might tell things more freely to the Man, than to the Master. Towards the Evening, an Officer having perceiv'd him, came to him; and whispering in his Ear, bad him go and tell his Master to meet him at Midnight, in a Place which he mention'd. *Berkeley* did not fail to be there at the Hour appointed; whither the Officer likewise came soon after, who presently told him, "That ever since the Disorders and Tumults had broke out in the Army, he had suspected *Cromwell* and *Ireton*; but Suspicions must not now be any longer minded; that the Mask was taken off, and that there was no Room to doubt, not only that these two, but all and every one of them, were the most desperate Traitors, that ever had been in the World; because, notwithstanding their Engagement with his Majesty, they were resolv'd to murder him, and to destroy the royal Family, and all their Posterity. That in order to put that execrable Design in Execution, they had order'd eight hundred Men of the Army, whom they had pick'd out from among the most disaffected to the King, to seize his Majesty, and then to bring him to a Trial. And as that Detachment was to march in ten Days, his Majesty's Life was at Stake, if he did not quickly fall upon some Means for getting out of the Kingdom. That he had hazarded his own by this Visit; because that very Afternoon, *Ireton* had propos'd to send the King's Messenger Prisoner to *London*, and that all the Officers and Soldiers of the Army were order'd not to speak to him, upon Pain of Death. In short, that one had indeed strongly oppos'd it; but he was hiss'd at, and forc'd to hold his Peace.

BERKELEY,

BERKELEY, surpriz'd at this so fatal and extraordinary News, ask'd him, "What could be the Cause of so horrid a Change, since the Officers had carry'd all before them at the last Rendezvous of the Army, and that nothing had pass'd since, wherein the King could have in the least disoblig'd them?" The Officer answer'd, "That they heartily had wish'd that his Majesty had done something that might have given them some Ground of Complaint; and as for the rest, it was hard to find out what had hurry'd them on to that utmost Despair: but that, in his Opinion, the most probable Thing that could be said of it was, that though, at the last Rendezvous, one of the Mutineers had been shot, and eleven others made Prisoners, so that it look'd as if that Faction had been quite humbled, and that, after such a severe Blow, it could never get up again; yet they were so little cast down and discourag'd by that Shock, that two thirds of the Army had been to wait upon *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to assure them, that though they should die in the Attempt, they would leave no Stone unturn'd, for bringing the Army to be of their Mind. That when the Worst came to the Worst, they were, in a manner, sure to divide it, and that they would join with whomsoever should offer them Assistance for ruining their Adversaries. *Cromwell* and *Ireton* foreseeing then, that if the Army should divide, the greatest Part would join with the Presbyterians, and who would become strong enough, and be very willing to ruin them, and then undo the whole Independent Party; so that they would be forc'd, in order to shelter themselves from the Storm, to take Part with the King in good Earnest, but that then they should be obliged to ask his Assistance, instead of offering him theirs. And in case that the King should grant them Assistance, and get the better of it, though his Majesty should be so good then as to forgive all that had pass'd, that would be all they could pretend to, and even more than they could expect. From thence they at last concluded, that if they could but bring the Army to be of their Mind, they would yield to the Sentiments of the Army, since otherwise the Division that would arise therein would infallibly be their Ruin."

It was then that *Cromwell* apply'd all his Thoughts upon currying Favour with that Faction of the Army, who were the King's greatest Enemies, and to make use of *Peters* for making his Peace with them. He acknowledg'd, said he, (as he had formerly done upon the like Occasion) "That the Vanity of the World had so dazzled his Eyes, that he had not been able to discover the Design of God, in the great Work he was working amongst them. That he would humble himself seriously before him, desiring to be assisted by the Prayers of the Saints, for obtaining of his Mercy, the Pardon of his own Self-love, and of the Passion he had had for the Vanities of the World." He likewise sent very often to visit and comfort the Prisoners, and to exhort them to take Courage, and to be afraid of no Harm, since it had pleas'd God to open his Eyes. By which Means that good Penitent was reconcil'd with, and admitted again into the Society of the Faithful, such as himself. As soon as *Berkeley* had return'd to his Inn, he dispatch'd his Cousin to the Isle of *Wight*, with two Letters for the King; one, which might be seen by the Governor, which contain'd only in general Terms, that he could not as yet write any thing certain about the Resolution of the Army; the other, which was written in Cyphers, gave an Account of all the Particulars of the Conference he had had with the Officer, whom he nam'd; and concluded his Letter with a most humble and

passionate

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HAVING receiv'd this Answer, he set out in all Haste for *London*, and resolv'd not to discover to any Person, either the detestable Intentions of the Army, or the King's Design of taking Shipping, which he suppos'd his Majesty would do with the first Opportunity, the Queen having, by her Letters, begg'd of him to do it, and, besides, sent him a Frigate for his Passage. The next Day after *Berkeley* had got to *London*, the Earls of *Lenrick* and *Lauderdale* sent to tell him, that they desir'd to see him, believing that he had a Commission from the King to treat with them; and at their Meeting being much surpriz'd that he had none, they had some Reason to wonder at it: And it was truly a great Oversight in *Berkeley* to have forgot that, when he left the Isle of *Wight*; for it seem'd to be absolutely necessary, that in case he should not find the Army in the Disposition that could have been wish'd, he might have had a Power to apply himself to the *Scotish* Covenanters, in order to press them, as much as possible, to finish their Treaty with his Majesty, which could have been done with so much the more Success, that the frequent Addresses which the King made to the Army, put them in a terrible Fright: He might have made the Commissioners, who knew not what was doing there, believe, that their Delays, and their using the King so rigorously, would at last oblige his Majesty to come to an Agreement with the Army.

IN order to supply that Defect, *Berkeley* happen'd to say to the Commissioners, " That the last Words, which the King spoke to him at his " leaving the Island, were, That whatever he should promise in his " Majesty's Name, he should make it good, upon the Word of a " Prince. " *Lenrick* answer'd, " That he desir'd no other Commission, " because he look'd upon him to be a Man of Honour, and likewise " because that, upon other Occasions, he himself had receiv'd just such " Commissions from his Majesty. " Nothing was done at the first Meeting, because a Letter, which *Ashburnham* had written to the Speaker of the House of Commons, had put *Lauderdale* into such a Passion, that he could not recover himself. That Letter was written before *Berkeley* left the Island, upon the Account of *Whaley's* having written to the House, that *Ashburnham*, with the King's Consent, having pass'd his Word to him at *Woburn*, that his Majesty should not leave the Army without his Knowledge, nor even without his Consent, by Order of his Majesty he had retracted it some Days before his Escape, and had given him for Reason, " that of late nothing was spoken at Court but *Scots*, " and that a Party had started up in the Army, who carry'd Things to " the last Extremities. " *Ashburnham's* Letter, besides those Words, contain'd likewise these, which, indeed, was enough to provoke the

Scots,

Scots, That he would expose his Life and Honour neither for Scot nor Agitator. These Words were equally impertinent and injurious, and it was horrid Imprudence in *Asburnham*, in the deplorable State of the King's Affairs, on set Purpose to offend a whole Nation, which alone was capable to restore them to their former State, and to cure the Wound, which may be said it had made. All the Thinking Men about the King, found these Words too harsh and ill-tim'd, and advis'd *Asburnham* to strike them out: but he lik'd them too much, and thought he had punn'd so well, that he could not be prevail'd upon to alter them in the least.

THEY met again on the *Friday* at *Lenrick's* Lodgings, where having revis'd all the Articles, they adjusted the chief of them, and resolv'd that on the *Monday* following they would conclude the Treaty. But the next Day *Berkeley* having receiv'd a Letter from *Asburnham*, whereby he was commanded, by the King's Order, that as soon as he had receiv'd the Letter, he should give over negotiating, and come in all Haste to his Majesty, *Berkeley* sent to make his Excuse to *Lenrick* and *Lauderdale*, and set out that Instant. These Lords thought this Procedure very strange, as, without doubt, there was some Fault to be found with it, though they had no Reason to complain of *Berkeley*, who had no greater Desire than to finish the Treaty, which was an Affair, the Consequence whereof was such, that there had not as yet been any, wherein his Presence had been so necessary for his Majesty's Service. This Misfortune shews plainly, that Matters were not carry'd on unanimously: which is a fatal Mischief in, almost, all Courts, where he, who is in greatest Esteem with the Prince, will have all carry'd on by his Advice; whereas all Affairs of Consequence ought of Necessity to be debated in a Council, as it appears that God himself has set an Example of it, since He who stood in no need of Advice, did not finish his Master-pieces, 'till after some kind of Consultation. The Prince ought, from the Diversity of Opinions, to form his Resolutions, and 'tis then that *Minerva* ought to issue out arm'd from *Jupiter's* Brains; that is to say, that the Orders, which are given, ought, after that, to take all their Force and Authority from the Mouth of the Prince.

THE King receiv'd *Berkeley* with great Marks of Affection, and told him, "That having always had a very great Opinion both of his Fidelity and Ability, he was still more confirm'd therein by his last Letters from *Windsor*." *Berkeley* having return'd him his most humble Thanks for the good Opinion he had of him, did not fail to tell him, with a Freedom full of Respect, "That since his Majesty had approv'd of his Advice, he was surpriz'd how it came that he had not follow'd it, and why he was still in the Island, where he could not expect long to enjoy the Liberty he had hitherto had there, and that he knew very well, that Forces had been order'd both by Sea and Land, in order to watch him." The King answer'd him, "That he would provide for his Security Time enough, and that, first of all, the Treaty with the *Scotish* Covenanters must be finish'd." That was likewise *Asburnham's* Opinion: but *Berkeley* was of a quite contrary Sentiment, and his Reason was, that as Matters then stood, the Safety of the King's Person ought to be preferr'd before all other Business whatsoever; and as he could not carry that, he begg'd of the King to conclude the Treaty, in any manner whatever; because he was sure that the least Delay, could not but be very prejudicial.

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WHEREUPON the King order'd *Berkeley*, *Ashburnham*, and *Legg*, with *Dr. Sheldon*, and *Dr. Hammond*, his Majesty's Chaplains, to see in what State the Treaty with the Covenanters was. That Affair had been manag'd with great Prudence by *Dr. Goffe*, a very learned and knowing Man; who very wisely remonstrated to the King, that in the Condition he then was, he ought not to insist much upon Expressions, and the Ways of speaking, which were of little Consequence. But *Ashburnham* refin'd upon all the Terms, which were made Use of for expressing the Things. And he would needs shew his Zeal for what he call'd the Church of *England*; but it was very ill tim'd. He sent Express upon Express to the Covenanters, about the Manner of drawing up the Articles, thus spending much Time upon things, which were not worth the while to bestow one Moment upon. At last he persuaded the King to send for the Commissioners; and did not consider, that instead of thinking of bringing them into the Island, his chief Business was, to get his Majesty out of it.

THE Advice, which *Berkeley* gave him, was much better: For he propos'd, that the King should cause two Copies of Articles to be drawn up, one of which should contain the whole of what he had a Mind to grant to the Covenanters, and let him sign it; and that the other might contain the least that he would accept from them. That they should both be sent in all Haste to *Dr. Goffe*, who should deliver that sign'd by his Majesty to their Commissioners, at the same time that they having sign'd the other, should deliver it to him. That then his Majesty, without hesitating a Moment, might take shipping. As they were making these Proposals, *Ashburnham* came in, and said, That the Expedient was good, if the thing were feasible, but it was not; because, tho' the Commissioners should be satisfy'd with the Articles in the main, yet they would be willing (according to the usual Custom) to concert with the King the Manner, in which they ought to be set down; for which Cause they must of Necessity be sent for. *Berkeley* answer'd very well, That that might be true in ordinary Affairs; and besides, that none but litigious Men would stand carping at Words, when the Things had been agreed upon; but the Danger the King was in, by staying longer in the Island, would not admit of observing so many Formalities.

HOWEVER, *Ashburnham* carry'd it so, that his Opinion having prevail'd, *Sir William Fleming* set out to bring the Commissioners. The next Day the King sent for *Berkeley*, and told him, That the Covenanters Commissioners had given him to understand by an Express, That they wish'd he would do much about the same thing, that he had propos'd to him: But that there was not Time now to think of it; because the Commissioners would be set out from *London*, before an Express could be there with the Articles. That shew'd still, that *Berkeley's* Expedient was feasible, and might have been easily put in Execution, when he propos'd it.

As the Covenanters Commissioners were getting themselves ready to wait upon the King, the two Houses of Parliament sent Commissioners to him, and offer'd to treat in the Island with his Majesty upon new Propositions, which should be offer'd him, provided he would be pleas'd, first of all, by Letters Patent to confirm four Acts, with which they were charg'd; that these Letters might be so many Proofs of the Sincerity and plain Dealing, wherewith his Majesty intended to act with them. The Commissioners presented them to the King the fourteenth of *December*, and intreated him to give his Answer thereto in three or four Days, they not being allow'd to stay longer in the Island. The first of these Acts contain'd a Revocation of
all

all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations against the two Houses, with a Justification of all their Proceedings since their Rupture with him; which was properly to make the King declare himself the sole Author of the War. By the second Act, the King was to degrade all the Lords, which his Majesty had made since the War, and to make them incapable of sitting in the House of Peers, and to oblige himself and his Successors, not to make any more for the future, without the Consent of Parliament. Which likewise degraded the King, and tarnish'd the Lustre of his Crown; which is the only Source, from whence all the Marks of Honour and Dignities in the State flow. The third gave the two Houses full Power to continue sitting at *London*, or to remove to any other Place of the Kingdom, as they should think fit. Which the prevailing Party in the two Houses had demanded, on Purpose to have it in their Power to draw near the Army, and by that Means to discourage such as had a Mind to oppose their Measures. The fourth subjected the Militia for ever to the two Houses; and gave them an absolute Power to levy Men and Money, without any Limitation, whenever they should think fit. This last absolutely dethron'd the King, and directly struck at the Foundations of Monarchy.

THESE so general Demands were accompany'd with so many Protestations, and such Submission of Obedience, which had so humble and respectful an Appearance, that several of his Majesty's Servants were of Opinion, that he ought to grant them. Those who were of that Mind, were afraid, if the King should refuse them, that his Enemies would proclaim every where, as they did, that he persisted obstinately in his own Ruin, and the Undoing of his three Kingdoms. Others however, of better Judgment, thought that it was contrary to Justice and Reason, to demand of the King, that he should before-hand grant the principal things, which were to be treated about, before the Treaty itself was open'd. In order to prevent the Inconveniencies of an absolute Denial, they bethought themselves of causing it to be propos'd to the Commissioners, That since they thought fit to be so cautious, they could not take it ill, that the King should also mind his own Security; and, on his part, to make four Demands to the two Houses. The first, That the Army be paid all that is due to it; and that after the Payment, it be disbanded. The second, That there be a Time limited for the sitting of the Parliament, then in being; which being expir'd, it be dissolv'd. The third, That their Majesties be restor'd to the Possession of their Revenues. And lastly, That the Ecclesiastical Government be establish'd in such a Manner, that the Bishops may be depriv'd of all coercive Power; and that, in the mean time, the antiënt Government may subsist. All these things seeming plausible and beneficial to the People, would have put the two Houses to a Stand; who would have been far from granting them, nor durst they directly have refus'd them; at least, if they had refus'd things so just, they could no more have pretended to blame the King, for having refus'd those, which, in the Opinion of all disinterested Men, were altogether unjust.

THAT Advice was not taken: The King follow'd another, which oblig'd his Majesty, by a most eloquent and elaborate Writing, absolutely to refuse the Demands of the two Houses. *Berkeley* having heard him read it, made this Objection, "That, perhaps, the Commissioners had Orders to command the Governor to have a more strict Eye upon his Majesty's Person, in case he should reject their Demands, and so it would be impossible for him to get out of the Island." His Majesty answer'd, "That he had consider'd of that, and would deliver his
" Answer

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“ Answer to the Commissioners seal'd up. ” But that Expedient was very weak ; for it was easily seen, either that the Commissioners would open the Letter, or at least would judge, by his dealing with them in that manner, that his Majesty did not incline to grant their Demands.

A Letter from
the Scottish
Commissioners
to the two
Houses, about
the King's being
kept Prisoner
at Hampton-
Court.

IN the mean time, the Commissioners of the *Scottish* Covenanters, in Presence of the King, protested against the Propositions, as also against the Acts, which the two Houses had sent him ready drawn up, which they affirm'd to be contrary to the Covenant, the Honour of the Crown, and the Union of the two Kingdoms. Afterwards they enter'd into a most serious and secret Treaty with his Majesty. But before we speak of that, it is necessary to represent what pass'd, in relation to the King, betwixt the two Houses and them, since the Earls of *Loudon* and *Lenrick* were join'd in Commission with them. The great Success of the two Houses had made them very haughty : And the ill Treatment which the King was undergoing, incens'd the *Scottish* Commissioners, and quicken'd their Resentment, insomuch that the Dispute was very hot on both Sides. They had written to the two Houses on the 5th of *November*, and had represented to them, “ That as they did not stick to express their Re-
“ sentment of the King's being carry'd away by Force, out of the Castle
“ of *Holmby*, by a Detachment of *Fairfax's* Army ; so the Committee
“ of their Parliament having been inform'd, that his Majesty's Person
“ was still in the Power of that Army, they had been order'd to make
“ their Application to the King himself, in order to have a certain Ac-
“ count of the Condition he was in ; and that his Majesty had answer'd
“ them, that he thought he could not do it otherwise, than by sending
“ them back to the two Houses and the Army. But the two Houses
“ having often declar'd, that they would always take a very great Care
“ to preserve the Person, the lawful Authority, and the Grandeur of
“ his Majesty, which the two Kingdoms had solemnly sworn never to
“ diminish : They address'd themselves to the two Houses only, since
“ their Army was to do nothing but by their Orders, to know in what
“ State the King was, seeing they were accountable for him, having
“ pass'd their Word, that nothing should be attempted either against the
“ King's Honour or Person, when his Majesty was put into their Hands ;
“ on the contrary, that he should always be treated with all the Respect
“ that was due to their Sovereign. That, without that Assurance,
“ neither Promises nor Threats would have oblig'd them to part with
“ his Person, 'till the Armies had been disbanded, and Peace re-
“ establish'd in the Kingdoms. And because the Parliament of the
“ Kingdom of *Scotland* had found, that their Happiness and Preserva-
“ tion depended upon that of his royal Person, they were resolv'd never
“ to forsake his Majesty's Interests, and all their Lives to continue in that
“ Fidelity and Obedience to him, which they naturally ow'd him, what-
“ soever Change might happen in Affairs, having never had any other
“ Thought, but to live like faithful and loyal Subjects, under his
“ Reign. That for that Reason, they had often wish'd to have it in
“ their Power to contribute towards the making up of Matters, which
“ were, as yet, to be settled between the King and his Subjects. And
“ that, for the same Intent, they desir'd, that the new Propositions,
“ which the two Houses had determined to send to the King, might be
“ imparted to them ; that, according to the solemn League between the
“ two Nations, they might act in Concert with their Commissioners,
“ and consult together upon the Matters that concern'd the publick
“ Peace, and the common Interest of both the Kingdoms. And that
“ the

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“ the King may the more easily be clear’d of his Doubts, and receive
 “ more Satisfaction, than, for some time, he had had from the Parlia-
 “ ment of *England*, they requir’d, in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scot-*
 “ *land*, that the King may come to *London* with Safety, and the Honour
 “ due to his Majesty, or at least that he may stay at *Hampton-Court* in
 “ full Liberty : That he may be no longer under the Power of Soldiers,
 “ nor remov’d from Place to Place like a Prisoner of War, as he had
 “ been hitherto, according to the Fancy of the Army : That, by that
 “ Means, the Commissioners of his Kingdoms may make their Applica-
 “ tion freely to his Majesty, without fear of being affronted, as one of
 “ theirs had already been, of which they had not as yet been able to
 “ obtain the least Reparation, notwithstanding their having complain’d
 “ of it on several Occasions.”

THEY receiv’d no Answer to this Letter, which plainly shew’d that
 they began to repent ; but the new Propositions having been communi-
 cated to them, and they being altogether disagreeable to them, on the
 17th of *December* they presented a long Declaration, containing their
 Opinion thereof, and their Complaints to the two Houses, who, some
 time after, caus’d a full Answer to be publish’d. The Commissioners
 of *Scotland* resuming Matters a little higher, complain’d, “ That the
 “ Parliaments of the two Kingdoms having agreed to Propositions,
 “ which were presented to the King at *Oxford*, and which were after-
 “ wards treated about at *Uxbridge*, yet those of *England* had refus’d to
 “ present the same Propositions to his Majesty at *Newcastle*, and had
 “ made Alterations in the Articles, which concern’d the strict Union
 “ between the Kingdoms. That, nevertheless, those of *Scotland*, for the
 “ Good of Peace, had overlook’d whatever might have been for their
 “ own private Interest, and had join’d with those of *England*, for getting
 “ the King to accept of the Propositions, though they were not at all
 “ pleas’d with them, as they have ever since declar’d. And although
 “ they had agreed among themselves to offer the said Articles to his
 “ Majesty at *Holmby*, the two Houses having been a long Time with-
 “ out shewing the Effects of their Promise, they had still waited their
 “ Conveniency, without expressing the least Impatience. And that
 “ after so long waiting, they were quite surpriz’d to hear, that they had
 “ all of a sudden appointed a precise Day, on which their Commissioners
 “ were to carry the Propositions to the King at *Hampton-Court*, with
 “ Orders to present them to his Majesty, even whether those of *Scotland*
 “ were there, or not. Lastly, That having, by their Letters of the 5th
 “ of *November*, requir’d that the King might come to *London*, in order
 “ to treat there with the Parliament ; the two Houses, without giving
 “ them any Answer upon that Head, had press’d them to explain them-
 “ selves positively upon, and to give their Thoughts of the new Propo-
 “ sitions, which they had resolv’d to send to his Majesty in the Isle of
 “ *Wight*, and had had as little Regard to the Request they had made,
 “ that they might confer with them, and give the Reasons they had, for
 “ desiring, that the King might come to *London*, that, according to
 “ the Treaty made between the two Nations in 1644, such Things
 “ might be agreed upon, as ought to be the Foundation of the com-
 “ mon Peace.”

*Their Com-
 plaints to the
 two Houses.*

THE two Houses answer’d to these Complaints, “ That, by the Pro-
 “ positions sent to *Oxford*, the Militia of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*
 “ was put under the Direction of Commissioners appointed by the two

*The Answer of
 the two Houses
 to these Com-
 plaints.*

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“ Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, for having the Command of it
 “ as well in *England*, as in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and by those which
 “ were sent to *Newcastle*, the Militia of *England* and that of *Ireland*
 “ depending upon *England*, was separated from that of *Scotland*, in such
 “ a manner, that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms should command
 “ their own Militia separately; upon Condition, however, of joining
 “ them together, when the Good and Interest of both Nations should be
 “ in Danger: So it having been adjusted by the Propositions of *Oxford*,
 “ that the War of *Ireland* should be manag’d by the Advice and Consent
 “ of both Kingdoms, by the Propositions of *Newcastle*, it was re-
 “ quir’d, that the Direction of that War should belong to the two
 “ Houses. So that the Alterations that had been made in the Propo-
 “ sitions, had no other Tendency but to avoid the Confusion which the
 “ mixing of the private Rights of each Kingdom would have occasion’d,
 “ and which, without doubt, at last would have broken that Union
 “ they had made between them, for the Maintenance of their common
 “ Interests. That as to their not being pleas’d with the Propositions
 “ of *Newcastle*, it seem’d that the Reasons, which the Commissioners
 “ of *England* had alledg’d, were better than theirs, because they had
 “ at last consented to them; which they would not have done, how
 “ desirous soever they had been of Peace, if they had discover’d
 “ any thing therein repugnant to the Covenant. In fine, That the two
 “ Houses thought it strange, that the Commissioners of *Scotland* should
 “ alledge their Patience, they, who had been silent, and who, during all
 “ the King’s Stay at *Holmby*, had never sollicitd the two Houses to send
 “ him Propositions; on the contrary, as the Commissioners were fre-
 “ quently urg’d to do it, they answer’d, That they could do nothing,
 “ till the other Commissioners, whom they were expecting, were arriv’d.
 “ More than that; for the two Houses were well inform’d, that some
 “ of them had said, that Propositions must not be presented to the King,
 “ till the Army should be disbanded. In that Case, they would have
 “ been able to bring the King to *London*, in Spite of the two Houses,
 “ and with open Force oblige them to treat with him upon such Con-
 “ ditions as his Majesty and they should have judg’d most advantageous
 “ for their Affairs. That as to the Circumstance of the Time and Day
 “ on which the Propositions were to be presented to the King at
 “ *Hampton-Court*, the two Houses did not see what Reason they had to
 “ quarrel with them for that, since they pretended to have waited pa-
 “ tiently four Months, during which Time they had always been ready.
 “ That even though the two Houses should have caus’d the Propositions
 “ to be presented without them, they should have done nothing, but
 “ what the Commissioners of *Scotland* had done at *Newcastle*, who
 “ alone presented them to his Majesty a second time. That, in short,
 “ the two Houses had more Reason to be ill pleas’d with them, for not
 “ having given them any Answer, upon the Matter of the Propositions,
 “ which they call’d New, than they had to complain of the two Houses,
 “ for not having answer’d to what they desir’d, concerning the King’s
 “ coming back to *London*; because the sending of the Propositions,
 “ about which they made so much Noise, had never been blam’d by
 “ either of the Kingdoms, whereas a Personal Treaty with the King at
 “ *London*, had been disapprov’d of by both. That it was that alone,
 “ which had oblig’d them to avoid all manner of Conference upon that
 “ Subject, and upon that of the Alteration which had been made in the
 “ Propositions, which touch’d upon nothing but what concern’d *England*
 “ in particular, in which *Scotland* had not the least Interest, however
 “ displeas’d

“ displeas’d the Commissioners seem’d to be with that Proceeding, which
 “ they said struck at the Treaty between the two Nations. For the Article, 1647.
 “ upon which they grounded their Displeasure, was to subsist only while
 “ there should be War, and Armies kept up on Foot on both Sides: But
 “ the War being at an End, that Article of the Treaty likewise ceas’d;
 “ since, where there was no War, there was no Occasion to treat of a Peace,
 “ nor an Enemy to treat with. The two Houses likewise added, That
 “ such was always the Custom amongst confederate Princes, who under-
 “ take a War against some common Enemy, and who bind themselves to
 “ the same thing, but which is not meant, but when the War is ended by
 “ a Treaty, and not by the Defeat of the Enemy; the Meaning of such
 “ an Article being, that the one should not treat for his own particular Se-
 “ curity, without comprehending his Confederate, and without delivering
 “ him from the Danger as well as himself: Which does not confound their
 “ particular Interests, nor makes one Master of the other’s Affairs; no more
 “ than the Treaties betwixt *France* and *Holland*, gave any Power to *France*
 “ to dispose of any thing, concerning the Polity or Religion in the United
 “ Provinces.”

THE Commissioners of *Scotland* offer’d, in the second place, the Rea-
 sons of the Demand, which they had made, of treating with the King in
 Person; and said, first: “ That the Parliaments of both Kingdoms having
 “ oftentimes sent Propositions to his Majesty, without obtaining any Satis-
 “ faction by them, the new Propositions being yet more disadvantageous to
 “ the Crown, than the former were, they could not reasonably expect any
 “ better Success. Secondly, That the two Houses having acknowledg’d in
 “ several of their Declarations, that the King’s Absence from the Parlia-
 “ ment had been the principal Cause of the War, and of all the Disorders of
 “ the Kingdoms, it follow’d then, that his Presence there would be the
 “ best, nay, perhaps, the only Cure for all their Distempers. In the third
 “ place, That it was properly imposing upon the King, to propose any
 “ thing to him, without shewing him the Reasons and Justice of it, in
 “ treating with his Majesty. In the fourth place, That it was just, that the
 “ King should at least be heard upon what he may desire, as to the things
 “ which concern’d the Dignity of his Person, and the Grandeur of his
 “ Crown. In the fifth place, That the Articles of the Propositions were
 “ not all of such Importance, that the Refusal of them ought to put a Stop
 “ to the Peace. Lastly, That they look’d upon a personal Treaty to be the
 “ surest way for settling a mutual Confidence between the King and Parlia-
 “ ment.” To which the two Houses answer’d, “ That they could not
 “ expect better Success by a new Treaty, than that of *Uxbridge* had, or that
 “ which was held at *Oxford*, where his Majesty was present; unless they
 “ had a mind to yield by a Treaty, what could not be got from them by the
 “ Force of Arms; or else, that under Pretence of adjusting the Interests of
 “ each of the Parties, they should suffer themselves to be insensibly divided,
 “ by compensating of one Interest with another Interest; and by that
 “ Means put it in the King’s Power, to improve his own above all the
 “ others. And if they could not expect Peace, but upon Condition that
 “ the King should be satisfy’d in what he reckon’d Advantages of the Crown;
 “ in that Case, it had been better for them not to have made War, and to
 “ have sav’d the Blood of so many Men, that had been spilt; of which, by
 “ that Means, they made themselves guilty. That the Commissioners
 “ were mistaken, when they thought that the King’s Presence in the Parli-
 “ ament necessarily inferr’d his coming back to *London*, as he and they so
 “ much long’d for, in order to cajole the People there; because it was not
 absolutely

*Reasons given
by the Scottish
Commissioners
for a personal
Treaty.*

*The Answer of
the two Houses
thereto.*

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 “ they were no less out in the Meaning of the two Houses in their Declara-
 “ tions; for they did not at all pretend therein to have it believ’d, that they
 “ thought the Distance between the King and the Parliament was the Cause
 “ of the War; but rather, that they knew very well, that it was the Di-
 “ stance of his Affection only, that induc’d him to oppose all their Resolu-
 “ tions, and to use all Means for rendering them fruitless. In like manner,
 “ they were fully persuaded, that as long as he continues in that Mind, his
 “ Absence was more advantageous, than his Presence in the Parliament.
 “ Matters being thus, the Commissioners had not foreseen, that the Con-
 “ sequences which are drawn from contrary things, are often fallacious.
 “ And as it would be bad Reasoning to say, That since the entering of the
 “ *Scottish* Army into *England* was for the good of the two Houses, when
 “ they sent for it to their Assistance, therefore the going out of it was
 “ prejudicial, when they stood no longer in Need of it. These Subtilties
 “ are Fallacies more fit to be made Use of in Schools, than in a Senate.
 “ That the Chancellor of *Scotland* reason’d very long with the King upon
 “ the Propositions of *Newcastle*; but that he had not been able to prevail
 “ upon him in the least; and that it was not to be thought, that either he
 “ or they had any other better Reasons since that time, than those he made
 “ Use of then for convincing his Majesty, when he told him, with great
 “ Freedom, That if he should refuse to consent to the Propositions, (which,
 “ he pray’d to God, might not happen) he would lose all his Friends, and
 “ that all *England*, to a Man, would at once rise up against him: And
 “ added, That it was to be fear’d, that when it should be seen, that there
 “ were no more Hopes of a Reconciliation, they would depose him, and
 “ change the Government: That in the mean time, the Parliaments of the
 “ two Kingdoms, join’d together, would be forc’d to settle Religion and
 “ Peace therein, without consulting him; which would be his Ruin, as
 “ well as that of all his Posterity; because, if by his Obstinacy, he should
 “ chance to lose *England*, he would not be suffer’d to go to ruin *Scotland*.
 “ In short, the two Houses did not see, that the Commissioners could al-
 “ ledge, on their part, a stronger Reason than the Judgment of the Par-
 “ liament, which was the representative Body of the Kingdom; nor, in
 “ case that the King should not be satisfy’d with any Reason, had they Cause
 “ to say, That it was imposing upon his Majesty, to propose such just and
 “ reasonable things to him. That having taken care of their own Security
 “ by the four preliminary Acts, which the King was desir’d to pass, and
 “ particularly, by that which contain’d a Revocation of all the Declarations,
 “ which he had made against them, without which, it seems, they had a
 “ Mind to force the two Houses to treat with the Rope about their Necks,
 “ they submitted the rest of the Propositions to the Treaty, wherein some
 “ things might be yielded, and Expedients found for satisfying the King,
 “ in what he should justly desire.”

In the third place, the Commissioners found Fault with many things in the new Propositions, as well in what concern’d Religion, as the Honour of the Crown. In the first place, they said, “ That what concern’d Re-
 “ ligion, which ought to have been minded first, was the very last of the
 “ Propositions; and besides, there was not the least Mention made of the
 “ Covenant, nor of the Orders, which ought to have been given for the
 “ Assembly of Divines, wherein the Religion in *England* and *Ireland* was
 “ to be reform’d, according to the Covenant, that it might be uniform in
 “ all the three Kingdoms. But instead of that, the two Houses, on the
 “ contrary, desir’d nothing but a Shadow of Presbyterian Government, a
 Discipline

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“ Discipline without either Life or Vigour; and what was yet worse, they
“ demanded, that all Sorts of Worship might be tolerated; so that a mon-
“ strous Deformity of so many and so different Sects was preferr’d to that
“ Uniformity of Religion, which the Parliaments of *Scotland* and *England*
“ had solemnly sworn to establish in all his Majesty’s Dominions. ” The
two Houses answer’d, “ That it was very true, that as well in the Thoughts,
“ as in the Words and Actions of all Christians, the Pearl of the Gospel
“ ought justly to be preferr’d to all other Interests, and that it likewise ought
“ to be sought after before all things; but that the Presbyterian Govern-
“ ment was not all that Pearl; and that, very far from being the *one thing*
“ *needful*, they saw no Necessity of believing, that it was of divine Right.
“ And tho’ it was true, that Men ought to mind Religion first; yet they
“ might preferably set about things which concern’d their Safety, when it
“ was in order to attain an End, which they valu’d more than that very
“ Safety. As the Master of a leaky Ship would, before all things, set about
“ refitting her, as being absolutely necessary for the Preservation of the
“ Goods; which, without including the Lives of the Passengers, are ge-
“ nerally of more Value than the Ship. That the Sense of the Covenant
“ was not cut off from the Propositions; but only that Manner of esta-
“ blishing it upon Penalties against the Contraveners, that should be or-
“ dain’d by the common Advice of both Kingdoms; which confounded
“ their particular Jurisdictions, which, above all things, ought to be kept
“ separate. But that the two Houses were of Opinion, That it ought not
“ to be establish’d under any Penalty hereafter, until the true Sense of it
“ should be agreed upon; and so much the rather, that of late some have
“ made scandalous Interpretations of it, under Glosses which destroy’d the
“ Text. And that they thought it very strange, that the Commissioners
“ should stand so much upon Forms, as to insist upon the Order of things
“ propos’d by the two Houses; even to take it ill, that the Covenant was
“ not therein contain’d in its full Extent; and for all that, the King’s Let-
“ ter, written from *Carisbrook* Castle, had not displeas’d them; wherein,
“ indeed, he begins with Religion, but plainly refuseth to consent to the
“ Covenant, and the Abolishment of Episcopacy, which the two Houses
“ had always demanded. Which the Commissioners, in order to please
“ the King, acting rather for his Interest, than for that of the Kingdom of
“ *Scotland*, would not explain otherwise, but by saying, that they had not
“ been able to obtain any thing more of the King: Yet they did not believe,
“ that his Majesty, whose Heart is in the Hand of the Lord, could be forc’d
“ to it by Arms, tho’ the Covenanters of *Scotland* had taken up Arms for
“ maintaining the Covenant, and had fought against the King for
“ opposing it. And as for that Secret of the Power of God over the
“ Hearts of Kings, the two Houses thought, that it was Matter of
“ Prayer, which might be made for the King, but not of a Proposition
“ that was to be presented to him. That they had taken sufficient
“ Care of the Assembly of Divines, who having almost finish’d
“ the Affair, for which they had been called together, desired to
“ return to their usual Charges: And that though they agreed, that a
“ Shadow of Discipline, void of the Life and Spirit of Religion, was
“ not much to be valu’d; yet they did not believe, that the Power of
“ appointing Ecclesiastical Censures independently of the Civil Magi-
“ strate, nor his blind Obedience in inflicting Civil Punishments by
“ Order of the Clergy, was that Life. As for the rest, that it was not
“ true, that the two Houses had given Liberty to all Sorts of Sects, or
“ conniv’d at any Doctrine that struck at the Foundation of Christianity,
“ or that open’d a Door to Impiety. For the Proposition about Religion

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“ was divided into these Articles; That his Majesty would be pleas’d to
 “ consent to an Act for the Establishment of *Presbyterian* Government,
 “ and of the *Directory* in *England* and *Ireland*, and that that Act should
 “ be in Force to the End of the next Parliament. That such as should
 “ refuse to comply therewith, should not be troubled on that Account,
 “ but that they might meet to worship God in such Places as they should
 “ think fit, provided they should do nothing that might disturb the
 “ Quiet of the People. That that Toleration should not be extended to
 “ Papists, nor to such as should preach Doctrines contrary to the Fun-
 “ damentals of the Christian Religion, contain’d in the first fifteen Ar-
 “ ticles of the *English* Confession of Faith, nor to those who abstain’d
 “ from hearing the Word of God on *Sundays*, either in the Churches or
 “ elsewhere, nor yet to those who should make use of the *Liturgy*. That
 “ the Tythes and the other Emoluments of the Churches should belong to
 “ the Presbyterian Ministers. That all other Ministers, excepting such
 “ as were interdicted, might likewise make Exhortations, save at the
 “ usual Hours of Service and Preaching, in all the Churches and
 “ Chapels whither the People should have a mind to call them, and
 “ that they should enjoy the Foundations that had been made for that
 “ manner of Devotion. The Proposition being such, the two Houses
 “ maintain’d, that if the Commissioners had narrowly examin’d it, and
 “ consider’d all the Terms of it, all that they had found fault with in
 “ it were nothing but trifling Things. That they said it was absurd to
 “ demand that the *Presbyterian* Government should be establish’d by
 “ Virtue of a Law, and yet that no Body should be oblig’d to observe
 “ that Law, but such as should have a mind to submit to it. But the
 “ two Houses did not require that every Body should be allow’d to dis-
 “ obey the Law: On the contrary, it was the Law itself that exempted
 “ all such, as should not be pleas’d voluntarily to submit to that Govern-
 “ ment, from being subject to it. For in Things where the Law re-
 “ quir’d Obedience, no Man was allow’d to be exempted from it. As
 “ the Law having authoriz’d that Government, there was no Person, of
 “ what Condition soever, that could either molest or disturb those who
 “ were willing to submit to it. Besides, without that Law, the Pres-
 “ byterian Ministers could not force the People to pay their Tythes, nor
 “ to give them the free Use of the Churches and Chapels. Just so, if
 “ the two Houses should ordain a voluntary Contribution to be rais’d
 “ over all the Kingdom, for the Relief of *Ireland*, the Ordinance would
 “ not be ridiculous, because that no Body would be oblig’d to contri-
 “ bute towards it. Or if the Parliament should give Orders for founding
 “ a College in some Town, that Ordinance would not be absurd, though
 “ the Inhabitants were not oblig’d to send their Children there, and
 “ that that depended upon the Will of the Parents. That the Com-
 “ missioners likewise objected, that whatever may be pretended, nothing
 “ was demanded but a Toleration of the Presbyterian Government,
 “ which was limited as well by the Time of the sitting of the next Par-
 “ liament, which might begin and end in six Weeks, as by the Bounds
 “ that were set to the Ecclesiastical Authority, which was subjected to
 “ the Secular Magistrate, and that the Parliament had also given Di-
 “ rections to the Presbyteries, concerning Persons, who, on Account of
 “ their Ignorance, ought to be debarr’d from the Lord’s Supper. But the
 “ two Houses having establish’d that Government in such a manner, and
 “ ordain’d that the Tythes, and all the other Emoluments of the Churches,
 “ should belong to the Ministers that should comply therewith, thought
 “ they had done something that far exceeded a bare Toleration. That
 “ as

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“ as for the Time it was to last, it was the Custom of Parliament, not
“ to make any Ordinance that was to be perpetual and unrepealable,
“ upon the bringing in of some new Thing, whereof the Conveniency
“ or Inconveniency it might bring along with it to the State, had not
“ been as yet found by Experience. And that, in a Word, the two
“ Houses could not acknowledge any Authority which was not to take
“ its first Rise, and receive its Bounds from the Civil Magistrate, who
“ ought not to be ignorant of Religion, and who alone had the Power
“ in his Hand to punish Vice, and reward Virtue. That as for the rest,
“ they intreated the Commissioners to consider, that it was much better
“ to bear with some Errors, and to leave the Disposal of such Things to
“ God, than to employ his Authority for the Condemnation of one
“ single Truth; and that they would do well to moderate their Zeal,
“ and abstain from all Speeches which tended to Bitterness. That the
“ two Houses gave them this Advice, because they thought they had
“ spoken in a more civil manner to them, than they did, when they
“ charg’d the Parliament of the Kingdom with being condescending and
“ liberal in the Things that belong’d to God, but stiff and too sparing in
“ those where their own Interest was concern’d: besides, that the Com-
“ missioners were grossly mistaken, to believe that the Presbyterian Govern-
“ ment was look’d upon to be more of the Number of the Things be-
“ longing to God, than the Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties
“ of the Subjects were; and that, by a Calumny much more repugnant
“ to Charity, than the Indulgence which the two Houses granted to
“ tender Consciences, they had call’d it an *impious Toleration*.

“ LASTLY, The Commissioners found fault with the two Houses, for
“ demanding Things which destroy’d the brightest Gems of the Crown.
“ That both the Kingdoms were oblig’d, as well by the Covenant, as
“ by the Oath of Fidelity which they had sworn, to maintain the lawful
“ Authority and Grandeur of the King. And that it would be wrest-
“ ing the Sword and Scepter out of his Hands, to strip him altogether
“ of the Power that belong’d to him over the Militia, without which
“ he could not protect his Subjects; and to deprive him of the negative
“ Voice, without which he could not govern them by the Laws, there
“ being no other in all the Kingdoms of the World, but Royal Laws.
“ That it was possible, that the King’s refusing to give his Consent to
“ some Settlement which the Parliament should demand, might be for
“ the Good of the Kingdom; and as for his Power of bestowing
“ Favours, it was the brightest Gem of the Crown, of which he ought
“ not to be robb’d, Kings having been always acknowledg’d for the
“ Distributers of Offices and Honours in all the Nations of the World.”

The two Houses answer’d, “ That the King was likewise oblig’d to
“ maintain the Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Subject;
“ and that the Covenanters of *Scotland* had made War, and join’d with
“ the two Houses, for no other End, but to oblige him to do so. That
“ they, as well as the Parliament of *England*, had made Laws for the
“ Covenant, for raising Money in the Counties, for the Suppression of
“ the Liturgy, for the Establishment of the Directory; and all that
“ without the King’s Consent, and without having Regard to his negative
“ Voice. So that they acknowledg’d, that in all extraordinary Cases,
“ which put the Kingdom in Danger, as these, about which the Dispute
“ now was, would infallibly do, the Parliament alone was bound to
“ look to that. That what happen’d but seldom, was a bad Founda-
“ tion

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“ tion of Politicks; and that it was more probable to think, that the King
 “ alone, without the Assistance of any Council, might sooner be mistaken,
 “ than the representative Body of the whole Kingdom; and that it might
 “ likewise happen in the same Manner, that he might oppose some Over-
 “ ture, that might be made for the Advantage of the Kingdom, rather
 “ than that the Parliament might be mistaken, or would do any thing that
 “ might be prejudicial to the State. That tho’ the Commissioners made
 “ it appear, that the King, by his last Letter, offer’d to grant all that
 “ could be desir’d about the Matter of the Militia, yet they could not be
 “ ignorant, that in the Propositions of *Oxford*, in those of *Newcastle*, and
 “ in the very Treaty of *Uxbridge*, wherein they had acted jointly with
 “ the two Houses, his Majesty and his Posterity were depriv’d of the
 “ Power of commanding the Militia, without any Complaint being
 “ made then, that clash’d either with the Covenant, or the Oath of Fi-
 “ delity. In fine, That the two Houses were surpriz’d, that those who
 “ had sided with the Parliament of *England*, should express so much De-
 “ sire to taste of that Fountain of Honour, which the Commissioners
 “ mention’d, without waiting till it should be made clear; and that that
 “ Gem of the Crown should appear so bright to them now, when they
 “ themselves had formerly consented to have that Ornament taken away,
 “ and had assisted in all the things, against which they had protested in
 “ the Isle of *Wight*, by an injurious Attempt upon the Authority of the
 “ Parliament of *England*. ”

It was thus, that *Simeon* and *Levi*, that is to say, the Covenanters of *Scotland* and *England*, parted from one another, breaking that Band of Iniquity, which, not long before, they call’d the Band of Unity, and which the Independents then call’d an old Almanack. ’Tis true, that in this Dispute, the Parliament of *England* ran down that of *Scotland* with their own Weapons. For the *Scots* had been Accessories to the Revolt of the *English*, and had fomented their Rebellion. But the Covenanters of *Scotland* having repented of it, and resuming good and sound Principles, argu’d so well in the main, that the two Houses could make but very weak Answers to what they had asserted, both for the Good of Religion, and the Honour of the Crown. And indeed, how could the King fulfil the Oath he had taken at his Coronation, to defend the Laws and his People, if the Power of the Sword should be taken from him, which is the true Support of the Scepter, without which the Laws would have no Vigour, and consequently all the People would be expos’d to Invasions from without, and to Troubles from within, by popular Seditions, and the Factions of the Nobility? For it happens but too often, that they abuse their Master’s Authority, in order to satisfy their own Passions, whereas they are only intrusted with that Authority, for protecting those, who are unable to keep themselves from the Violence and Oppression of such as imagine they may do what they please. It was likewise true, that the King’s refusing sometimes to consent to the Ordinances of the two Houses, might be for the Good of his People. Things are pass’d in both Houses by the Majority of Votes: But very often they are carry’d but by three or four Members, who are neither more knowing, nor better affected to the publick Good, than the rest; and who, when two Opinions seem to divide the House, perhaps go over to one of the two, without knowing why they do it, save only to put an End to the Dispute. But in the House of Peers, the King being assisted by his Privy Council, the twelve Judges of the Kingdom, his Attorney General and Sollicitor, and the twelve Masters in Chancery, probably judges better of what is for the Good and Advantage

Advantage of the People, according to the Laws, than can be done in great Assemblies, where the Debates are commonly tumultuary ; and where Factions reign, Men always carrying thither their Passions and private Interests.

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As to the solemn League, it would be hard to divine what the two Houses meant by the Substance of the Covenant, which, they said, was contain'd in the Propositions. For, besides that there was no Mention made therein of that Uniformity of Religion, in the Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline, which was to be establish'd in the three Kingdoms, how could the two Houses say, That they maintain'd the King's royal Authority, which was not only one of the principal Articles of the Covenant, but the only lawful one ? Had not they seiz'd all the royal Authority ; had not they declar'd the King not to be in a Condition to govern his Kingdoms ; had not they pass'd a Vote, forbidding all Correspondence with his Majesty for the future ? As for the King's Person, it appears that he was not very well treated, being shut up, as he was, in a Prison, without being able to obtain but only one of his ordinary Chaplains, but not so much as one of his domestick Officers to attend his Majesty. Neither was it seen that the two Houses shew'd a very great Regard for him, when, some time after, *Richard Osborne* told them, That one Captain *Rolph* seem'd to have a Design upon his Life. In the Letter, which *Osborne* wrote them, and which he directed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, he said, " That having discours'd with *Rolph*, who was *Hammond's* great Confident, and besides, much esteem'd in the Army, he had told him, that he knew it for certain, that *Hammond* had receiv'd many Letters from the Army, inciting him to poison the King, or to dispatch him any other way ; and that that being once done, it would forward their Affairs very much : However, he did not believe, that *Hammond*, who got so much Money for guarding the King, would be willing to have his Office so soon at an End. But that, if he (*Osborne*) would join with him, they would endeavour to get the King out of *Carisbrook* Castle, and carry him to some By-Place, where they might do with him whatever they pleas'd. " He had inclos'd in this Letter the Copy of another to the same Purpose, which he had written to the Lord *Wharton* ; and in both the Letters *Osborne* offer'd to appear, and justify that what he had written was true, if the Parliament would grant him a Safe-guard to go and return in Safety. The Speaker was unwilling to read the Letters ; Because, said he, they being from *Osborne*, could tend to nothing else, but to sow Division in the House. However, a great many of the Members being of another Opinion, oblig'd him to cause them to be read : But the Clerk had scarce read them over, when the Affair was dropp'd, without expressing the least Resentment of it : And as *Clement Walker*, seconded by some other Members, had said, " That the House having receiv'd an Information of such Importance as that was, let it be true or false, it ought not to be slighted ; because that, if the King should happen to die, were it a natural Death or not, the People would never believe, that the Parliament was innocent of it, because of the bad Treatment, which every Body knew his Majesty had had : For which Reason, there ought to be Commissioners appointed for interrogating *Osborne*, *Rolph*, and *Hammond*, upon that Fact. " It was answer'd coldly, " That those Commissioners would not know where to find *Osborne* ; and that he was a Malignant, that had endeavour'd to set the King at Liberty. " And as *Walker* had again reply'd, " That, not long ago, a Committee had been appointed on

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“ the Account of a simple Footman, who had struck *Mildmay*, tho’ that
 “ Committee knew not where that Footman was, nor so much as his
 “ Name. That to strike a Subject, and to murder a King, were two
 “ Actions infinitely different. That it ought to be publish’d, that *Osborne*
 “ might come and return in Safety, in case he persisted to make good his
 “ Accusation against *Rolph*; and if he should not appear, he ought to be
 “ declar’d a Slanderer, and justly punish’d as such, whenever he should
 “ be taken. That of what Party soever he may be, unless he be known
 “ to be a perfidious Man, he ought to be heard upon his Oath. That if
 “ he has attempted to get the King out of *Carisbrook* Castle, probably
 “ he has done it upon the Belief he had, that his Majesty’s Life was in
 “ Danger there, and not out of any ill Will he bore to the Parliament,
 “ which he had serv’d with great Zeal.” It being asserted, that he made
 that Proposal with no other Design but to bring *Hammond* and *Rolph* to
London, that the King might the more easily make his Escape from *Ca-*
risbrook, he was forc’d to be silent. At last, after the House of Lords
 had granted *Osborne* forty Days to come and return in all Safety, and that
 both he and *Rolph* did appear, the one was positive in the Information
 against *Rolph*, and the other flatly deny’d it. *Rolph* being sent to Prison,
 found Friends enough in the House, besides the Recommendation of
Hammond, who had written in his Favour, to desire that he might be set
 at Liberty, upon his giving good and sufficient Bail; and, in all Appear-
 ance, would have obtain’d it, had it not been that the Laws did not allow
 such as were accus’d of High Treason to be bail’d. The Medium that
 they fell upon was, that a Committee should examine the Fact, and re-
 port it to the House, who afterwards might set him at Liberty upon Bail,
 if they should find any Flaw in it, and bind *Osborne* in a Recognizance,
 to prosecute him before the King’s Bench. In the mean time, great Care
 was taken to make *Rolph*’s Imprisonment easy to him, whom they look’d
 upon to be a Man they might confide in, and whom they had no mind to
 lose. At last, the Affizes of *Southampton*, whither he had been carry’d,
 not having found the Bill against him, the Affair was dropp’d, and *Rolph*
 set at Liberty, with Reparation of Damages. Thus it may be said of the
 Covenant, That as nothing but the Necessity of the Affairs of the two
 Houses had induc’d them to join in it with the Covenanters of *Scotland*,
 so they fell off from it by Degrees, according to the Situation of their
 Affairs, and at last laugh’d at it, whatever they pretended, when their
 victorious Army had made them entertain more mysterious Sentiments
 both of Religion and State. Insomuch that they could hardly dissemble
 their acting like those, who, when they see themselves in Danger, make
 great Vows, and, as soon as the Danger is over, forget their Promises.

THE two Houses could as little clear themselves from the satirical
 Jest of the *Scotish* Commissioners, who told them, “ That since
 “ they had kept a solemn Fast on the 10th of *March*, and implor’d the
 “ Assistance of God, for extirpating so many secret and so many sorts
 “ of Heresies that were increasing in the Kingdom, it was strange that
 “ God had not inspir’d them with other Means for suppressing them,
 “ but to tolerate them all. For all those which they design’d to root
 “ out then, were, without the least Difference, the same that they had
 “ a mind to suffer at present.” They had nothing to answer to that,
 which could have the least Shadow of Truth, but, “ that when the Par-
 “ liament of *England* join’d in a League with the Parliament of *Scotland*,
 “ and observ’d that Fast of the 10th of *March*, the Parliament was
 “ Master; but the Case being alter’d, the Army was become Master.”

It

It was plainly seen, that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had contriv'd that Answer, and that their Sentiments were clearly express'd in it: Which made the Covenant to be thereby so much undervalu'd, and the most important Article of the Treaty between the two Kingdoms, which oblig'd them not to make either Truce or Peace but with common Consent, eluded, and look'd upon to be no longer binding, the Peace being concluded, because the Independents were become Masters, and had subdued all their Enemies in *England*. However, all Things were in a most wretched State, all had submitted to the Tyranny of the Army, which had introduc'd a despotick Government. The King was kept Prisoner, the Parliament curb'd, the People cruelly oppress'd, and Religion fallen into Confusion; though by the League and Treaties between the two Nations, the King's lawful Authority was not to be diminish'd, nor his Person unworthily treated; besides, the Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the People, were to be maintain'd: In fine, though the Treaties mention'd nothing of the Political Government of the three Kingdoms, yet it is expressly stipulated, that the Uniformity of Religion, according to the Covenant, should be establish'd: Which never had been done in any one of the Treaties between *France* and the *United Provinces*.

It may likewise be observ'd, by that Answer, how much the Covenanters of *Scotland* were wanting to their own Interests, when they deliver'd the King's Person to the Commissioners of the Parliament of *England*; for they had then a powerful Army, they were Masters of *Newcastle*, *Tinmouth*, and of the strong Towns of *Carlisle* and *Berwick*, which are the Keys of *England*, towards *Scotland*. They had a Hand in all Affairs. In short, they were belov'd by the City of *London*, and by all the Presbyterians of the Kingdom; insomuch that had they come to an Agreement with the King and the Royal Party of *Scotland*, they would have been able to raise another Army, set the King upon his Throne again, with Drums beating, and share, with the *English*, all the great Offices of the Court, to cause a Regiment of *Scots* Guards to be kept about his Person, and to restore the ancient Borders of *Scotland* to the State they had formerly been in. The Parliament of *England* dreaded that very much, and it was for that Reason only, that as soon as they had made their Treaty at *Newcastle*, they alter'd their way of managing Business, and sent thither this Declaration, "That though
" the two Kingdoms were join'd in the Propositions, yet they did not
" mean, that one of the Kingdoms was to have any Hand in, or Power
" over the private Concerns of the other; and that though their Appli-
" cation for Peace was common, yet both the one and the other might
" make or repeal Laws about all Things mention'd in the Propositions,
" according as each should judge it convenient for the Good of its State,
" without being found fault with by the other." Besides that, they made a Bridge of Gold to the Covenanters Army for returning to *Scotland*; and since the Partisans of the Army bore the Sway in the two Houses, they boldly upbraided the Commissioners of *Scotland*, that though they declar'd, in all the Messages they had deliver'd to the Parliament of *England*, that they did not pretend to incroach upon their Authority; on the contrary, that they had no other Thought but to keep within their own Bounds: yet they had been meddling with every Thing, having a mind to share the Authority with the two Houses, under Pretence of the Covenant, and the League between the two Nations: In which they acted like those, who having distinguish'd the
Spiritual

1647. *Spiritual Things from the Temporal, yet, in Ordine ad Spiritualia,* had a mind to be Masters of both. To conclude: It may be seen by that so plain an Answer to the Commissioners of *Scotland*, that Rebellion is afraid in the Beginning to shew itself openly; that it grows bold in Time, and having made its Progress, it has the Impudence to go about bare-faced, to mount the Throne, and at last to pretend that the Authority it hath usurp'd is a lawful Power. And though it springs from Darknes, and is form'd of the Vapours of the Earth, it flatters itself, by its Prosperity, that it is of a more noble Origine, and that Heaven authorizes it; though it be true, that God suffers not such horrid Disorders, but in order to punish the Ingratitude and Folly of Men.

*The Substance
of the Treaty
sign'd the 26th
of December
1647, between
the Commis-
sioners of Scot-
land and the
King.*

THE two Houses had discover'd nothing of the Treaty between the Commissioners of *Scotland* and the King, which they had industriously kept secret, and as cunningly manag'd, if they had us'd the same Diligence in concluding it. It was sign'd the 26th of *December* at *Carisbrook* Castle, and the Substance of it was, "That his Majesty not doubting but the Intentions of the Covenanters were real, for the Preservation of his Person and Authority, and no ways to diminish his just Power and Grandeur, he was content, as soon as he could, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, to be present in a free Parliament, to confirm the Covenant by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, for the Security of all who had, or should sign it; provided, nevertheless, that none should be constrain'd to sign it. That the King should likewise confirm, by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, Presbyterian Government, the Directory, and the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, for three Years; provided that his Majesty, and his Household, should not be hinder'd from using that Form of Divine Service he had formerly practis'd; and that during those three Years, there should be a Consultation with the Assembly of Divines, to which twenty of the King's Nomination should be added, and some from the Church of *Scotland*; and thereupon it should be determin'd by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, what Form of Government should be establish'd after the Expiration of those three Years, as should be most agreeable to the Word of God: That an effectual Course should be taken by Act of Parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, for the suppressing the Opinions and Practices of Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Brownists, Separatists, Independents, Libertines, and Seekers, (who are all posthumous Children of *Luther* and *Calvin*), and, generally, for the suppressing all Heresy, Schism, and all such scandalous Doctrines and Practices as are contrary to the Light of Nature, and to the known Principles of Christianity, whether concerning Faith, Worship, or Conversation, or the Power of Godliness, or which may be destructive of Order and Government, or of the Peace of the Church or Kingdom. That in the next Session of Parliament, after the Kingdom of *Scotland* should declare for his Majesty, in pursuance of this Agreement, he should in Person, or by Commission, confirm all the Acts pass'd in the last Parliament of that Kingdom; and that he should then give Assurance, that neither he, nor his Successors, should quarrel, call in question, or command the contrary of any of them, nor question any for giving Obedience to the same. And whereas after the *Scots* Army had retir'd from *England*, the two Houses having resolv'd to disband the Army under the Command of *Sir Thomas Fairfax*; on the contrary,

" that

“ that Army had engag’d themselves not to part with their Arms, a 1647.
“ Detachment of it had taken the King by Force from *Holmby*, where
“ he was, and had put him into the Power of the Army, ’till he found
“ Means to make his Escape into the Isle of *Wight*. That since that
“ Time, both his Majesty, and the Commissioners for the Kingdom of
“ *Scotland*, had very earnestly desir’d, that the King might come to
“ *London* in Safety, Honour, and Freedom, for a Personal Treaty with
“ the two Houses and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*,
“ which could never be obtain’d. That the Army had, in violent
“ manner, forc’d away divers Members of both Houses from the Dis-
“ charge of their Trust, and possess’d themselves of the City of *London*,
“ and all the Strengths and Garisons of the Kingdom. That by the
“ Strength and Influence of that Army, and their Adherents, Proposi-
“ tions and Bills had been sent to the King, without the Advice and
“ Consent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, contrary to the Treaties which
“ are between the two Kingdoms, and destructive of Religion, his Ma-
“ jesty’s just Rights, the Privileges of Parliament, and Liberty of the
“ Subject; from which Propositions and Bills the Commissioners of *Scot-*
“ *land* had dissented, and protested against. And forasmuch as the
“ King is willing to give Satisfaction concerning the Establishment of
“ Religion, and other Matters in Difference, as is express’d in this
“ Agreement, the Kingdom of *Scotland* doth oblige and engage itself,
“ first, in a peaceable way and manner, to endeavour that his Majesty
“ may come to *London* in Safety, Honour, and Freedom, for a personal
“ Treaty with the Houses of Parliament and the Commissioners of *Scot-*
“ *land*, upon such Propositions as should be mutually agreed on between
“ the Kingdoms, and such Propositions as his Majesty should think fit
“ to make; and for this End, all Armies should be disbanded; and in
“ case that this should not be granted, that Declarations should be
“ emitted by the Kingdom of *Scotland* in Pursuance of this Agreement,
“ against the unjust Proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament
“ towards his Majesty and the Kingdom of *Scotland*; in which they
“ would assert the Right that belong’d to the Crown, in the Power of
“ the Militia, the Great Seal, bestowing of Honours and Offices of
“ Trust, choice of the Privy Counsellors, and the Right of the King’s
“ negative Voice in Parliament. And that the Queen’s Majesty, the
“ Prince, and the rest of the Royal Issue, ought to remain where his
“ Majesty shall think fit in either of his Kingdoms, with Safety,
“ Honour, and Freedom. That, upon the issuing out this Declaration,
“ an Army should be sent out of *Scotland* into *England*, for the Pre-
“ servation and Establishment of Religion, and for Defence of his Ma-
“ jesty’s Person and Authority, and restoring him to his Government,
“ to the just Rights of the Crown, and his full Revenues; for Defence
“ of the Privileges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject; for
“ making a firm Union between the Kingdoms under his Majesty and
“ his Posterity, and settling a lasting Peace. In Pursuance whereof,
“ the Kingdom of *Scotland* should endeavour that there might be a free
“ and full Parliament in *England*, and that his Majesty may be with
“ them in Honour, Safety, and Freedom; and that a speedy Period be
“ set to the present Parliament. And that they would order Matters
“ so, that the Army which they should raise, should be in the Field
“ before the Message and Declaration should be deliver’d to the Houses.
“ That all such in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, as should join
“ with the Kingdom of *Scotland* in Pursuance of this Agreement, should
“ be protected by his Majesty in their Persons and Estates; and that
“ all

1647. *all his Majesty's Subjects in England or Ireland who should join with him, in Pursuance of this Agreement, might come to the Scots Army, and join with them, or else put themselves into other Bodies in England or Wales, for Prosecution of the same Ends, as the King's Majesty should judge most convenient, and under such Commanders, or Generals of the English Nation, as his Majesty should think fit: And that all such should be protected by the Kingdom of Scotland and their Army, in their Persons and Estates; and where any Injury or Wrong is done to them, they would be careful to see them fully repair'd, as far as it should be in their Power to do, and likewise when any Injury or Wrong is done to those who join with the Kingdom of Scotland, his Majesty shall be careful of their full Reparation. That neither his Majesty himself, nor any by his Authority or Knowledge, should make or admit of any Cessation, Pacification, or Agreement whatsoever for Peace, nor of any Treaty, Propositions, Bills, or any other ways for that End, with the Houses of Parliament, or any Army or Party in England or Ireland, without the Advice and Consent of the Kingdom of Scotland; and, reciprocally, that neither the Kingdom of Scotland, nor any having their Authority, should make or admit of any of these any manner of way, with any whatsoever, without his Majesty's Advice and Consent. And that, upon the Settlement of a Peace, there should be an Act of Oblivion to be agreed on by his Majesty, and both his Parliaments of both Kingdoms. That his Majesty, the Prince, or both, should come into Scotland, upon the Invitation of that Kingdom, and their Declaration, that they should be in Honour, Freedom, and Safety, when possibly they could come with Safety and Convenience; and that the King should contribute his utmost Endeavour, both at Home and Abroad, for assisting the Kingdom of Scotland for carrying on this War by Sea and Land, and for their Supplies by Monies, Arms, Ammunition, and all other Things requisite, as also for guarding the Coasts of Scotland with Ships, and protecting all their Merchants in the free Exercise of their Trade and Commerce with other Nations: And likewise, that his Majesty was willing, and did authorize the Scots Army to possess themselves of *Berwick, Carlisle, Newcastle upon Tyne, with the Castle of Tinnmouth, and the Town of Hartlepool*, those Places to be for Retreat and Magazines: And that when the Peace of the Kingdom should be settled, the Kingdom of Scotland should remove their Forces, and deliver back again those Towns and Castles. That according to the Treaty between the two Nations, *England* should pay the Remainder of that brothelry Assistance which was yet unpaid, with the two hundred thousand Pounds, which remain'd still due upon the last Treaty made with the Houses of Parliament, for the Auxiliary Army which the Kingdom of *Scotland* sent into *England*: And also, that Payment should be made to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for the Charge and Expence of their Army in this future War, with due Recompence for the Losses which they should sustain therein; and that due Satisfaction, according to the Treaty on that Behalf betwixt the two Kingdoms, should be made to the *Scots Army* in *Ireland*, out of the Lands of that Kingdom, or otherwise: And that the King, according to the Intention of his Father, should endeavour a compleat Union of the two Kingdoms, so as they may be one, under his Majesty and his Posterity; or if that cannot be speedily effected, that all Liberties and Privileges, concerning Commerce, Traffick, Manufactures, peculiar to the Subjects of either Nation,*

“ Nation, shall be common to the Subjects of both Kingdoms without
“ Distinction ; and that there be a Communication and mutual Capacity,
“ of all other Liberties of the Subjects in the two Kingdoms : That
“ a competent Number of Ships should be yearly assign’d, and appointed
“ out of his Majesty’s Navy, which should attend the Coasts of *Scotland*,
“ for a Guard, and Freedom of Trade of that Nation ; and that his Ma-
“ jesty should declare, That his Successors, as well as himself, are ob-
“ lig’d to the Performance of the Articles and Conditions of this Agree-
“ ment ; but that his Majesty shall not be oblig’d to the Performance of
“ the aforesaid Articles, until the Kingdom of *Scotland* shall declare for
“ him, in Pursuance of this Agreement ; and that the whole Articles,
“ and Conditions aforesaid, shall be finish’d, perfected, and perform’d,
“ before the Return of the *Scotish* Army ; and that, when they return
“ into *Scotland*, at the same time, *simul & semel*, all Armies should be
“ disbanded in *England*.

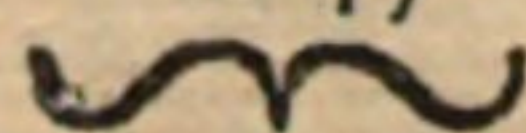
MOREOVER the King declar’d, “ That, to let the *Scots* know the
“ Affection he had for his native Country, and how sensible he was of
“ the good Will, which the Subjects of that antient Kingdom had shewn
“ him in the Extremity of his Affairs, as he was desirous to give them
“ Marks of his Favour, which might be transmitted to their Posterity,
“ he was resolv’d to take care, that as well himself, as his Successors,
“ should employ those of the *Scotish* Nation, equally with the *English*,
“ in all foreign Employments and Negotiations ; and that a third Part
“ of all the Offices and Places about the King, Queen, and Prince, should
“ be conferr’d upon some Persons of that Nation ; and that the King and
“ Prince, or one of them, will frequently reside in *Scotland*, that the
“ Subjects of that Kingdom may be known to them. ”

HIS Majesty farther declar’d, “ That by the Clause of confirming
“ Presbyterian Government by Act of Parliament, he is neither oblig’d
“ to desire the settling Presbyterian Government, nor to present any Bills
“ to that Effect ; and that he likewise understands, that no Person what-
“ soever shall suffer in his Estate, nor undergo any corporal Punishment,
“ for not submitting to Presbyterian Government ; his Majesty understand-
“ ing that this Indemnity should not extend to those who are mention’d
“ in the Article against Toleration. ” His Majesty having thus explain’d
himself to the Earls of *Loudon*, *Lauderdale*, and *Lenrick*, they sign’d as
Witnesses only to this Declaration, not as Assenters.

THUS was the Treaty between the *Scots* and his Majesty concluded,
but not altogether as they would willingly have had it ; for they could never
get the King to consent to certain Things, which they had very much
press’d upon him, concerning the Covenant. Whence *Argyle* took Oc-
casion to cause the Treaty to be cry’d down by the most zealous Ministers
of *Scotland*, who retarded Duke *Hamilton*’s Expedition into *England* four
Months ; and that Delay was the Ruin of all the Parties that appear’d for
the King in that Kingdom, and also of the Duke’s Army, before it had
made any considerable Progress there.

THE Day being come, that the King had promis’d to give his Answer
to the Commissioners of the two Houses of Parliament, he sent for them,
and ask’d the Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the chief of the Commissioners,
“ If they had not Power to alter something in the Articles. ” He having
answer’d, No, the King gave him his Answer. *Denbigh* having stepp’d
a little

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a little aside with the other Commissioners, return'd towards his Majesty, fell into a Passion, because he had seal'd his Answer, and behav'd very disrespectfully to him, he particularly, who ow'd all to the King, his Master and Benefactor. After a very sharp Debate, the King was so good as to open the Packet. But that Opening made the Matter worse, it made the Commissioners yet more angry; the Governor took Part with them, and they retir'd to the Town of *Newport*, about a Mile from the Castle, there to consult what they should do. The King began then in good earnest, but too late, to contrive his Escape; and resolv'd to take Shipping that very Evening, or very early the next Morning. That Design was prevented by two insuperable Difficulties. The first was, that at that very Instant, the Wind, which had been for a long time favourable, chang'd, and became quite contrary; and the second was no less so; for the Governor came back to the Castle in a great Passion, and order'd the Guards to be doubled, and the Gates to be shut. He did not go to Bed that Night; and early the next Morning, he caus'd all the King's Servants to be put out of the Castle, and afterwards out of the Island, without stopping any where. Those Servants taking leave of his Majesty, told him, That the Captain of the Frigate, and two faithful Gentlemen of the Island, would assist him to make his Escape, if it was yet possible.

UPON their Arrival at *Newport*, they were like to have been arrested there. For one Captain *Burly* order'd a Drummer to beat to Arms, and having put himself at the Head of the People, who flock'd together without Arms, he said he would lead them to the Castle, and rescue the King from his Captivity. The Governor of the Island having Notice of it, and believing that the King's Servants had been the Cause of that Commotion, sent Orders to the Governor of *Cowes*, to arrest them, and send them Prisoners to *London*. But they made their Escape, and cross'd over in all Haste to the other Side of the Water; where having waited some time expecting the King, but seeing that he came not, they retir'd. The two Companies of Foot, which the Parliament had sent to the Castle of *Carisbrook*, were already got thither: and *Rainsborough*, at the Desire of the Council of War, being acquitted, had Orders from the House of Commons, notwithstanding the Opposition of the Peers, to sail with a Squadron of Men of War, and to lie before the Island; so that it was no longer in the King's Power to make his Escape. The Parliament likewise desir'd the General to send a Commission to the Governor to try Captain *Burly*, who, very soon after, was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd at *Winchester*. In order to secure the City of *London* yet more, they ordain'd, That not one of those who had been of the King's Party, or who had sign'd the League in *London*, which they had declar'd criminal, or who had contributed to the Violence that had been done them the 26th of *July*, should be admitted into the Common Council of the City. And they likewise order'd, That all *Roman* Catholicks, and all those who had carry'd Arms against them, should depart *London* in twenty-four Hours.

AFTER all that, *Berkeley* return'd to *France*, to give the Queen an Account of his Negotiation. His Conduct had been both faithful and prudent; and it may be said, That it would likewise have had better Success, if the King had not trusted more to other People than to him, and if the ill Fortune that attended him, had not defeated all that had been undertaken for his Safety and Service. 'Tis very surprising, the King was, for a long time, at full Liberty to prepare for his Escape; and Fortune having left him nothing else, he could not have manag'd it with too much

much Care. A Ship was ready waiting him, the Wind was fair, the Queen, whose Intreaties were so prevailing upon him, very affectionately begg'd of him to come away, *Berkeley*, who knew best the Danger his Majesty was in, added his Tears thereto. The King was fully inform'd of the fatal Design of his implacable Enemies. After all that, that great Prince put off taking care of himself from Day to Day ; he could not resolve, he was undetermin'd ; the more he was press'd, the more he would defer, and seek for Reasons to prolong those Delays. What shall we conclude, but that there is some Fatality in all human Things, and that there are Misfortunes, which, tho' foreseen, are not the less inevitable for that ?

The END of the EIGHTH BOOK.

BOOK IX

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
TROUBLES

O. F.

GREAT-BRITAIN.

BOOK IX.

THE King's Answer was read in the House of Commons the third Day of *January*; after which, *Ireton* declares the Sentiment of the Army. He was the Oracle then: So that as there was always amongst the *Jews* a Scepter hung up in the Middle of the *Sanhedrim*, which serv'd as a Memorial of *Jacob's* Royal Prophecy, the Sword ought likewise to have been hung up in the Middle of the Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, as a Sign that they were enter'd into a true Iron Age, and that all Power was then lodg'd in the longest Sword. This Commissary-General said, "That the King
" having refus'd to pass the four Acts, it was plainly declaring, that he
" would no longer protect his People. That being the Case, they were
" no longer his Subjects, and ought to govern the Kingdom without him.
" That since their long Patience had avail'd them nothing, all the
" World was expecting now, that they should take some vigorous Re-
" solution. That they should never forsake those gallant Men who
" commanded the Army, and who had engag'd themselves so far in their
" Interest, that there was no room left for retracting; in short, that
" they should never desert the Parliament, if the Parliament did not
" desert them first." Then *Cromwell* made a Speech; and after
having

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*Ireton's
Speech*

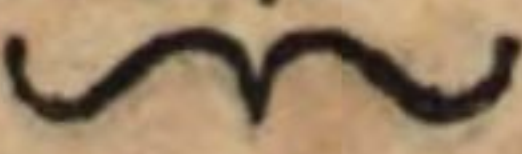
1648.
Cromwell's
Speech.

having very much cry'd up the Valour, Affection, and Piety of the Army, he said, " That it was now expected that the Parliament should, " for the future, govern and defend the Kingdom by their own Authority, and by the Forces which depended upon them ; and that there " were no Hopes of persuading the People any more to expect their Security from an obstinate Man, and whose Heart God had harden'd. " That those who had hitherto supported them at the Expence of their " Blood, would still assist them in that noble Resolution, with all " manner of Fidelity and Courage, in spite of all Opposition. Let " not the Parliament, by neglecting to consider seriously of the Concerns of the Kingdom, wherein those of the Army were comprehended, give Occasion to the Army to think, that they have a mind " to betray them, and leave them expos'd to the Fury of an irreconcilable Enemy, whom they have subdued for their Sakes, and whose " Government, for that Reason, would be insupportable to them, now " that Justice must give way to Revenge : because Despair might " oblige the Army to think of some other Means for securing themselves, than by adhering to them, who would be wanting to themselves ; and he left it to them to judge of what dangerous Consequence that would be to them all, since he could not think of it " himself without Shuddering. " So he concluded, putting his Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword, which then began to be *Cromwell's* last Reason.

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Votes for no
more Addresses
from the Parliament to the
King.

SUCH was the Language of those fighting Saints, who had humbled themselves before God at *Windsor*, griev'd for having carry'd themselves too disobediently to the Parliament, and for having march'd too insolently to *London*, in order to force the two Houses to be of their Minds, and to make them speak as the Eagle did in the Vision of *Esdra*s, where that Author says, that the Voice did not come out of the Head of the Eagle, but out of the Middle of his Body. They had acted that Farce, lest the whole Kingdom being incens'd against them, because of the Affront they had put upon the Parliament, should have join'd with the two Houses to bring them to Reason. At last, for a Proof of their Repentance, they resolv'd to keep within their own Sphere ; that is to say, to act only as Soldiers ought to do, and to leave the Care of the Affairs of State to the two Houses. The Affair then having been taken into Deliberation, the House declar'd, " That they would make no more " Addresses to the King, nor have any more Correspondence with him. " That no Person whatsoever should converse with his Majesty any " more, without the Consent of the two Houses. That such as should " do otherwise, should be guilty of Treason. Lastly, That they would " receive no more Messages from his Majesty ; and they likewise prohibited all Persons whatsoever to bring any such to either of the " Houses. " These insolent Resolutions having been carry'd to the Peers, the House was divided upon them. The Lords, who abhorr'd that way of Proceeding, oppos'd them with great Warmth. But the Commons having order'd a Letter to be written to the General, without acquainting the Peers, to send a Regiment of Foot to garison *Whitehall*, and another of Horse to the King's Stables in the *Meuse*, that was sooner done than demanded, because the Troops had already begun to march towards the City. The Army having likewise at the same time thank'd the Commons for the Resolutions they had taken against the King, promis'd to live and die with them : So that the Balance very soon inclin'd to

to their Side in the House of Peers, where the Affair was carry'd openly by Majority of Votes.

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To the End that that House might conceive no Jealousy, the General wrote to the Lords, That the Report which was spread abroad, that the Army design'd to subvert the Authority of the Peers, was false; and assured them, that, on the contrary, they would maintain the Peerage of the Kingdom in all its Rights and Privileges. This serv'd to amuse them for some Time: And in order to heighten the Courage of the two Houses, and stir them up to cause their Resolutions to be put in Execution, the Army prevail'd upon some of the Counties, that were already much in their Interest, to send them Addresses of Thanks for the vigorous Resolutions they had taken.

It was likewise thought fit, that the Committee of Safety should sit again in *Derby-House*, where it had formerly, in the Month of *January* 1643, been appointed to meet, the *English* Commissioners, having been then order'd to communicate to those of *Scotland* all the Orders they should receive from the two Houses, for carrying on the War, and entertaining the good Correspondence, so necessary to be kept up with Foreigners. But now that Power was given to the Commissioners of the two Houses alone, without Limitation of Time, whereas before it was wont always to be limited to three Months; and besides giving them a Power, without limiting the Time, they likewise enlarg'd their Commission, which extended to give them Power to suppress all Insurrections that should be made in the Counties, and also to give Orders to all the Troops and Militia of the Kingdom. The Peers, who were of this Committee, were the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Warwick*, *Kent*, and *Manchester*; the Lords *Say*, *Wharton*, and *Roberts*: And the chief Men of the House of Commons, were *Cromwell*, who was of all Committees, the two *Vanes*, *St. Johns*, the Solicitor-General, *Sir Gilbert Gerrard*, *Sir William Armyne*, and *Sir Arthur Haslerig*, who had been made Governor of *Newcastle*, upon the Recommendation of the Army.

THE *Scotish* Commissioners, who were making ready to return to *Scotland*, being inform'd of the Resolution of the two Houses concerning the King, wrote to them, that they desir'd to argue the Case with them, and to know if, by their Resolution, they pretended to hinder the *Scots* from having Access to his Majesty, and if he had no longer Power to execute his royal Authority in *Scotland*. The two Houses gave no Answer while they staid in *London*; but when they were gone, they declar'd that the *Scots* might freely have Access to the King, as had been promis'd them, when they put his Majesty's Person into the Hands of the two Houses, upon Condition, however, of having Permission for it. That as for his Authority in their Kingdom, they might do in that, as they should think fit, or rather, as they could, when he shall be among them. And, to say the Truth, as for *England*, the Parliament did not think that he was in a Condition any more to do great Matters there. At the same time the two Houses ordain'd, that six Commissioners should be sent to *Scotland*, in order still to keep up the Peace between the two Kingdoms; there being already some Misgiving, that the Affairs they had to clear together, would certainly bring them to an open Rupture.

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NEVERTHELESS, whatever should happen, they resolv'd, that a Part of the two hundred thousand Pounds, which was still owing the *Scots*, must be paid, and whereof there were fifty thousand Pounds, which ought preferably to be paid to several of the Nobility and Gentry, who had advanc'd their Money to hasten the raising of the auxiliary Troops, and that *Argyle*, who had been the most zealous, must particularly be consider'd. Whereupon some having propos'd, that they ought with Pleasure to pay back again what was due to that Nobleman, who alone, with his Party, of which all the Clergy of the Kingdom were, supported the Interest of the two Houses there, and to whom they were more particularly oblig'd, than to all the rest of the Nation together; as they were almost all coming in to that Proposition, some of the most judicious represented, that the Matter deserv'd to be more maturely consider'd of; and if that Resolution should be taken, instead of putting *Argyle* in a Condition to serve, it would rather make him be suspected by the Parliament of *Scotland*. After the Matter had been a long time debated, it was at last resolv'd, that the half of the principal Sum should be paid immediately; and that as for the other half, the Interest of it should be paid at the Rate of 12 *per Cent.* until the actual Payment. But that Money, by the means whereof the Parliament of *England* thought that the Peace might have been secur'd, if it had come in Time; on the contrary, it would have serv'd to strengthen the Sinews of that War, in spite of all that *Argyle*, their good Friend, could have done, as Matters then stood.

AND because all that the two Houses had resolv'd against the King, had been generally disapprov'd of by the People, and that so extraordinary a Thing justly fill'd their Minds with Jealousies and Fears, that some fatal Change might happen, the House of Commons caus'd a scandalous Declaration to be publish'd against the King, in order to justify the last Resolution which the Parliament had taken. They had therein collected all the Reproaches the Parliament had cast upon the King, in their Declarations and Remonstrances, of having broke in upon their Privileges, and struck at the Liberties of the People: To which the King answer'd very fully, as may be seen in the first Part of this History. And his Majesty would have clear'd himself from Things yet more odious, with which they had the Impudence to charge him in that defamatory Libel: But the King being shut up in a Dungeon in *Carisbrook-Castle*, and knowing very well that the Way betwixt the Prison of Kings and their Grave is very short, he entertain'd himself with no other Thoughts but those of Death, for which he prepar'd himself with a Constancy and Firmness of Mind altogether wonderful.

IF all Men were not naturally dispos'd more easily to receive bad than good Impressions, and if Calumny did not find more free Access into their Minds than Truth, though it be infinitely more amiable, it would be needless to enquire into it upon this Occasion; the heinous Things with which the King is charg'd, being so grossly forged, that they fall to the Ground of themselves. But that it may be seen that his Innocence triumphs over the Malice of his Enemies, the Truth of it must be represented without the least Disguise, as well because this Cause stands not in Need of it, as that History cannot bear Diffimulation.

THE first Thing, wherewith these Gentlemen charg'd the King, was, That his Majesty, in his publick Speeches, and in his printed Declara-

tions,

tions, had laid this Foundation of Tyranny, and this pernicious Maxim, (these were their own Words) — *That he was accountable for his Actions to God only; and that the two Houses of Parliament, either separately, or jointly, had no Power to make a Law, nor to put Glosses upon those already made.* The King had said that, eighteen Years ago, in the Parliament which met the third Year of his Reign, without having been found Fault with in the least by any Body since; far from being taken for the Foundation of Tyranny, as those who exercise it so openly now, would have it believ'd. And then what Probability is there, that what so many great Men have written these many Ages, and what the Lawyers of *England* especially have always taught publickly, could have been taken for pernicious and tyrannical Maxims? Now, those great Men have all maintain'd the first Part of that Maxim which the King advanc'd, That his Majesty depended upon none but God. *Tertullian* also establisheth it in his *Apologetick*; so likewise does *S. Ambrose* upon the Words of the 50th *Psalms*, *Tibi soli peccavi.* And it may likewise be seen what has been the general Practice of it amongst the primitive Christians, in the Ecclesiastical History, which that learned and worthy Prelate, *Messire Antony Godeau*, Bishop of *Grasse* and *Vence*, hath lately publish'd. Amongst our Moderns, *Grotius* boldly maintains it, in his Book *De Jure Belli*, which may justly be call'd the Master-piece of all his Works. The learned *Philip Codurc* speaks of it in the same Manner and Sense, in his Treatise of Obedience. Amongst the Protestants, *Claude de Saumaise*, and *Samuel Bochart*, both of great Reputation in their Communion, shew that they are of the same Opinion, one with a profound Learning, and elaborate Reasons, in his *Apology* for this great Prince; and the other more succinctly, in his excellent and learned Letter to *Dr. Morley*, one of his Majesty's Chaplains.

I do not think, after that, but it must be own'd, that the said Maxim is a Christian Maxim, which all good Men ought to learn with their Catechism; and so much the rather, that we see that Jesus Christ does not separate the Duties we are oblig'd to render to God, from those we owe the Prince, but that he joins them together; as they are both learnedly explain'd by that great Man, *Theophilus Brachet de la Milletiere*, who has so boldly defended the Christian Faith. Besides, the second Table of God's Commandments begins with the Honour which is due to superior Powers, which the Apostle calls the first Precept, for which God promiseth Rewards, because the Obedience that Men pay thereto, draws down all Sorts of temporal Blessings upon them. But, at the same time, they must know, that it ought neither to be out of a Motive of Hopes, nor of Fear, that they ought to submit to Princes; but that it ought to be for the Discharge of their Conscience, because all Powers are ordain'd of God. So those who resist the Power, resist the Ordinance of God, and draw Damnation upon themselves; as may be seen more at large, in the Epistles of *S. Paul*, of that excellent and exact Translation made of them, by that illustrious Personage, *Monsieur de Marolles*, Abbot of *Villeloin*.

'Tis not our Design, in this Place, fully to treat of this Subject. We are writing an History, and confining ourselves within the Compass of the Laws of the Kingdom. We intreat the Reader to mind what we have said upon it already, and what we shall yet say in the Sequel of this History, according as the Subject shall require; that he may see in what Manner those Men, who had sworn a Covenant for the Defence of the Laws,

1648. Laws, and the royal Authority, have themselves trampled upon all the Laws, and murder'd their King.

CHANCELLOR *Egerton*, in the Treatise which he compos'd *de Post Natis*, whereby he means the *Scots* who are born after the coming of King *James* to the Crown of *England*, says, "That, according to the Civil Law, the King is the speaking Law; and that his Majesty alone has Right to pass his Judgment upon all Things, that have not been decided by the Law:" And adds, "That he should wrong the Municipal Law of the Kingdom in particular, if he thought that it did not allow as much Power and Authority to the Kings of *England*, their Sovereign Lords, as the Civil Law gave to the Emperor." At last, he quotes the great Lawyer *Bracton*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, in the Time of *Henry III.* who says, "That it belongs not at all to private Men, not even to the Judges, to dispute Letters Patent; and that they have no Right to explain them. If there be any Difficulty found in them, or any Clause that may admit of several Senses, that the King may explain them as he shall think fit." The same *Bracton* likewise says elsewhere, "That all the Subjects are below the King; and that the King has none above him but God alone." The Law of *Præmunire*, which was made in the sixteenth Year of *Richard II.* for setting Bounds to the Ecclesiastical Immunities, was founded upon this Maxim, That the Crown of *England* was never subject to any Power upon Earth, having been ever immediately subject to God, in all Things that concern the Government. But without producing any more Quotations, 'tis enough to say, That the King having been declar'd, by the Oath of Supremacy, the only supreme Governor of the Kingdom, could not be it, if he was to be accountable for his Actions to any other but God. Now, all the Members of the House of Commons had taken that Oath, and if there had been any one of them that had not taken it, he could not have sat in the House, nor been look'd upon as a Member of Parliament, according to the Act made in the 5th Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign.

As for the other Part of the Maxim, to wit, that the two Houses, of themselves, could neither make Laws, nor explain those already made; that has always been the Sense both of the Laws, and of the Parliament. So in that which was held the second Year of the Reign of *Henry V.* it was said, That it depended upon the King to grant or reject such Requests as he should think fit. The Parliament likewise, which met the first Year of King *James's* Reign, signify'd to his Majesty, in asking his royal Assent for the Validity of an Ordinance that had pass'd the two Houses, that they did not understand, that, without his Assent, the Ordinance could have his Authority, or be in Force for binding Posterity. The same Parliament also, at the Time when their Pretensions ran very high, acknowledg'd, however, that the Power of making Laws was lodg'd in his Majesty, and the two Houses. The Laws speak no otherwise of it. In the 34th Year of the Reign of *Henry VI.* according to *Dyer*, they call'd the King the Head, the Lords the principal Members, the Commons the inferior Members; and that of them all the Parliament was compos'd. 'Tis so that the Author of *The Manner of holding Parliaments* speaks. And Sir *Edward Coke*, whose *Institutes* have been publish'd by Order of the House of Commons, in the Chapter Of *Parliaments*, writes, That no Act can be valid, which is not made by the Votes of the Lords and Commons, and by his Majesty's royal Assent.

THERE

THERE is no Fallacy that has so much deceiv'd the People, as that whereby they have been made to believe, that the Parliament was the supreme Court of Justice, and so, that it belong'd to them to explain the Law. The House of Commons had never pretended to that Power 'till the Year 1641: besides, they can neither take an Oath from, nor tender an Oath to any Person, as the very meanest Court of Justice can do. Nor is the House of Peers a Court, but by Virtue of the King's Commission, as we have already said; or else when, by a Bill of Review, that House revises some Law Suits which are presum'd to be wrongfully decided by the ordinary Judges. And all the Lawyers maintain, that 'tis by Virtue of those royal Letters, which are got from the *Chancery*, that the Peers have the Power of Judging. The King very well observ'd, in the Answer made to the Parliament's Declaration of the 19th of *May* 1642, when his Majesty said, That he did not disagree but that they might explain, and even apply the Law, in certain doubtful and difficult Cases that may be brought before them, provided they observ'd the Forms: but that they were mistaken, if they thought they could assume the Power of Declaring the Sense of the Laws in general; and that he could not bear that they should exercise that Power, without subjecting his Subjects to an arbitrary Government. So that to judge aright of the Matter, the Authority which the Peers have to pass Sentence upon a particular Fact, is rather a Power to give their Opinion about what ought to be done in that Case, than absolutely to declare the Sense of the Law. For if they happen to repeal the Sentence of any Judge, by giving a contrary Decree, yet that Decree is not a Law which the Judges are oblig'd always to follow: On the contrary, they may, in an Affair of the same Nature, judge as they had done before, without being found fault with. Which plainly shews, that none but the Ordinary Judges are lawful Interpreters of the Laws made by the Prince, though the Parties, who have remov'd their Causes before the Peers, be oblig'd to stand to their Sentence, because there is then no Appeal from them.

BESIDES, 'tis not reasonable that any other Men should take upon them to interpret the Laws, but such as have study'd them, and sworn faithfully to explain them. 'Tis a Thing likewise worthy of Observation, that the Peers of the Kingdom have at all times shewn so great a Respect to the Ordinary Judges, that they have almost always affirm'd their Decrees, in what concern'd the Observance of the Laws. And it will not be found, before this last Parliament, that the Peers have ever taken upon them to explain any Law against the Sentiments of the Judges, who are their Assistants in the House, for such Occasions only. Among many Instances which I could alledge, this shall suffice: When the Commons of *England* demanded of the Parliament which was held the twentieth Year of the Reign of *Henry VI.* that *William de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, should be imprisoned, for many Crimes of which he was guilty: The Lords not knowing what Answer to give them, ask'd Advice of the Judges, who were of Opinion, that the Duke ought not to be arrested, because the Accusations brought against him were indefinite and general. Their Advice was follow'd, so that the Duke's Affair was dropt, 'till about a Fortnight after, that the Commons having brought Informations, wherein there were particular Charges against him, and, among others, this, that he kept a Correspondence with the *French*, for invading the Kingdom, then he was sent to the *Tower*.

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IF the Parliament should once invade the Authority to be able to declare the Sense of the Laws, that alone would be sufficient for ruining the King, and all his Subjects, whenever they should think fit to play with their Lives and Fortunes, of which they would be Masters. That will appear very plain, by what they have done since they have usurp'd that Authority. When the King caus'd *Hotbam* to proclaim'd a Traitor, for having shut him out of *Hull*, and resisted him with open Force, in defying his Majesty, who call'd that Resistance *High Treason*; the King grounding what he did upon the Act made in the twenty-fifth Year of *Edward III.* the Parliament declar'd, that *Hotbam* had not shut him out in order to defy him; but quite contrary, that it was to obey him, and that that Act was to be understood only of those who took up Arms against the Royal Authority: That that Authority was lodg'd in them, and that they alone could interpret the Laws. So that, in their Opinion, those who should take up Arms by Authority of Parliament, though it were contrary to the King's Prohibition, would not be liable to the Punishment of the Act, which, in their Sense, reach'd only those of his Majesty's Retinue. The King, for the better Information of his Subjects, put them in mind of the Act which was made the eleventh Year of the Reign of *Henry VII.* whereby it was decreed, That no Person that should be in the Army attending the King's Person, or such as should be employ'd elsewhere by his Order, could either be accus'd or convicted of High Treason. To which the Houses answer'd, That by these Words, *By the King*, which were in the Act, must be understood the Parliament. That if it be said, that the King is the Head and supreme Governor of all Persons within his Dominions, and they have acknowledg'd him as such, by the Oaths they have taken; they declar'd, that that ought to be understood only of Persons in particular, and not of the Courts or collective Bodies of the Kingdom in general.

MANY other Instances might be produc'd, where they have play'd with the Laws, as Occasion offer'd, in order to support their Power, and forward their Designs. They contradicted themselves no less in the Petition they presented the 14th of *December 1641*, wherein they declared, that the King was not to give his Opinion about any Matter under Debate in the two Houses, but must wait 'till it should be determin'd there, in order to be presented to him. Nevertheless, a little after, they desir'd, that the King would be pleas'd to join with them, in order jointly to deprive the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, though that Affair was then under Debate in the House of Peers, where it met with great Opposition. So the Commons declar'd, by their Vote of the 3d of *January 1642*, That if any Person whatsoever shall offer to arrest or detain the Person of any of their Members, without first acquainting the House, that it is lawful for such Member, or any Person to assist him, to stand upon his or their Guard of Defence, and to make a Resistance, according to the Protestation taken, to defend the Privileges of Parliament. But, in their Declaration of the 2d of *November* following, they deny'd that they had said so, and own'd, that for Treason and Felony a Member might be imprison'd, in order to answer before the Parliament. There are a great many other Things, without mentioning those wherein the two Houses debating upon the Matter of the Laws, have not always been of the same Mind.

THEY likewise charg'd the King with some secret Articles of the Treaty of his Marriage with the Infanta of *Spain*, and of that with the Lady

Lady *Henrietta Mary*, the Daughter of *France*, which (said they) were prejudicial to Religion, the Laws, and the Peace of the Kingdom. They also call'd to mind a Letter which the King wrote to the Pope, when he was in *Spain*, about the Subject whereof they left many Things to be guess'd at. But these Articles having been concluded with the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, by the late King *James*, his Majesty's Father, they could not be imputed to King *Charles*, his Son. Now, that none of these Things have been prejudicial to the Kingdom of *England*, appears both by the Experience that has been had of its flourishing State in every respect, since that Time, to the Meeting of this Parliament, and by their Wariness, for so long a Time, in producing some particular Complaints on Account of those Articles. But the most surprizing Thing of all, and which makes it the more plainly appear, that all their Complaints are nothing but mere Calumnies, is to see, that having lost all manner of Respect for their King, and having the Papers in their own Hands for making them good, they would not have fail'd to produce them, if they had thought that they could have made the least Advantage in the World of them.

As to the Letter which they said the Prince wrote to the *Pope*, of which they had not 'till now complain'd, the Occasion of it was as follows: The King, being then but Prince of *Wales*, having, by Order of the King, his Father, travelled into *Spain*, in order to conclude there the Marriage, that for a long Time had been treating about between the two Crowns, he thought that he ought to neglect nothing, to which he imagin'd that Decency and good Manners oblig'd him, for bringing about his Design. And as the King of *Spain's* Council judg'd, that a Dispensation for the Marriage must be had from *Rome*, though the Prince made not the least Step towards obtaining it, however, in Prudence, he was oblig'd to omit nothing that might render the getting of it more difficult. And then the *Pope* having written a very civil Letter to the Prince, which his Nuncio, residing at *Madrid*, presented to him with a great deal of Respect, it would have been too great a Neglect, and might have been taken for a Contempt, if at that Juncture of Time the Prince had not return'd an Answer to his Holiness's Letter. Therefore it was resolv'd that the Prince should write: but it was no easy Matter in what Terms the Letter should be conceiv'd. Those who press'd it the most, having drawn a rough Draught of it, they carry'd it to the Prince, who, with his own Hand, struck out something, which seem'd to him not to be agreeable to the Religion he profess'd. Then his Highness caus'd it to be written over again as he had corrected it, and order'd it to be sent away. There had been some Copies taken of it before it had been revis'd by the Prince, and it was from one of those Copies that it was printed in the *French Mercury*; and from thence lately translated into *English*, in order to scatter it amongst the People. But when the Worst comes to the Worst, though the Prince, adapting himself a little to the Humours of those he had to do with, had sent the first Letter without having alter'd any thing in it, what could have been reasonably inferr'd from thence, the Prince having always express'd a great deal of Steadiness and Affection for the Protestant Religion? The Authors of the Declaration were about making another altogether new: And if the strict Friendship that is between them and the Corsairs of *Algiers*, whom they suffer freely to enter their Ports; and the Letters, so full of Civility, which they have caus'd to be publish'd, between them and the *Bassa* of *Algiers*, were to be insisted upon, it would put one to a Stand, what

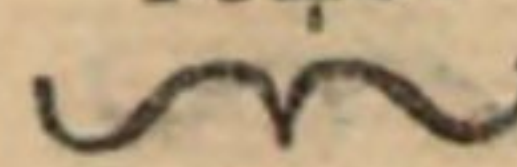
1648. what Name to give it, now that they are in a Sort of Neutrality with respect to Religion.

IN the third Place, they added a Story about the Death of King *James*, wherein having mention'd a Charge that was given in against the Duke of *Buckingham*, to the Parliament that met the second Year of the King's Reign, they told, That the King came to the House of Peers, and that he examin'd the Charge brought against the Duke, and said, That he could bear Witness, that the Duke was innocent of all the Articles of the Accusation; and that, soon after, the Parliament was dissolv'd. They conclude this Relation, leaving to all the World to judge who were the Accomplices and Causes of that Death. 'Tis a manifest Truth, that King *James* was never so much delighted with any Thing in his Life, as he was with the Piety and Dutifulness of his Son, who had never displeas'd him while he liv'd. That wise Prince died, in the 59th Year of his Age, of an intermitting Fever, of which he had several Fits, and which at last turn'd into a continual Fever, which is almost always deadly to aged and corpulent Persons, such as the King was. The first Year after his Death, King *Charles* call'd a Parliament; during which, there never was any Person that seem'd to have the least Thought, that the King died otherwise than of a natural Death; tho' there were many Persons therein, even of great Quality, who did not like the Duke of *Buckingham*, and who would not have fail'd to heighten the very least Circumstances, that could have made it be suspected that he had been poison'd.

ABOUT the Time that the Parliament met the second Year of the King's Reign, *George Egilsham*, a *Scots* Man, and Physician, went over to *Flanders*, from whence he sent a Libel in Form of a Petition, which he address'd to the Parliament in his own Name, wherein he accus'd the Duke of *Buckingham* of having poison'd King *James*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*. That Libel was handed about over all the City of *London*; and the House of Commons, who were then very much incens'd against the Duke of *Buckingham*, caus'd to be inserted, in their Remonstrance against him, that Passage of the Libel concerning King *James*, "That the Duke of *Buckingham* had the Boldness to give the King a Potion during his Sickness, and to cause a Plaister to be apply'd to his Breast." This was printed in the Declaration which we are answering; which was properly accusing the King himself. Seeing that the Duke's Accusation had been shewn, it was not just to conceal his Answer; and every Body would have known, that the King had taken nothing, but what he himself had desir'd with great Earnestness, and which had not been given him but by the Advice of his Majesty's Physicians; because those Remedies are of the Nature of such, as are commonly made Use of every where, and which the Physicians themselves agree, that they are made Use of, after all others have been try'd to no Purpose; because they know very well, that if those Remedies do but little Good, at least they do but little Harm. The Parliament sat eight Days after this Answer was given, without any Person appearing to be dissatisfy'd with it, in that Session particularly, wherein the King could declare what he knew of the Truth, for the clearing of a faithful Servant, who was accus'd of so wicked an Attempt in his Majesty's Presence. After the breaking up of the Parliament, all possible Means were us'd for discovering what could have given Ground for that Calumny; the Author whereof died very soon after, having express'd a great deal of Grief, for having been guilty of so base and abominable an Action.

THE Year after, there was another Session of Parliament, which was not more favourable to *Buckingham*, than the former had been. They continu'd sitting a long time before his Death. Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and *John Elliot*, who were nam'd in the Declaration, were always the most active there; and yet, in all the Remonstrances they made, they never mention'd that wicked Calumny, which has always been confess'd to be the worst-grounded, and the most gross that ever was invented. In the Beginning of the Parliament which met under an unlucky Planet, when Sedition was spoken and preach'd openly, it was whisper'd about amongst the Heads of that mischievous Cabal, who have ruin'd the State, That they would enquire into the Affair of King *James's* Death. After the King had retir'd from *London*, and that the Parliament had taken upon themselves to command as Masters, *Egilsham's* Libel was printed, and sold publickly in the Streets. As it was all the Town-talk, one of the most powerful and zealous of the Faction happen'd to say, with some Emotion, to one of the Secretaries of State, That King *James's* Death was too freely spoken of in publick; and that he would send him a Clergyman, who would let him know a great many Circumstances of it. That Clergyman went that Evening to wait upon the Secretary; and told him, "That there was a Man, who liv'd not far from *London*, who had offer'd to prove, whenever he should be call'd upon, that King *James* had been poison'd." The Secretary having no mind to give him an Answer immediately, desir'd him to come back the next Morning; and having caus'd the Council to be call'd, he gave an Account there of what had been told him the Day before, and intreated them to consider what was fitting for him to say. That Information so little affected the most Part of the Council, that the Person himself, who had first spoken of it to the Secretary, seem'd to be the more vex'd, that the Matter had been thus blaz'd abroad. The Secretary, who, as soon as he had got the Information, had dispatch'd an Express to the King, resolv'd to wait his Majesty's Orders about it, especially having observ'd, that the Council minded it but very little. In the mean time, he gave an Order for arresting the Person, who had undertaken to prove the wicked Attempt; but he could not be found without the Help of the Clergyman, who was desir'd to assist those, to whom the Secretary had given the Order, there being none but he, that knew the Place of his Abode. The King wrote that very Day to his Secretary, That, all other Business being laid aside, he would have his Council to set about inquiring narrowly into that Affair, and to neglect nothing that could be useful in clearing it to the very Bottom. The King's Letters having been read in Council, he desir'd to be inform'd about it; but little Regard was had to that, for no Information was sent him, and in a very short Time that Calumny was again dropp'd; those who had reviv'd it, not mentioning it any more; Because (said they) that, at another Time, they might make Use of it to better Purpose for their wicked Designs.

As those that are a drowning, take Hold, if they can, of Briars, and grasp at every Thing they meet with, even the very Things that float upon the Water; and those weak Supports likewise sinking with them, they give Jerks as long as they are able, and do their utmost for prolonging their Lives, were it but for a Moment: So the Authors of that Declaration, having run headlong into the most terrible Gulph of Rebellion, and not knowing how to free themselves from the shameful Reproaches, which all the World would cast upon them for that ignominious Revolt, nor how they could prevent their being detested and abhorr'd among all

1648.  honest Men, they laid hold of, and were bent upon whatever Reproach, Rage, and Despair could prompt them to, how absurd soever it might be, for blemishing the Reputation of their Sovereign, in order, if possible, by those weak Efforts, to lessen the publick Hatred they had so justly drawn upon themselves.

HAVING thus disturb'd the Ashes of King *James*, they cross'd the Sea, in order to charge the King with the Loss of *Rochelle*, and accus'd him of having sent some Ships of the Royal Navy, with other Merchant Ships, to be employ'd against their Brethren, whom they ought to have assisted. But *Rochelle* found its Safety in what they call'd its Loss, so as all the other Towns did, which have been brought under the Obedience of the King, their Master. Neither is it true, that the King ought to have assisted the *Rochellers* against their lawful Prince, even though they had been of the King's Religion; which they were not, as may be seen in the *First Book* of this *History*. Besides, his Majesty never suffer'd the Princes, his Children, to assist at the Exercise of the Religion of the *Rochellers*. As for the Ships, the Truth of the Matter is as follows: Of all the Royal Navy, there was only one Ship, call'd the *Van-guard*, that had been lent to the King of *France*, and which he had sent back long before *Rochelle* was besieg'd, and near two Years before it was surrender'd. That Ship was lent about the Time of the King's Marriage, when his Majesty being at War with *Spain*, and having but just confirm'd the Alliance betwixt *France* and *England* by so sacred a Tie, that Motive, and all manner of Reasons of State, which are beyond the Reach of the People, into which they ought neither to enquire nor examine, oblig'd him to lend the most Christian King (who had then some Designs upon *Italy*, and had receiv'd a particular Disobligation from the Republick of *Genoa*) that Ship call'd the *Van-guard*, and to allow the Agents of *France* to hire six or seven Merchant Ships, for serving in the *Mediterranean*; on Condition, however, that they should not be employ'd against the Protestants of *France*. After that those Ships had join'd the *French* Fleet, in which there were twenty *Dutch* Men of War, commanded by Admiral *Hautbain*, and his Vice-Admiral *Dorp*, it attack'd that of *Rochelle*, and defeated it. The King having had an Account of that Fight, complain'd of it openly, by his Ambassador, to the King of *France*; who answer'd, "That the Blame of all that Action ought to be laid upon the Protestants, who, out of Wantonness, had begun the War, Monsieur *de Soubize* having seiz'd all the Kings Ships at *Blavet*, when all was peaceable in the Kingdom. That those were the very Ships, which his Fleet had just now destroy'd. That the King of *Great-Britain* ought to be dissatisfy'd with the Protestants, and ought to shew them his Resentment of it, since they had broke the Peace, which had been granted them by his Mediation and Procurement." However, the King did not fail forthwith to require that the Ships might be sent back again; and soon after, having enter'd into a War with *France*, the Duke of *Buckingham* did not neglect to insert in the *Manifesto*, which he caus'd to be publish'd after his landing in the Isle of *Ré*, as one of the Causes of that Rupture, that the King his Master's Ships had been employ'd against the Protestants, contrary to the Promise that had been given him, that they should not be made use of against them. Thus the Authors of the Declaration have made but a bad Voyage to *Rochelle*.

BEING

BEING return'd Home, they call'd to mind likewise the great *Spanish* Fleet that came into the *Downs* in the Year 1639, of which they had no mind to speak any thing, lest they should have been mistaken; though they insinuated artfully into the Minds of the People, that it was a Design against *England*; in which they were as far out, as in every thing else: For 'tis very certain, that that Fleet was going to *Flanders* with Money for paying the Army there. There were also aboard of it some new-raisd Soldiers, the Number whereof was so much the greater, because the *Spaniards* had a mind to transport from that Country a great Part of their old Soldiers to *Catalonia*. But those new-levy'd Men, which had been put on Shipboard, were there without Officers, and the Fleet was so ill provided for any warlike Expedition, that, by skirmishing only with that of *Holland*, all their Powder was spent before they reach'd the *Downs*, and they were forc'd to buy some in *London*, where, in Justice, it could not be deny'd them, they paying for it, the *Dutch* themselves having offer'd them as much as they pleas'd for ready Money.

THEY likewise complain'd, that for several Years the King had not call'd a Parliament; and added, that after the breaking up of such as had met, some Members thereof had been thrown into Prison, where some of them had died. These Complaints were then very needless, since the King had long before taken Care of that Grievance, if that Delay may be call'd a Grievance, having, for the time to come, granted Triennial Parliaments; besides, that the People had more Reason to complain of the Continuance of those Parliaments, than that the King had not call'd them oftener. For, during twelve Years that no Parliament had met, there was not a People on the Face of the Earth, that enjoy'd a more settled Peace, or greater Prosperity, than those of *England*, did then; nor, on the contrary, that have been more miserable, and more distress'd, since Parliaments began to meet again. Which they ought to take for a Warning, that 'tis good to make use of Parliaments as they make use of Physick, which turns to Nourishment, if it be too often taken; and if too seldom, it works too violently, and has a dangerous Effect upon the Oeconomy of the Health. As for the Members, who, they said, had been imprison'd, they were at liberty to complain of it, and to have Recourse to Justice; in doing whereof, they would have been told, that the Person who died in Prison, had been put there by Virtue of a Sentence of the *King's-Bench*: So they ought to have remember'd a Maxim of the Law, which they themselves have sometimes quoted, and which they have made use of, upon Occasions, *That the King can do no Wrong to any Person*; and if any be done, that's prejudicial to the State, the Council ought to be answerable for it; if it be done in the Courts of Justice, the Judges, in like manner, are accountable for it.

THERE remain'd nothing more to reproach the King with, but the Commission, which, they said, he had given to Colonel *Cochran*, for going to *Denmark* to demand Troops; though his Majesty had affirm'd, that he had never thought of it; and that, in the Instructions he had given that Colonel, his Majesty had express'd, that he expected Assistance from all the neighbouring Princes, and from all his Allies. But that Colonel was not sent to the King of *Denmark*, 'till after the War had been begun, and when the Earl of *Essex* had march'd his Army against his Majesty. Besides, his Instructions contain'd nothing else, but that

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that he was to press that Prince to assist the King with Money, Arms, and Ammunition, because the two Houses of Parliament had seiz'd upon all his Magazines. They, indeed, likewise contain'd, that he would be pleas'd to send them in some of his own Ships, because the Parliament had made themselves Masters of all the Royal Navy, and which they made use of as a Guard, to prevent his Majesty from receiving any Assistance from his Neighbours. The King sought no Troops at that time, and, with Truth, said, that it was a false Report, given out by his Enemies, because his Majesty trusted to his Subjects. But after that the Revolt was so great, that the *Scots*, who, of all Men, were most oblig'd never to have separate Interests from those of his Majesty, had strengthen'd the Rebellion in *England*, by their unhappy Relapse; The King might, and even ought to have call'd for foreign Troops to his Assistance; and, perhaps, the not having call'd for some, was the greatest Fault he committed during his whole Reign. It was to be presum'd, that the King might reasonably have expected Assistance from all the Kings and other Princes, his Allies, who he thought, in Reason, ought not to suffer Royal Majesty to be so unworthily treated in his Person, and which reflected upon their own Crowns, without they should contribute towards suppressing the Rebellion, which had so horribly dishonour'd it in *England*. For who can doubt but all Princes ought to have join'd together for stifling that Monster, and removing so dangerous an Example from the Sight of their People? And God grant they may never have reason to repent of not having resent'd the Outrages done to Royalty, and of not having turn'd their Arms against the Enemies of Kings.

At length, puff'd up with their great Success, they upbraided the King, that even after he had been disarm'd, and forc'd to disguise himself, in order to get into the *Scots* Army, they had presented to him the same Propositions of Peace, that they had offer'd when he had Armies in the Field, and Possession of Towns; which the King having always obstinately rejected, God, by the Victories he had given them, had visibly decided in their Favour. That insolent Language, however, prov'd nothing else, but that the Propositions were so extravagant, from the first time that they had the Impudence to present them, that it was scarce possible to propose worse. And, indeed, to examine them thoroughly, they contain'd nothing, in short, but a Demand, which the Members of the two Houses made to the King, that he would be pleas'd to give up to them his Crown, his Sword, and his Scepter, to save them the Trouble, that they might well imagine it would cost them to wrest them from him; which God, however, has permitted them to do, being pleas'd to make use of them, as Instruments of his Justice and Wrath, for chastising the Islands of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. But nevertheless, his Love and Hatred are not to be measur'd by the good or bad Success of worldly Things. One would think that those zealous Reformers of Religion ought not to be ignorant of that Truth, which is expressly contain'd in the Word of God, nor of the Royal Prophet's declaring, that he had been tempted by *the Prosperity of the Wicked, until he went into the Sanctuary*, where he understood that *God had set them in slippery Places*. It was just so with these proud Conquerors, who applauded themselves, took a Pride in their Rebellion, and imagin'd that God always favour'd their Undertakings; like those poor People, who offer'd Cakes to the Queen of Heaven, the Work of their own Hands, indulg'd themselves in their Idolatry, and boasted that

that they had been successful in every Thing, while they had continu'd those Sacrifices. In short, these petty Tyrants imitated *Denys* the Tyrant, who failing before the Wind, in returning from the Pillage of the Temple of *Proserpine*, fancy'd that the Gods countenanc'd his Sacrilege.

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YET if these Rebels had more narrowly consider'd the Conduct of God in their Revolt, they would have plainly seen, that he was so far from deciding in their Favour, that he has not suffer'd them to carry Things so high, but in order to make their Fall the more ignominious, and to reserve to himself the Glory of throwing them down headlong into the bottomless Pit: For Heaven often suffers the Wicked to be successful, and even to enjoy a long Prosperity, that they may be the more sensibly affected with their Fall, when God has a mind to punish their Pride, and that by a sudden and unforeseen Change, he fills them with Shame and Confusion.

IF Mr. *Hambden* had not acted with so much Forwardness in the Affair of the Militia, as Reason and Prudence ought to have dissuaded him from acting so vehemently as he did, the Judgment of God would not have appear'd so visibly upon him, that he lost his Life in the same very Place, where he had first executed the Ordinance of the Militia. If Sir *John Hotbom* had not shut the King out of *Hull*, as Civility, his Duty, and the Oath of Fidelity which he had taken, oblig'd him not to do it, the Judgment of God would not have been so visible as it was, after he had declar'd, that he wish'd God might confound him and all his Posterity, if he did not shew himself faithful to the King, and that at the very Time that he caus'd the Cannon to be pointed against his Majesty: For both he and his Son were put to Death, by Authority of the two Houses of Parliament; which, had it not been for his base Treason, never would have had that Power over him, who, having it in his Power to serve the King, and would not do it, afterwards lost his Head, for having had a mind to do it, at a time when it was no longer in his Power to keep his Word. And if it be remember'd what Spite Sir *Alexander Carew* shew'd against the King's Party, and how much he extol'd the Treachery of a Servant, as if he had serv'd the Kingdom, on that Occasion, in violating his Faith to the King, his Master; and if it also be consider'd, that Sir *Alexander* himself having afterwards been betray'd by his own Servant, had his Head struck off, by Virtue of a Sentence pronounc'd against him, by those very Men who took Advantage of his Treason against his Majesty: it cannot be doubted but the Judgment of God has been much more visible, than if that Man had never swerv'd from his Duty.

IN short, If it be consider'd, that after the Parliament had made themselves Masters of all the King's Forces, and had got the absolute Command of the whole Kingdom, yet they did not find themselves in greater Security, but, on the contrary, they were more frightened, than when they had to do with his Majesty's Troops; the Judgment of God appears more remarkable therein, than if the King had brought them again to their Duty by the Force of Arms, which might have been expected, as well from the Justice of his Cause, as from the usual Fate of Rebellion. That the City of *London* has been expos'd to all manner of Contempt and Danger, by the Change which the Army caus'd to be made in its Militia, which before was the Support of that proud City,

1648. the chief Seat, and nursing Mother of the Rebellion; and that the same Method of acting that it practis'd by Petitions, which encourag'd the Tumults that made the King retire from it, has been practis'd by the Army, to the Reproach and Ruin of the City. That the Members of Parliament, who were the chief Incendiaries, the most violent Persecutors of such as were not of their Sentiments, and the greatest Promoters of the seditious Insurrections, which oblig'd the King with all his Servants to leave *Westminster*, have themselves been persecuted, on Account of their Sentiments, and driven out of the same Place, by those whom they had maintain'd there: And as, in order to render the King odious, they gave out, That he favour'd the Rebellion of *Ireland*; so, to render themselves odious to the People, they have been accus'd of having diverted the Relief of *Ireland*. That those who caus'd it to be told the King, That, if he should persist in refusing them the Command of the Militia, the Kingdom would be in so great Danger, that his Ruin was inevitable; so that, if his Majesty should not be pleas'd to assure their Commissioners, That he consented to their Demands, they would be oblig'd to dispose of the Militia by Order of the two Houses; and it was upon that Account they began the War against the King. That those Men, I say, have been treated in the same Manner by the Officers of their own Army, whom they had kept in Pay; who boldly sent them Word, That what they ow'd to the Parliament, and the whole Kingdom, sufficiently authoriz'd them, by extraordinary Means, to take care of the Necessities of the State; and for that End, they would lay Hold of all the Means that should be in their Power, if, within 24 Hours, the two Houses did not grant them what they had demanded. That their Army had revolted against them, grounding their Revolt upon the Principles of their own Declarations, when the Council of War wrote to them, That they always submitted to the Equity of the Laws, yet dispensing with keeping to the literal Sense of the same Laws, when the publick Safety was in Danger, and giving them to understand, that all Authority had its Foundation in the Office, the Ministry whereof was committed to Persons: So that they did not think they resisted the Civil Magistrate, when they observ'd the Laws of Nature and Nations. Such was the Language of the two Houses, and such was the destructive Foundation of the Rebellion. To conclude, this unjust Declaration, by which they thought to have oblig'd the People to join with them, in all their mischievous Designs that they could have contriv'd against the King, has, on the contrary, incens'd all the World against them, and quite alienated the Affections, which the People formerly had for the Parliaments of the Kingdom, which, before, they had so much respected. This is, truly, after what Manner God has decided all Things in their Favour.

'Tis very certain, nor were they ignorant of it, that the greatest Part of the Counties, from which they boasted of having had Addresses of Thanks, tho' some of them had been begg'd for, and the rest extorted by Force or Cunning, had protested against all their Incroachments; and that even such as had given Way to that unworthy Action of addressing them, began to detest it, and to abhor the two Houses. Which oblig'd them to give Power to three of each Committee of the several Counties, to arrest such as should appear to them to have a Design of forming any new Party in the State, or should be so bold, as to speak or publish any Thing against the Honour of the Parliament. They allow'd those three to sequester the Estates of the Parties accus'd, without any other Form of Process, tho' the two Houses had very often propos'd to suppress those

those Committees, who ravag'd the Counties, and that the Laws had, with great Caution, taken care of what concern'd the Lives, Liberty, and Goods of the Subject. For it had been expressly ordain'd, That no Person could be put in Prison, nor have his Goods seiz'd, but by Virtue of a Sentence pronounc'd with all the Forms of Justice. They had given this Power, in order to prevent the Insurrections they were afraid might be made in the Counties; and they found a Pretence for securing the City of *London*, where they were always afraid that some Party might be form'd for the King.

THE Pretence which they made Use of, was, That having a mind, by Force, to prevent the Apprentices from playing in the publick Places on *Easter* Holidays, the Apprentices got together in a Body, and shut the Gates towards *Westminster*; but not having plac'd Guards, nor done any Thing for defending themselves, the next Morning the General sent a Body of Horse, which charg'd and routed them. And tho' it was but a youthful Folly, which did not deserve to be so severely punish'd, as to expose many innocent young Men to be butcher'd, yet that Action was so much cry'd up, that the House of Commons having caus'd an hundred Pounds to be given to the Soldiers, for that warlike Exploit, order'd a thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse, to be put in Garison in the Tower. They caus'd the Garisons of the *Meuse* and *Whitehall* to be reinforc'd; and order'd, That there should be five Boats, with fifty Musquetiers in each, behind that Palace, in Readiness to disperse the Meetings of the Watermen. That the Chains should be taken from the Streets, and that Informations should be given in against those Apprentices, who thought of nothing then but diverting themselves, according to the Custom ever observ'd on Holidays. But their tortur'd Consciences did not as yet suffer them to stop there. As they trembled, when there was no Occasion of Fear, the House of Lords likewise nam'd six of their Members, to be added to the Committee of Safety, and desir'd the Commons to join twelve of theirs to them. Many of that House oppos'd it, saying, That there were already in that Committee seven Lords, and fourteen Commoners; which was a Number more than sufficient, for dispatching the Affairs thereof both secretly and speedily. That to add yet six Lords to it, would be making almost their whole House of it; and that the Committee being compos'd of so many Persons, and having thirteen Peers, and twenty six of the ablest Commoners, would be in a Condition to give Laws to the two Houses; and, if they had a mind, might vest themselves with all their Authority: So that they would no longer be able to maintain the Dignity of Parliament. That it would be more proper, for the Good of the Publick, to limit the Power of that Committee, and the Time of its Continuance, than, by trusting it with an unlimited and arbitrary Power, to betray the Confidence of the People, who expected their Peace and Security from the Parliament only. The Proposal was thought reasonable; but when the Matter came to be taken into Consideration, some other was always artfully mov'd, which prevented that from being decided.

AND because they were afraid of getting some bad News from *Ireland*, having by many Ways endeavour'd to break the Lord *Inchiquin*, in order to give the Command of the Army to the Lord *Lisle*, tho' *Inchiquin* had done them but too much Service; on the 13th of *April*, they gave Audience to some Officers that had deserted, who gave an Account, that *Inchiquin* had told them, " That, if they had a mind, he
" was

1648. " was ready to declare against the Army, and Independent Party of
 " *England*, who had depriv'd both the King and Parliament of all Li-
 " berty : That he would make Use of his Arms, for restoring it both to
 " the one and the other, and for obtaining a free Treaty between the
 " King and Parliament, whence the Peace would infallibly follow: That
 " he hop'd all his Officers would join with him in so noble a Design; but
 " that he would have them swear, that they should keep the Secret, be-
 " fore he would explain himself any farther. " And they having an-
 " swer'd, " That they could not take any Oath, until they were sure they
 " might keep it with a safe Conscience; and that they had resolv'd to
 " be faithful to the Parliament: " He had reply'd, " That his Design
 " was to be faithful to it, as well as they; but that they ought to declare
 " plainly if they meant the pretended Parliament, and if it was to it they
 " design'd to be faithful; assuring them besides, That he had a Corre-
 " spondence with all the Presbyterians both of *Scotland* and *England*,
 " and even with those who were in the Parliament; and that he did not
 " doubt of succeeding in his Undertaking: That when the worst comes
 " to the worst, he would still get good Conditions for himself and his
 " Party; and that he would make Peace with the Lord *Taffe*, as he
 " knew the Independents were endeavouring to do the same with *Oneil*,
 " who was a Man of the same Stamp, and who wanted only to see every
 " Thing in Confusion, as well as they. "

THE same Day, were read in the House Letters from Vice-Admiral *Crowther*, who commanded in the *Irish* Seas, much to the same Purpose, and giving them an Account besides, That he had block'd up *Inchiquin's* Harbours. It was immediately propos'd, That, since that Lord had boasted of having a Correspondence with the Presbyterians who were Members of the House, before taking into Consideration the Enemies without Doors, they ought to discover those within, by some new Oath, which the Members should be oblig'd to take. In order to back that Proposal, *Cromwell* added, That if they would be rul'd by him, such as should oppose it, and by that Means delay the Proceedings of the House, should have a Mark set upon them. The next Day, the Lord *Inchiquin's* Son, who was but about eight or nine Years of Age, was arrested, and sent Prisoner to the Tower; after which the Father was declar'd a Traitor, his Commission made void, and all Soldiers were forbidden to obey him. *Lisle* was declar'd General of the Army, in the Province of *Munster*, and the Officers who had deserted, were all rewarded. But when they came to resume the Proposal that had been made the Day before, which was, That all the Members should be oblig'd to make it appear, by some League, or particular Oath, that the Parliament was free, and that they would live and die with it and the Army; there were some of those who had preserv'd some Remains of the dying Liberty of the House, who said, " That, by an Ordinance of the two Houses, all the Members
 " being oblig'd to sign the national League and Covenant, yet there were
 " several particular Members of the House of Commons, who had al-
 " ways, with much Contempt, refus'd to do it; and that, for the same
 " Reason, Motions for new Leagues, made by those, ought not to be
 " comply'd with. That this House had no Power to tender an Oath to
 " any Person, much less to make a new one; and that, at least, they
 " ought to grant to others the same Liberty of Conscience, which they
 " take to themselves. That *Inchiquin* had not only spoken of the Pres-
 " byterians, but likewise of the Independents; and that both Reason and
 " Justice requir'd, that those who had a mind to accuse others, ought
 " first

“ first to clear themselves from the Charges that had been brought against
 “ them. That, in short, the true Touch-stone of the Cleanness of
 “ every Man’s Conscience, was, to make a strict Enquiry after such
 “ as had enrich’d themselves by the Publick Calamities, and to distin-
 “ guish them from those who were thereby impoverish’d and undone.”
 Though these Reasons were allow’d to be good, yet, for all that, the
 House would have gone on, without minding them, if the main Point
 had not been carry’d, that is to say, if *Inchiquin* had not been turn’d out
 of his Commission; for it being out of his Power to hurt them, they
 had but little Reason to be afraid of all his Correspondents.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these Precautions, they were not long
 without having great Concerns in Hand; and as they were afraid that
 the greatest Mischief was to come from the North, we are going to see
 the Behaviour of the *Scots* towards revenging the base Treatment which
 their native Prince had from the Parliament of *England*. The Com-
 missioners being to return to *Scotland*, gave an Account of their whole
 Management to the Committee of Parliament, and told them in what
 Condition they had left the King in the Isle of *Wight*. The Committee
 thank’d them for their Care; and as the second Session of the Triennial
 Parliament was drawing near, they referr’d that important Affair to be
 treated of there. In the mean time, the Committee of the General
 Assembly (for there was a Committee of the Clergy during the Interval
 of Assemblies, as there was another of the Parliament during the
 Interval of Sessions) having been inform’d of what the King had granted
 in favour of the Covenant, in the Isle of *Wight*, and having likewise
 receiv’d a very kind Letter from his Majesty, the first Day of *March*,
 they made a Declaration thereupon. But these turbulent Spirits, whose
 Brains were over-heated with the Covenant, beyond what he imagin’d,
 alarm’d the whole Kingdom, and publish’d every-where, that Religion
 was in the utmost Danger, as well from the Faction of the Sectaries of
England, as from the Malignants within their own Kingdom, and from
 those also, who, in their Favour, had abated of that Ardour they
 formerly had: For in the Covenant (said they) the Defence of the
 King’s Person and Authority was not only added, but even subordinated
 to that of Religion and the Liberties of the Kingdom; and from the
 Beginning of that holy Union, more Care had been taken of Religion,
 than of all other Things: Nevertheless these Interests began to be
 parted, and many, to the utmost of their Power, endeavour’d to persuade
 the People to espouse the King’s Quarrel, and to restore him to the
 Possession of the Royal Authority, though he had not satisfy’d the Desires
 of his Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, with respect to the Covenant.
 That there were also some, who declared openly, that his Majesty had
 given all the Satisfaction to the Commissioners in the Isle of *Wight* that
 could reasonably be expected: So that if, at this Juncture, the Trumpet
 of *Sion* be not blown, so as to be distinctly heard, and if the Watchmen
 don’t carefully warn the People of the Danger into which they are
 like to fall, their Blood will be required at the Watchmens Hands.

THEREFORE they thought that they were oblig’d to tell plainly,
 that the King had not at all given Satisfaction in what the Kingdom
 had demanded of his Majesty concerning Religion, though what they
 had desired was just. For, in the first Place, the King granted nothing
 in Favour of the Covenant, but so far as he gave Credit to the
 Covenanters Expressions of Fidelity, and as he believ’d that their Inten-

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tions being upright and sincere for defending his Person and Authority, so they would not lessen the reasonable Grandeur of them. That he also promis'd, that as soon as he could, with Safety and Honour, be present in a free Meeting of Parliament, he would confirm the Covenant in both Kingdoms, in order to secure from the Laws, both those who had sign'd it, and such as had yet a mind to sign it, provided that no Person should be forc'd to do it against his Will. That shew'd plainly, that his Majesty did not like the Covenant, nor countenance it, but so far as it was necessary for his own Interest: besides, that the mentioning an Act for securing those who had already sign'd, and those who had a mind to sign the Covenant, seem'd to insinuate, that those who had done it, had transgress'd; and that as they could be call'd to an Account for it afterwards, they stood in need of an Act of Indemnity. Moreover, what his Majesty promis'd, was only conditional, and suppos'd so many and such Conditions, that it would have been no hard Matter for him to find some Evasion, whenever he had stood in need of it; because it would have been easy to have cavill'd, either upon the Expressions of the Covenanters, or upon the King's lawful Authority, his Honour, and Safety, or else upon what belong'd to the Freedom of Parliament. And though what his Majesty had granted had been absolute, it put the Covenant only among the Voluntary Obligations; which directly clash'd with the Acts both of the General Assembly and Parliament, and the Declarations of both Kingdoms, in all which it was expressly mention'd, that the King himself should sign the Covenant, and, by an Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, should ordain, that all his Subjects should sign it likewise, upon Pain of Disobedience, or of any other that should be agreed upon between the two Nations. So that this first Article chang'd intirely the State of the Question, heighten'd the Courage of the Sectaries and Malignants, and introduc'd an abominable Indifference for the Cause of God. That as to what may be objected, That Mens Consciences ought not to be forc'd, that was a Thing of no Consequence: because, as every Body was, of Necessity, oblig'd to submit to the Covenant, the Pain impos'd upon the Disobedient, forc'd their Consciences no more, than the Pain, to which such Subjects, as refuse to take the Oath of Fidelity, are liable, forceth their Consciences to keep the Fidelity they owe; or, as the Punishment inflict'd upon Idolaters, Blasphemers, and Seducers, of which mention is frequently made in the Scripture, could not be call'd a Force upon the Conscience to fear God.

AND since the King consented to confirm the Presbyterian Government, the Directory, and the Continuance of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, for three Years, upon Condition, that his Majesty and Family should not be hinder'd to continue the ancient Form of Divine Service; and that twenty of his Majesty's Divines might freely confer upon those Matters, as well with those of *Westminster*, as with those who should be sent from *Scotland*; to the End, that after that Conference, his Majesty and the two Houses might, after the three Years, settle the Ecclesiastical Government, which should be judg'd most agreeable to the Word of God. But as it behov'd to suppose, that all the Conditions, which the King had demanded in the first Article, were understood in this, that was only a bare Toleration of Government in *England* for three Years, and contain'd nothing more in Substance, but what his Majesty had formerly granted; besides, that it contain'd a formal Approbation of the Liturgy in his Family. Moreover, that second Article not only

only open'd a Door again to Episcopacy, but it likewise made no Account of the Progress that had been made in the Reformation and Uniformity of Religion. For if new Conferences must have been begun again with those new Divines, all the Progress that had been made in that Affair came to nothing. That they had not heretofore refus'd the Conference with the Prelatical Party; but they could not consent that the Foundations, which they had happily laid, of a holy Reformation, should be destroy'd, as seem'd to be intended. And as his Majesty declar'd, that he would direct what Ecclesiastical Government should be establish'd in *England*, that Clause made void all the most important Propositions in favour of Religion, upon which both Kingdoms had agreed, and jointly presented to his Majesty. For the King pretending to have the Negative Voice in Parliament, they never would be able to abolish Episcopacy; seeing, on the 16th of *November*, the King had written positively to the Parliament of *England*, that he could not consent to it, without wounding his Conscience, and being perjur'd, and that he had still persisted in that Opinion, in the Answer he made the 28th of *December*, when their new Propositions were sent to him. These Things being thus, they thought they might say, that as the first Article destroy'd the Covenant, the second no less subverted the Presbyterian Government, the Directory, and the Uniformity of Religion, which had been so holily establish'd according to the Covenant.

LASTLY, They own'd, indeed, that the King shew'd his Readiness to have all Sorts of Sects and Heresies suppress'd, and especially those specify'd in the Treaty, and all other Opinions repugnant to the Principles of Christianity, and the Order and Peace both of the Church and State. But they found fault, that the *Erastians* were not therein particularly comprehended. The Presbyterians hated those of that Sect above all others. They are call'd *Erastians*, from their Author *Erastus*, who deny'd that the Church had the Power of Excommunicating, which *St. Paul* had exercis'd upon the incestuous *Corinthian*. That Power is what the Puritan Ministers are very covetous of, because they make themselves formidable, by Means of the Strokes they give with that Sword of Excommunication, with which they frequently lay about them, and thresh with both Arms, without making the least Scruple; whenever the Whim takes them, to deliver up into the Hands of the Devil such Persons as they think fit. They likewise took it amiss, that the Papacy and the Hierarchy had not been comprehended in the same Article, though the Covenant contain'd an express Obligation for extirpating them both; so that they were afraid, that all that had been done might at last come to a Toleration of them both, the King having granted it to those who should not be willing to comply with the Presbyterian Government.

HAVING thus discover'd the Danger, they likewise added their wholesome Advice, and exhorted all those of their Communion, particularly the Lords, and other Members of Parliament, before all Things, to labour to make a serious Reformation of themselves, and afterwards to take Care not to be led into Temptation in the Company of the Ungodly: That their having shunn'd one Evil, would be of no Stead to them, if, at the same time, they fell into another; and it was not to be doubted, but Religion would be in as great Danger from the Prelates and Malignants, as from the Sectaries. But, above all, it should be consider'd, that, besides the open and declar'd Malignants, who had avowedly

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avowedly oppos'd the Covenant, there were others lying hid, who would cry it down in private, and who particularly found fault with the solemn League between the two Nations; in a word, who unty'd the Links of the Covenant, and separated the King's Interest from that of Religion. Lastly, They charg'd them to remember their former Zeal, to dread the Judgment wherewith God threatens the Lukewarm, and such as break his Covenant, and, by their Prudence, to prevent every thing that might breed Jealousies between the two Kingdoms, which having been so happily united in the same Interests, their good Agreement could not be too carefully preserv'd. Thus they continu'd with a loud Voice to give the Alarm; and had it not been that the Trumpet of *Moses* happen'd to sound louder than their pretended Trumpet of *Sion*, and that the Parliament made those impertinent Preachers hold their Peace, it would have been altogether impossible for the Kingdom of *Scotland* to make the least Attempt for delivering their Prince from the ignominious Captivity he was undergoing in *England*.

Now, the Parliament having been open'd at *Edinburgh* the 6th of *March*, all those who had any Sense of Honour, and whose Hearts were affected with a generous Passion, for maintaining the Interest both of their Prince and Country, took Part with the Duke of *Hamilton*, who receiv'd them with great Pleasure. But *Argyle*, who, according to his Father's Prophecy, was born for the Ruin of both, oppos'd it with all his Faction, so far as to protest against it; and the Clergy, who were always of the mischievous Party, join'd with him in all his Proceedings in full Assembly. The soundest Part of the Parliament, who got the upper-hand there at last, very much dislik'd the Liberty which the Commissioners of the Clergy had taken, in publishing their Declaration. However, they did not stop there; for, on the 22d of *March*, they presented a long Petition to the Parliament, which contain'd all their Demands. They desir'd, " That before the War should be resolv'd
 " upon, the Parliament may cause a Declaration to be publish'd, that
 " may shew the Reasons they had for so doing, in order to satisfy all
 " honest Men. That as the Breach of the Covenant by the Sectarians
 " of *England*, who had prevail'd, was manifest, so the Parliament
 " may as plainly shew what were the Infringements of the Treaty
 " between the two Nations, and that, before all Things, they may
 " demand Reparation. That they may not make use of any Reason for
 " making War, they may break the Union between the two Kingdoms,
 " or disoblige the Presbyterians of *England*, who adher'd firmly to the
 " Covenant. That if it happen'd that the Faction of the Malignants,
 " Papists, and Prelates should take up Arms, the Parliament's Army
 " may not join with them, but, on the contrary, may turn their Arms
 " against them all, because they were no less Enemies to the Covenant,
 " than the Sectaries. That as the Interest of God ought always to go
 " foremost, the Parliament may be pleas'd to declare, that the King's
 " Offers, with respect to Religion, pleas'd them no better than they
 " had done the Church; and, by that Means, the Parliament may
 " still more and more give Proofs of the Sincerity of their Intentions,
 " for the Good and Security of Religion. That they may not take their
 " last Resolutions, until the King should oblige himself by Oath, and
 " also give Assurance by Letters sign'd by his Majesty, and seal'd with
 " his Seal, as well for himself, as for his Successors, that he should
 " consent to the Establishment of Presbyterian Government, the Di-
 " rectory, and the Confession of Faith according to the Covenant, in
 " all

A Petition
 from the Cler-
 gy, to the
 Parliament of
 Scotland.

“ all his Dominions ; and that he should never oppose the Acts of Par-
 “ liament, which are, or shall be made for that Effect. And the Com-
 “ missioners of the Clergy desir'd that so much the more, because they did
 “ not see how Religion could be safe, if the King did not give that Se-
 “ curity, before he was restor'd to the Exercise of his royal Authority.
 “ That for that same End, there may be no Person admitted into their
 “ Committees, nor list'd in their Armies, of what Condition soever he
 “ may be, who had not persisted constantly faithful in the Cause of the
 “ Covenant, and was without Reproach ; that they, the Servants of
 “ *Jesus Christ*, may with the greater Confidence encourage their Flocks
 “ to join with the Parliament, and not to doubt of the Fidelity of those,
 “ into whose Hands this important Affair had been committed. That no
 “ Person may be list'd without a solemn Oath, wherein the Church
 “ should have the same Share, and the same Authority to draw it up, as
 “ she had had in establishing the Covenant. Lastly, they hop'd, That
 “ after the Parliament shall have consider'd their Demands, they will
 “ find them most reasonable, and grant them in such a Manner, as the
 “ whole Nation should find themselves oblig'd unanimously to approve
 “ of what shall be resolv'd by the Parliament, as well for the Defence
 “ of Religion, as for the King's Honour, and for the Peace of all his
 “ three Kingdoms. ”

THE Parliament having deliberated upon the Demands of the Clergy,
 gave a categorical Answer to all the Articles, and declar'd, “ That they
 “ should shew, that the Causes of the War were so just, that all well-
 “ affected Persons might rest satisfy'd with them, and that there should be
 “ no Preparations of War made during the Conference, which they de-
 “ manded between some of the Parliament, and the Commissioners of
 “ the Clergy, until a Report had been made thereof to the Parliament.
 “ That they were resolv'd to represent the Breaches that had been made,
 “ in Things which concern'd the Treaties between the two Nations; and
 “ would give Directions to the Committee, which they had appointed
 “ for taking care of the Safety of the Kingdom, to consider after what
 “ Manner Reparation of them ought to be demanded. That the King-
 “ dom of *Scotland* thought so little of entering into a War against the
 “ Kingdom of *England*, that if they should take up Arms, it should be
 “ only with a Design to strengthen the Union between the two Kingdoms,
 “ and for encouraging the Presbyterians, and all such as had good Inten-
 “ tions in *England*. That they agreed, in the main, to the fourth Ar-
 “ ticle ; and referr'd to those who should be chosen for the Conference,
 “ to set down the State of the Question, and likewise to explain it. That
 “ tho' the principal Things should be agreed upon, the Parliament
 “ should then openly declare, that the King's Offers did not satisfy the
 “ Kingdom of *Scotland*. That as Religion had always been, and should
 “ ever be the first Motive of all their Undertakings, they should take
 “ care, that the Engagement that should be made, should contain his
 “ Majesty's Assurances, which the Clergy demanded. And as to what
 “ was added, That these Assurances might be given by the King, before
 “ he was restor'd to his Authority, they left it to those who were nam'd
 “ for the Conference, to find out some softer Terms, and yet might give
 “ no less Security for Religion. That they should take great Care, that
 “ no Person should be employ'd either in the Committees, or Armies,
 “ whose Integrity and Affection for the common Cause were not well
 “ known. That, in short, an Oath should be added to the Engagement;
 “ and that the Church should have such a Share therein as was her Due. ”

*The Parlia-
ment's Answer.*

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THIS Answer would have satisfy'd reasonable Men. But the Ministers shew'd, that they were but little pleas'd with it; and they represented to the Parliament, " That whatever they had answer'd to what they desir'd " in their first Demand, yet it did not appear to them, that the Parliament " was fully resolv'd to shew the Reasons, for which they were under- " taking the War, before declaring it. That in the Answer, which the " Parliament had made to the second Article of the Demands, the Clergy " did not see the least Proof, that *England* had broke the Treaties between " the two Kingdoms, nor that the Parliament of *Scotland* had resolv'd to " demand any Reparation. That the Parliament had chang'd their Pro- " position, in answering to their third Demand; and, instead of the " Presbyterian Party, who continu'd stedfast in supporting the Covenant, " they join'd to the Presbyterians, those who were well-affected in *Eng- " land*; as if there were some well-affected, who were not Presbyterians, " or, at least, were not engag'd in the Covenant. That the fourth Ar- " ticle of their Demand being not only just in itself, but altogether agree- " able to what was contain'd in the Covenant, and the Declarations of " both Kingdoms, they could not conceive why the Parliament desir'd " to have it more fully explain'd, if it was not, that they had a mind to " treat the Malignants more favourably, than they had been heretofore, " or that the Parliament was willing to enter into a League with them, " as Friends of the common Cause. That as the Parliament of *Scot- " land* declar'd, That the King's Offers concerning Religion did not sa- " tisfy the Kingdom, they could have wish'd, that they had, at that very " Instant, declar'd against them, without making Use of Delays. That " the Parliament having found the Expressions of the sixth Article of the " Demands of the Clergy too harsh, without having signify'd what Mo- " dification could be made Use of, which, however, might abate nothing " of what the first contain'd, for the Security of Religion, that did not " answer, in the least, to what they chiefly intended by that Demand. " That the Parliament had taken no Notice, in the Answer to their se- " venth Demand, of many Things they had desir'd might concur in the " Choice of the Members of Committees, and Officers of the Army; " which made them afraid, that there might be Persons found there, who " had not the Qualities which the Clergy had desir'd they should have. " That the Answer to the last Article being very ambiguous, and con- " ceiv'd in Terms which intimated even what was not desir'd, would " give Occasion to make it be thought, that the Church had concern'd " herself farther in the Covenant, than she ought to have done, and even " than she would have done, if she had kept within the Bounds of her " Duty. "

As the Commissioners of the Clergy had not receiv'd the Satisfaction they expected, they absolutely refus'd to enter into a Conference with the Parliament; having a mind to abate nothing of their rigorous Demands, and puff'd up with that Pride, which they call'd the Liberty of the Ministers of the Gospel, they mutter'd Complaints against the Parliament, for having been so bold as to alter their Expressions, or leave out in their Answers the least of their Words. These Men, who had rail'd at the Bishops, because (said they) they had intermeddled too far in temporal Affairs, and who had confirm'd in the Assembly of *Glasgow* all the Acts of former Assemblies, which prohibited Ecclesiasticks from having Access to Secular Courts, nevertheless they would have the chief Direction thereof. They indeed scorn'd to have Access to the Secular Courts, because they thought it below them; but they would have their Influence there,

there, as the Stars have upon inferior Bodies. But what is most certain, they were true Comets: They seem'd to pretend to have the negative Voice in the Deliberations of Parliament: That it was their Business to explain the Treaties between the two Kingdoms, and, in like manner, to pass their Judgment upon the Breaches: In a Word, they imagin'd, that they, who look'd upon themselves to be spiritual Men, ought to be Judges of all Things: Nay, in their Opinion, the King was not to reign, upon other Conditions but such as pleas'd them. That no Person was to be employ'd in the publick Affairs, nor even list'd in the Army, without he had their Approbation, and such Qualities as they thought proper: In short, that all Men, except themselves, ought to be accounted but Heathens and Publicans. And, indeed, the Event shew'd plainly, that they went upon very sure Grounds; and that it belong'd to them, with *Gideon*, to chuse the Men of War, and to lead the most Valiant to the Battle. For when they were suffer'd to act, and raise an Army of their Saints, with how much Disgrace and Loss to the Kingdom did that Army fight at *Dumbar*, where even some of those who wore the Ephod fell by the Sword, and where, it may be said, that the *Philistines* carry'd away the Ark of the Covenant, and triumph'd over all the Host of *Israel*.

THE Parliament, in order to undeceive the People, whom *Argyle* and the Clergy had incens'd against them, making their Proceedings odious every-where, on the 26th of *April* caus'd to be publish'd a Declaration, address'd to all his Majesty's good Subjects, concerning the Resolutions they had taken for the Defence of Religion, the Preservation of the King, and the Establishing of Peace, according to the Covenant, in all his Kingdoms. The Tenor of the Declaration was as follows:

“ That having seen that the Division and Misunderstanding betwixt the
 “ King and the two Houses of the Parliament of *England* were daily
 “ increasing, the Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for these two
 “ Years last past, had slipt no Opportunity to find out all possible
 “ Expedients for putting an End to all their unhappy Differences in an
 “ amicable manner: but that the Counsel of their Enemies having
 “ always prevail'd, Matters had been brought to an open Rupture; since
 “ which, many thousands of Men on both Sides had fallen by the
 “ Sword, and the flourishing Kingdom of *England* had become a Scene
 “ of Blood and Confusion. As they themselves were thus tearing their
 “ own Intrails in Pieces, and thrusting the Dagger into their own
 “ Heart, the two Houses of the Parliament of *England* saw themselves
 “ reduc'd to that Extremity, of desiring the Assistance of the Kingdom
 “ of *Scotland*. That this Parliament having consider'd, that his Majesty
 “ had never made great Account of the Requests they had formerly
 “ address'd to him, for persuading him to decide the Difference by some
 “ more natural and gentle Method than that of Arms, and being like-
 “ wise afraid that the Catastrophe might fall upon them, if those who
 “ had kindled that Fire happen'd to get the Upper-hand, they join'd
 “ with the two Houses in a solemn League for the Reformation and
 “ Defence of Religion, for the Honour and Happiness of the King, and
 “ for the Peace and Security of all his three Kingdoms. That in order
 “ to bring about that great Design, the Kingdom of *Scotland* join'd
 “ their Arms with those of their Brethren in *England*, fought many
 “ Years in Conjunction with them; and God so blest their Arms after-
 “ wards, that after many long and hard Labours, they defeated their
 “ common Enemies, and also made the Guilty to be punish'd according
 “ to

*The Declara-
 tion of the
 Parliament
 of Scotland.*

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“ to the Rigour of their Laws. That after such great Success, the *Scots*
 “ Army return’d to *Scotland*, after the Parliament of *England* had given
 “ Assurances, that the Treaties and Covenant should be inviolably
 “ observ’d. But that Promise had been so ill kept, that there was scarce
 “ any one Article of the League and Covenant that had not been scan-
 “ dalously broke by the Faction of the Sectaries, and their Abettors,
 “ who had prevailed ; infomuch that the Covenant was also in Danger
 “ of being abolish’d, or, at least, of being buried, as if it had never been
 “ spoken of. For whereas the Parliament of *Scotland* had reason to
 “ expect, that, according to the first Article of the Treaty between the
 “ two Kingdoms, which was made in 1643, the Covenant should be
 “ establish’d in *England* and *Scotland* ; and that such of the two King-
 “ doms as should refuse to sign it, should be look’d upon as Enemies
 “ of Religion and their Country, and that, as such, should be punish’d
 “ as declar’d Malignants : On the contrary, they found, that the said
 “ Article had been left out in the new Propositions, which the two
 “ Houses had sent to his Majesty in the Isle of *Wight*. Besides, the
 “ publick Orders for establishing it over all the Kingdom, were not
 “ executed there ; moreover, that many of those who possess’d the chief
 “ Offices in the Army had not sign’d it, and had not so much as been
 “ desir’d to enter into it. That whereas the Reformation of Religion
 “ ought to be made according to the Covenant, it was therein strongly
 “ contradicted. That Heresy and Schism were tolerated ; under which
 “ many horrid Blasphemies were sheltered, not to say publicly taught :
 “ Whereas the Privileges of Parliament ought to have been maintain’d ;
 “ the two Houses have been boldly disobey’d, and threaten’d. Those
 “ who ought to have been prosecuted, for having oppos’d the Reforma-
 “ tion of Religion, and fomented the Dissention between the King and
 “ his People, and between the two Kingdoms, or for having also kept up
 “ Factions therein against the National League, have been protected
 “ and supported. On the contrary, such as, according to the Covenant,
 “ ought to have been protected, have been persecuted. No Body could
 “ be ignorant, that the two Kingdoms were bound, by the solemn
 “ League and Covenant, to preserve his Majesty’s Person and Autho-
 “ rity, in the Defence of the true Religion, and the Liberties of his
 “ Kingdoms ; and that, with a Design, that all the World, as well as
 “ their own Consciences, might testify, that they had never thought or
 “ done any thing that might lessen either the Power or Grandeur of the
 “ King. Besides all that, the Kingdom of *Scotland*, when the King
 “ went from *Newcastle*, got the Commissioners of the Parliament of
 “ *England* to pass their Word, that his Royal Person should receive no
 “ bad Treatment : Yet his Majesty was carry’d away by Force from
 “ his House of *Holmby*, by *Joyce*, who commanded a small Body of
 “ *Fairfax’s* Army. And though that *Joyce* was but a Taylor, yet he
 “ had the Boldness to perform that Action with Impunity : For *Fairfax’s*
 “ Army, who authoriz’d that Action, ever since kept the King near
 “ their own Quarters, ’till that his Majesty seeing his Life in Danger,
 “ made his Escape from *Hampton-Court*, as he himself declar’d in the
 “ Letters he wrote at his going away. That the same very Army still
 “ kept his Majesty Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, where he was con-
 “ tinually in Danger of losing his Life, whereof they had Information
 “ from good Hands ; besides, that the two Houses had forbid all Sorts
 “ of Persons to have any Correspondence with his Majesty, upon Pain
 “ of Treason. The two Houses did not as yet stop there, but they
 “ went to that Extreme, to declare, that they could no longer put any
 “ Trust

“ Trust in his Majesty ; so that not only those whom the Parliament of
“ *Scotland* sent to the King, were kept from having Access to him,
“ contrary to the Promise which the two Houses had given, the 27th
“ of *January* 1647 ; but the Earl of *Lauderdale*, likewise one of the
“ publick Ministers of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, having, contrary to the
“ Law of Nations, been affronted at *Woburn*, where the King then was,
“ was oblig’d, by Force, to leave that Town, without seeing his Majesty.
“ And though the Committee of the *Scots* Parliament had several times
“ complain’d of it, no Reparation had been as yet made ; and that their
“ Commissioners had got no Answer to the Letter which they had
“ written to the two Houses, to know if their Vote of no more Ad-
“ dresses to be made to the King, was extended to his Subjects of the
“ Kingdom of *Scotland*. They did not so much as let it be known
“ that they had heard of it, until about the End of *March*, that the
“ Commissioners of the two Houses had presented a Declaration,
“ directed to the Parliament of *Scotland*, wherein they plainly said,
“ that none but themselves alone had Power to dispose of the Person of
“ the King of *England*. Nevertheless, the two Houses were so much
“ the more oblig’d to satisfy the Kingdom of *Scotland*, with respect to
“ these Matters ; because it had been agreed by the Treaty between
“ the two Nations, That if the Subjects of either of the Kingdoms
“ happen’d to take up Arms, and injur’d the Subjects of the neighbour-
“ ing Kingdom, without the Consent of the Parliament, upon which
“ they depended, they should be prosecuted as Traitors to the State,
“ of which they were Subjects. The Parliament of *Scotland* have often
“ demanded the Execution of that Article, and particularly on the 16th
“ of *January* 1647, when the two Houses promis’d, nine or ten Days
“ after, that, as soon as the *Scots* Army should be retir’d out of *England*,
“ and should have restor’d the Cautionary Towns, of which they were
“ in Possession, the two Houses should forthwith set about disbanding
“ their Army. The Parliament of *Scotland*, with more Eagerness,
“ repeated that Demand the 16th of *July* the same Year, after that the
“ publick Ministers of the Kingdom of *Scotland* were abus’d by that
“ Army ; but the Power of the Sectarians was then such, that they
“ insolently scorn’d so much as to salve the Appearances of so inju-
“ rious a Rupture, and contrary to the Faith of Treaties : And though,
“ by the eighth Article of the Treaty, it had been concluded, that
“ neither a Cessation of Arms, nor Truce, nor Peace should be made by
“ either of the Kingdoms, or their Armies, but with the common
“ Consent of both ; yet it was certain, that the Army of the Secta-
“ rians having drawn up Propositions quite contrary to the Covenant,
“ they had presented them to his Majesty ; and that the two Houses,
“ being then domineer’d over, and kept under by that insolent Army,
“ having made no reckoning of the Propositions, about which the two
“ Kingdoms were agreed, sent other Propositions to the King, contrary
“ to the Treaty ; against which the Commissioners of *Scotland* had
“ publickly protested, because they were directly contrary to Religion,
“ the Rights of the Crown, and the Union betwixt the two Kingdoms.
“ In fine, they had Reason to complain of the Breach of the Treaty,
“ with respect to the Remainder of the Sums due to them on Account
“ of the brotherly Assistance, and the Payment of their Army in *Ireland* ;
“ to which, by an Account made up betwixt them, and agreed upon,
“ in the Year 1643, the two Houses were indebted to the Kingdom of
“ *Scotland* near four hundred thousand Pounds. But though they
“ could not handsomly forsake the Interests of that Army, yet they did

1648. “ not think themselves obliged to mention them at that time ; because,
 “ as it was out of no Advantage that they had taken up Arms, what-
 “ ever their Enemies had said to the contrary, they did not think it
 “ handsome, in the present Juncture of Affairs, to add that Grievance to
 “ the Number of their Complaints ; their Motives being more noble
 “ and important, since they concern’d the Honour and Glory of God
 “ only, with the Peace of the three Kingdoms.

“ THAT Things being come to this Pass, and Religion and the State
 “ equally in Danger of being overturn’d, they found themselves in
 “ Conscience oblig’d, as Christians, as Subjects, and as *Scots-men*, in this
 “ unhappy Juncture, to give Proofs of their Affection to their Religion,
 “ their Prince, and their Country, and to run to the Assistance of their
 “ afflicted Brethren in *England*, though they should lose their own
 “ Lives in the Attempt. However, they had a mind, before all things,
 “ to endeavour to remedy so many Disorders, and bring Matters to the
 “ State they ought to have been in, according to the Covenant, and the
 “ Treaties between the two Kingdoms, by the most gentle and reason-
 “ able Methods they could think of. That, in order to make it appear,
 “ they were resolv’d to cause to be laid before the two Houses these
 “ Propositions, which, in their Opinion, were not only most reason-
 “ able, but likewise most necessary. First, That they may be pleas’d
 “ to oblige, upon the Pains contain’d in the Treaty, all the Inhabitants
 “ of *England*, immediately to sign the Covenant, without farther Delay ;
 “ and having therein establish’d the Uniformity of Religion both in
 “ Doctrine and Discipline, pursuant to the Covenant, to extirpate
 “ Schism and Heresy, particularly the Socinians, the Arminians, the
 “ Eraftians, the Familists, the Brownists, and the Independents, and
 “ resolutely make an End of altogether suppressing the Remains of the
 “ Papacy, Episcopacy, and the *English* Liturgy. That the King be
 “ brought back again with Honour, and in all Freedom, either to
 “ *London*, or to one of his Houses near the City, that the Parliaments
 “ of his two Kingdoms may freely address themselves to his Majesty, as
 “ Occasion shall require, in order to persuade him to give his Royal
 “ Assent to the Establishment of Religion, and the Peace of the State,
 “ according to the Covenant. That the Army of the Sectarians, which
 “ was commanded by *Thomas Fairfax*, Baron of *Cameron*, be imme-
 “ diately disbanded ; and that no Person be admitted to command in
 “ the Garisons, that may be judg’d necessary to be kept up for the
 “ Security of the Kingdom, but such as have sign’d the Covenant, or
 “ shall come and sign it ; that all the Members of both Houses, who
 “ have continued faithful to the Solemn League, may return in all
 “ Safety to perform their Duty. That the City of *London* be restor’d to
 “ the Enjoyment of its Privileges ; and the Parliaments of the two
 “ Kingdoms be no longer kept from labouring jointly with the King,
 “ for the happy Re-establishment of Religion and Peace. Therefore
 “ the Parliament of *Scotland* did not doubt but the two Houses of the
 “ Parliament of *England* would agree with them in the Reasonableness
 “ of their Demands, and, consequently, would be dispos’d to give them
 “ the Satisfaction they desir’d. And though it should happen, being
 “ surrounded by the Army of the Sectarians, that they should not do
 “ what was expected from them, yet that should not induce them,
 “ on their Part, to break the Union between the two Kingdoms, nor
 “ to encroach upon the Rights or particular Privileges of the Subjects
 “ of *England*, avoiding, above all things, to make a Quarrel between
 “ King-

“ Kingdom and Kingdom. And in case they should be oblig’d to take
“ up Arms, they had resolv’d never to do it but for maintaining Truth,
“ and restoring Peace under his Majesty’s Reign, the Kingdom of *Scot-*
“ *land* having never intended any Thing else in all their Enterprizes. That
“ they should likewise carefully avoid doing any Thing, which might
“ in the least displease the Presbyterians of *England*, or associating them-
“ selves, in any Manner whatsoever, with any of those who should re-
“ fuse to sign the Covenant. That, far from joining with the Popish,
“ Prelatical, or Malignant Factions, if they should take up Arms again,
“ for opposing the Covenant, on the contrary, they should employ their
“ whole Strength, for bringing all those People to Reason, with the same
“ Hostility that they should prosecute the Sectarians. Moreover, they
“ declar’d, That no Person should have any Command in their Army,
“ but the Covenanters only, who had acted so faithfully for the Defence
“ of the common Cause. And what Resolution soever they had taken
“ to spend to the very last Drop of their Blood, for obtaining their King’s
“ Liberty, yet they had no Thoughts of leaving him any Power in his
“ Hands, that might endanger Religion, or prevent the intire Execution
“ of the Covenant in all its Parts. On the contrary, not being satisfy’d
“ with his Majesty’s Offers with respect to Religion, they should not
“ come to an Agreement with him, until he had first engag’d himself by
“ a solemn Oath, and had likewise given Security for himself and Suc-
“ cessors, under his Hand and Seal, that he should consent to all the Acts
“ that should be propos’d to him by the Parliaments of his two Kingdoms,
“ for his Subjects entering into the Covenant, and for establishing among
“ them, in all his Dominions, the Presbyterian Government, the Di-
“ rectory, and the Confession of Faith; and that neither he, nor his
“ Successors, should ever attempt to alter the least Thing therein. And
“ that the Sincerity of their Intentions might the more appear, they con-
“ sented to be bound by Oath to what they should undertake; in the
“ Form of which the Church should have the Share that she ought to
“ have, such as she had had on the like Occasions. They were also
“ willing to have it known, that tho’ their Intention was not to make
“ War, till after having declar’d the Reasons they had for taking up Arms
“ again: So as all the Subjects, who had the Quiet and Happiness of the
“ Kingdom at Heart, might rest satisfy’d with them, being likewise re-
“ solv’d, by the usual Ways, to cause Reparation to be demanded of all In-
“ juries, and of the Infractions of the Treaty, which were already, or should
“ be agreed upon: Yet it would not be in their Power to answer the Expecta-
“ tion of the People, and they should fall short of their Duty, if they did not
“ make Use of their Authority in the present Juncture, for the Security of
“ the Kingdom. For which Cause, they were resolv’d to put the Kingdom
“ quickly in a Condition to make War, as it was in the Year 1643. Ha-
“ ving thus represented to all faithful *Scots-men*, the Danger that both
“ Religion and the State were in, with a good Part of the Reasons of the
“ Resolution they had taken to make Use of a speedy and effectual Re-
“ medy, they could no longer doubt, but the Eyes of all *Christendom*
“ would be fix’d upon them; and that all such as had Zeal for Religion,
“ Love for this antient Monarchy, and Compassion of the Sufferings of
“ his Majesty’s sacred Person, would be sensibly affected with the deplo-
“ rable State into which they had fallen, and that they would offer them-
“ selves, with all that depended upon them, in order to raise them up
“ again. By that Means, all the World would see, that they had not
“ forsaken the Principles of the Covenant and League between the two
“ Kingdoms, wherein they had promis’d before God and the Angels,
“ that

1648. " that every one, for his own part, should apply himself to the Reformation and Uniformity of Religion in all his Majesty's Dominions, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best reform'd Churches. That they should, in like Manner, maintain, to the Peril both of their Lives and Fortunes, not only the King's Person and Authority, in the Preservation of the true Religion and Liberties of his Kingdoms; but that they should likewise be always ready to espouse all the Interests, wherein his Majesty's Honour should be at Stake, in order to act agreeably to the Laws of the Kingdom, and to the natural Duty of faithful Subjects. That they should make it plainly appear, that the Defenders of Presbyterian Government were not at all against Monarchical Government, as their Enemies gave out every where. And that, particularly, the Kingdom of *Scotland* should give Proofs of what they had so often maintain'd, that the Quiet and Happiness of all the Inhabitants depended absolutely upon the Security of the Person and Grandeur of the King, who was God's Vicegerent, as well for the Defence of Religion, as for the Administration of Justice, besides (which yet more strictly oblig'd them to be perfectly submissive to him) that he was their native Prince, who was descended in a right Line from so great a Number of royal Ancestors, that there was no Prince in *Europe* that could equal his Birth. "

THIS Declaration would certainly have rais'd the Spirits, and stirr'd up the Courage of all *Scots-men*, if the Ministers had not declar'd against it, and if, by their seditious Sermons, they had not poison'd the Minds of the People, and even incited whole Shires to revolt, and declare against the Engagement of the Parliament. The Parliament, in order to humour the Clergy, had explain'd themselves much more freely in this Declaration, than they had done before in their Answer to the Demands of the same Clergy; and they had likewise very near agreed to them all, without altering any Expression, that was consistent with Honour and Decency. Yet that did not keep the Ministers from bawling and blustering, nay making a Declaration against that of the Parliament, in which they supported, as much as in them lay, the Interests of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*. They still continu'd, at their usual Rate, to fret and fume in their Sermons; and never fail'd therein to display all the Mysteries of *S. John's Revelation*, and to make Use of all the Threatnings which the Prophets of old had pronounc'd against *Gog* and *Magog*. The Victory which they obtain'd, was not indeed without much Toil and Sweat; nor even without throwing a great deal of Dust in the Faces of their Hearers, which they drove out of the Fore-part of their Pulpits, in beating upon it thro' Passion, and with great Rage, without taking Pity on it. The Eagerness, with which these zealous Ministers acted, went to such an Excess, that the Parliament thought themselves oblig'd to cause the most seditious of them to be arrested, and a Proclamation to be publish'd, forbidding all Sorts of Persons to revile the Government, upon Pain of Death. They likewise forbid the Payment of Stipends to such Ministers as should not comply with their Orders; and besides ordain'd, that all such as should oppose them, whether of the Nobility and Gentry, or of the Commonalty, should be imprison'd, and their Estates seiz'd and sequestered. That if any Persons in publick Employments did not obey, they should be depriv'd of them for ever. Notwithstanding all these Precautions, there were still some Ministers, who could not forbear prating, and who affected to become Martyrs of the most mischievous and pitiful Cause in the World.

THE Commissioners of the Parliament of *England* had represented to the Parliament of *Scotland*, That the two Houses desir'd to preserve the Peace between the two Kingdoms, and that they were particularly labouring to satisfy them for the Service of their Armies, as well in *England* as *Ireland*. And because a great Number of Gentlemen of the royal Party, besides Captain *Wogan's* Troop of Horse, were come to *Edinburgh*, both from *England* and beyond Sea, in a *Dutch Ship*, wherein Sir *William Fleming* had caus'd Ammunition to be brought to the Port of *Leith*; the Commissioners requir'd in the Name of the two Houses, That, according to the Treaty between the two Nations, Captain *Wogan*, Sir *Philip Musgrave*, Sir *Thomas Glenham*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, should be deliver'd into their Hands, together with the other Delinquents. The Parliament answer'd, That they did not look upon those Gentlemen to be Incendiaries, or that they had any Design to sow Division between the two Kingdoms, or between the King and his Subjects. That as for the rest, they were not at all satisfy'd with the Answer of the two Houses. The two Houses, to be even with them, likewise declar'd, That they were yet less satisfy'd with the Proceedings of the Parliament of *Scotland*; and at the same Time, gave Orders to their Commissioners still to press that Demand. But they might press long enough; for at the same Time, Sir *Philip Musgrave* and Sir *Thomas Glenham* surpriz'd *Carlisle*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* *Berwick*, and *York* was like to have had the same Fate. The two Houses having been inform'd of this, order'd their Commissioners to ask the Parliament of *Scotland* the Reason of it; but they would not take Notice thereof.

THE strong Castle of *Pontefract*, in the County of *York*, was likewise surpriz'd some Time after, by some Soldiers under the Disguise of Countrymen, pretending to go in with Horses loaded with Provisions, for supplying the Castle. The Horses being enter'd, the Soldiers threw off their Disguise, and presently seiz'd on, and master'd the main Guard. At the same Time, being supported by a Party that was lying in Ambuscade, they forc'd the Garison. *Scarborough* declar'd for this Party; and many other Castles in the neighbouring Counties were taken by some other Stratagem, or by open Force, by the royal Party commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who did all he could likewise to seize the Castle of *Holy Island*, which is near the Mouth of the *Tweed*, and which was call'd *Holy*, from the Sanctity of the Monks who liv'd in it, whose Number was augmented by *Cedulph*, King of *Northumberland*, after he had reign'd eight Years. But Captain *Batten*, who commanded the Castle, refus'd to declare for the King. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* likewise gave Commissions to several Gentlemen in those Parts, who rais'd Soldiers for the King's Service; and performing all the Duties of a gallant and diligent Commander, in a short Time, he rais'd a Body of Troops, considerable enough to join the *Scots* Army, when it should enter *England*. But the raising of that Army going on but slowly, because of the Divisions that were in *Scotland*, and *Langdale* having to do with Major General *Lambert*, who commanded for the two Houses in the *North* with the old Troops, as he could not be every where, and was taken up with getting Subsistence for his new Levies, *Lambert* beat up one of his Quarters, and took many Gentlemen of the royal Party Prisoners, without one Man being kill'd on either Side. The two Houses having had an Account of this Victory, (at least it was call'd so) caus'd *Te Deum* to be sung, in order to spread abroad the Reputation of their Arms.

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As the City of *London* had a mind to take Advantage of the Juncture of Affairs, they took Occasion to make use of an Information that one *John Everard* had given them ; which was, That he had heard some Words at *Oxford*, which gave them Ground to present several Petitions to the House of Commons ; which, out of a Maxim of State, were all favourably answer'd. This *Everard* being call'd before the Common-Council of the City, depos'd there, upon Oath, " That on the 20th of " *April*, being lodg'd in an Inn at *Oxford*, and in Bed, he heard three " or four Officers of the Army, in the next Room to his, who having " begun to discourse upon the Affairs of the Times, said, That they " knew for a certain Truth, that the *Scots* were very soon to enter " *England* with an Army, and that the City of *London* would join with " the *Scots* ; for the preventing of which, they found no way but to " disarm the whole City, Friend and Foe : After which, all the Friends " of the Army should be invited to the Camp, where they should be " arm'd, and, by that means, should be able to over-awe the City. " That the City should be oblig'd to maintain the Army as long as should " be judg'd necessary to keep it standing. And as Money was the true " Sinews of War ; with which if they were once provided, they would " not want Men ; they were of Opinion, that after the City should be " disarm'd, it might be propos'd to them to advance a Million of " Money, otherwise the City should be plunder'd. " One of their Petitions contain'd this Deposition, and likewise represented to the House, that the Fears of the City were increas'd, as well by the Approach of the Army, as by the Number of Soldiers that had been sent to garison the Tower ; insomuch that Trade was visibly decay'd, and Provisions were become extraordinary dear. The Mayor and Aldermen of the City, in the Demands of their Petition, most humbly begg'd the two Houses, " That Orders may be given for quickly removing the " Army to a farther Distance. That a Committee may be appointed to " enquire into what had been depos'd by *Everard*. That the Chains of " the City may be set up again. That the Aldermen may be restor'd " to their Liberty ; and that by an Ordinance of the two Houses, the " Militia may be regulated according to the Privileges of the City, " with which the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms, in all the Treaties " they had begun with the King, concerning the Militia, had never " meddled : That, in short, the Militia of *Westminster* and the Suburbs " may be join'd again to the City, that they may be in a Condition to " take Care of their own Security, and that of the Parliament, to which " they were resolv'd stedfastly to adhere, as they were bound to do by " their Solemn League and Covenant. " All these Things were granted them, except the annexing of the Militia : And as the Petitioners had enter'd the House, the Speaker having thank'd them for their good Affections, and Resolutions to adhere to the Parliament, he acquainted them, " That the Occasion of Part of the Army's being drawn so near, " was the late Tumults ; and that they should speedily give Orders for " sending the Army to such a Distance, as the City should no longer " be incommoded by them.

THEY were therefore authorized to name, and present to the two Houses, Commissioners for the Militia of *London*, and to name an Officer capable of commanding in the Tower. Thus, by an Ordinance of the two Houses, was the Militia put in the Hands of such Commanders as were presented to them by the Common-Council of the City, amongst whom they slipt in Major-General *Skippon* unawares : For *Skippon* not being

being a Freeman of the City, he ought not to have been of the Militia. 1648. However, he got the Commission to command it in Chief for the Defence of the City and Parliament, with Power to put all such to the Sword as should oppose him in the Execution of the Orders he should receive from the two Houses. Colonel *Francis West* was likewise again made Lieutenant of the Tower; and the Soldiers who were there, with the Regiments in *Whitehall* and the *Meuse*, which the General had order'd to return to the Army, after the Parliament had provided a Guard for themselves, were all sent away. The late Mayor and Aldermen were acquitted of the Accusation that had been brought against them, as were likewise the Peers who had been impeach'd of Treason. And that this Pardon might also be extended to all such as could be involv'd in the same Punishment, *Copley*, *Hollis*, *Massey*, *Clotworthy*, and *Long*, who were all Members of the House of Commons, and who had been expell'd the House, return'd, and took their Places.

ALL these Things were not so liberally granted to the City, but in order to unite them more strictly with the two Houses; and also to take them off from the *Scots*, who, in the Demands they had made to the two Houses, did not forget the Concerns of the City: So that the two Houses having sent some of their Members to acquaint the Magistrates of the City with what they had done in their Favour, and to tell them, That, as an Acknowledgment of their Civility, it was expected they should give some new Proofs of their Fidelity and Affection. The City answer'd, That it was their firm and constant Resolution to adhere to the Interests of the two Houses against the Common Enemy, and to live and die with them, to whom they had newly been so much oblig'd.

IMPARTIAL Men, considering Things narrowly, found that the City was acting contrary to its own Interest, and that its Magistrates did not enough weigh the Reasons which they had to take quite another Course, rather than so blindly to join with the Heads of that Faction, who had the absolute Command both in the two Houses and the Army. They did not consider, that, by the Course they were taking, they would be involv'd in all their Crimes, and insensibly be oblig'd to stand in Defence of them; which could not be done, but by committing yet much greater. For such is always the Misfortune that necessarily attends the being engag'd in Crimes: And it was for that End, that *Cromwell* had openly propos'd in the House, to re-unite the Interests of the Parliament and City with those of the Army; that being all imbarc'd in the same Bottom, they might likewise run the same Risque; and that he and his Accomplices might easily bring the criminal Designs, which for a long Time he had been hatching in his Brains, to the last Push.

As little did they consider, that there was no Security in joining with Men who had acted contrary to the Covenant, in every thing that concern'd Religion and the King, and who had broke the publick Faith of the Kingdom, which they had solemnly given the *Scots*; besides, that they had never kept it to any Person, but so far as they saw that it suited with their own Interests. Now, the *Scots* not having been able to bring them to Reason by fair Means, had taken Arms, not against the Kingdom of *England*, but against those perfidious Men who had enrich'd themselves with the Spoil of the Kingdom, who suffer'd *Ireland* to be ruin'd, and who forc'd the two Houses, with the Rod in their Hand, to authorize, by their Ordinances, all their Treason both against
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God and the King, and all their Treachery. That being the Case, the Common-Council and Corporate Body of the City of *London* ought to have taken so much the more Care, not to engage in a Party against the *Scots*, who were their true Friends; because nothing but the Fear of their entering *England*, had kept the two Houses from causing the Heads of their Mayor and chief Aldermen to be struck off. It seem'd they had forgot their unjust Imprisonment, and little reflected upon the Murder of their poor Apprentices, when *Cromwell*, exasperating the Soldiers against them, cry'd out, *Put them all to the Sword, and set the City on Fire*. It likewise seem'd, that they were no longer afraid of the Threatnings that had been made to pillage their City; though when they complain'd of it to the two Houses, and begg'd of them to call to an Account those who had so threaten'd them, yet they were flighted. Besides, the two Houses took care not to meddle with that; for *Everard* had depos'd in his Examination, That the Officer who was talking to his Friends at *Oxford*, gave them to understand, that he had acquainted Commissary-General *Ireton* with it.

IT was likewise Matter of Surprize, that the Magistrates of the City had not consider'd, that their new Masters had not set the Prisoners at Liberty, but because they could not then do otherwise, and that they had granted them but a Part of the Militia; and besides, it was that Part which depended absolutely upon themselves. They never would consent that the Militia should be join'd again into one Body, nor that the Soldiers should march out of the Tower, until they had first taken out of it all the Ammunition and warlike Stores with which it was then well provided. The Magistrates were also become so insensible, that they had not shewn the least Resentment of the Contempt wherewith they were treated, when their Chains were restored to them; for that Contempt went so far, that one of the Leading Men of the Faction could not forbear telling them, That the House had consented that their Posts should wear Chains, as well as their Sheriffs, and that they equally deserv'd them.

THERE was no Doubt to be made after that, but they, who had gratify'd the City in these Things, so much against the Grain, because they stood in Need of it, would withdraw them whenever they should think themselves in a Condition to make Shift without the City. It was only when their Affairs were in a desperate Condition, that they express'd some pretended Friendship for it: But when they saw their Affairs go on according to their Wishes, they made it appear, that they were its real Enemies; so that there being nothing but Necessity that made them have Recourse to the City, it ought never to have contributed any thing towards their Relief, for fear of losing them, and falling into the same Misfortune with those, who having kept a Snake warm in their Bosom, presently felt its mortal Stingings: For they had not spoken one Word of their having the least Thought of consenting to the Disbanding of the Army, with which if they should happen to beat the *Scots*, they might easily domineer over the City, and make themselves Masters both of the Tower and the Militia, whenever they should think fit. And as they very well knew what the Power of that opulent City was, which alone had formerly suppress'd the Rebellion of *Wat Tyler*, in the Reign of *Richard II.* they were afraid of it, they hated it, and endeavour'd with all their Might to divide it, in order to weaken it. It was for that Reason, that they had perswaded the two Houses to change the Com-
manders

manders of the Militia, and to separate *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the *Tower Hamlets* from it, and that they had likewise made it odious to the Counties; whence it was, that in the Remonstrance which the Army made on the 7th of *December* 1647, they demanded Eighty three thousand three hundred and thirty three Pounds, six Shillings, and eight Pence of the City, for indemnifying the neighbouring Counties of the Damage they had sustained by the Army, who had been forc'd to live there at Discretion, because of the Delays which had been us'd by the City in paying them. The Army had not propos'd that, but in order to make a *German Quarrel* between the Counties and the City, and that the Officers of the Army might be Arbitrators of it.

To conclude: The City likewise forgot, that the Heads of the Faction gave no Answer to what concern'd the Covenant. They, indeed, wrote to the *Scots*, who were going to fall upon them, that they would support it. But the *Scots* were not satisfy'd with Words, seeing that the Effects were all contrary thereto, and that the Commanders of Towns, of the Fleet, and of the Army, laugh'd at it. They call'd it, openly in the House, the Pretence of Rebellion; and said, that the most Part of those who had just taken Arms against the two Houses had sign'd it, but that those who had refus'd it had done them good Service. That, in short, the Covenant was not of Divine Right, and that it could be explain'd in so many different Manners, that it was hard to find out the true Meaning of it. 'Tis very certain, that the Covenant was not of Divine Right: But supposing it just, it was of Divine Right, that those who had taken it should keep it; because God hath forbidden to offer him the Sacrifice of Fools. But if the Covenant was unjust, as it certainly was, the two Houses had wrong'd the Subjects, when they oblig'd them to keep it; and besides, it was acting contrary to all Justice, to use them like Traitors, for having kept it, as they dealt with the Mayor and Aldermen, who were put in the Tower, and with the seven Peers, whom they accus'd of Treason. For what they did, was not in order to begin a new War, but to defend the King, Religion, and the Laws, which was the Design of the Covenant. As for the different Constructions which might be put upon the Covenant, they put more and most absurd upon the Holy Scripture, and, for the Reason which they alledg'd, they might also reject it. And as for the Services which they boasted of having done the two Houses, none but themselves had ever got by them; and it did not look like serving them very well, nor owning them for their Masters, to refuse to lay down Arms by their Orders, nay, to engage themselves not to do it; to carry away the King by Force from *Holmby*, in Spite of their Commissioners, and to treat them like Pupils ever since, rendering their Authority contemptible and ridiculous, by so many Remonstrances and Declarations which they forc'd them to approve of.

HOWEVER, the Satisfaction which the two Houses receiv'd, from the Regard which the City had express'd to have for them, was disturb'd by the News they receiv'd in the Beginning of *May*, of the Duke of *York's* Escape. That brave Prince, who, since he came to *France*, has acquir'd so great a Reputation in the Army, lodg'd then in *St. James's* Palace, where he had us'd every Evening, in playing with the Gentle-
The Duke of
York's Escape
from Saint
James's.
 men of his Bed-chamber, to hide himself sometimes in one Place, sometimes in another, in order to make them seek for him. He had, for some time diverted himself in this manner, on Purpose the better to

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cover his Design, and not to give Suspicion of what he should do the Evening that he had resolv'd to make his Escape. All Things being prepar'd for it, the Duke having hid himself as he us'd to do, went privately into the Gallery, and about nine o' Clock at Night from thence went down a private Pair of Stairs into the Garden, of which the Gardener, by his Order, had sent him the Key an Hour before, under Pretence of having a mind to go a Hunting very early the next Morning. He boldly open'd the Door, where Colonel *Bamfield* was waiting for him without, who having given him a black Wig, and put a Patch upon one of his Eyes, conducted him to a Coach which Mr. *Trip* had brought for his Highness. From thence they went and took a Barge, which carry'd them to a House very near the Bridge, where the Duke having put on Women's Apparel, went into the Barge again with *Bamfield*, and so down to *Greenwich*, where the Wind having chang'd, the Master of the Barge would go no farther, whatever Entreaties *Bamfield*, who knew him, could make him. He began to have some Doubts about the young Lady, and had seen through a Hole in the Cabin, where his Highness and *Bamfield* were, that the Duke was untying the Blue Garter which he had forgot to take off in the House. That made the Waterman judge, that it was some Lord of that Order, and considering his Age, could be no other but the Duke of *York*. *Bamfield* conjuring him to continue his Way, because the Lady had a pressing Affair in *Holland*; the Waterman answer'd, smiling, That she was the first Lady he had ever heard of, that had been a Knight of the Garter. Then the Duke discover'd himself to him, and having assur'd him, that he would make his Fortune, he obey'd his Highness, and coming near *Gravesend*, he order'd his Men to lie upon their Oars, and let the Barge go with the Current between the two Forts, without being perceiv'd by the Guards. Being arriv'd at *Tilbury*, the Duke went on Board a *Dutch Ship*, which lay at Anchor ready to receive him, and which carry'd him to *Middlebourg*. The News having been carry'd to the two Houses, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had the Charge of the Princes, was heard thereupon; and after they had consider'd his Account of the Matter, he was clear'd from having been privy to the Duke's Escape, as, indeed, he had had no Hand in it.

IN the mean Time, the Parliament of *Scotland* sent their Demands to the two Houses by Lieutenant Colonel *Marshal*, whom they made the Bearer of the Letter which they wrote them, and gave him Orders to wait only a Fortnight for the Answer. On the 3d of *May*, the two Houses receiv'd this Letter, which the Chancellor, who presided in the Parliament of *Scotland*, wrote them in a very cold Style. And the two Houses having already declar'd, "That the Government of the Kingdom should be still by King, Lords, and Commons;" they answer'd the Parliament of *Scotland*, "That they were resolv'd to maintain the Covenant and Treaties between the two Kingdoms; and that they will be ready to join with Scotland, in the Propositions presented to the King at Hampton-Court, provided his Majesty should consent, before entering into a Treaty, That the Presbyterian Government be establish'd in *England* for three Years, That all the Declarations publish'd against the two Houses be recall'd, and, That the Disposal of the Militia be put into their Hands for ten Years." The Parliament of *Scotland* having receiv'd this Answer, and not finding that it came up to their Demands, and that, on the contrary, it had eluded them all; besides, seeing that their Prince was still in Prison; that the Covenant was trampled upon; that the Kingdom of
Scotland

Scotland was affronted in their publick Ministers, and slighted in their Treaties; that the Parliament of *England* was oppress'd; that their Brethren were groaning under the Tyranny of the Sectarians; that the Foundations of Religion and the Monarchy were so much shaken, that they were ready to be overturn'd; resolv'd to run quickly to the Breach, to stop the Course of all these Mischiefs, to be reveng'd of all these Injuries by Arms, and not to make their Demands otherwise than upon the Points of their Swords. 1648.

THE Parliament therefore having sent Money, and an Order to Major General *Monroe* to bring back a Part of the *Scots* Troops from *Ireland*, and having chosen the Duke of *Hamilton* General of the Army, and Governor of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Callender* Lieutenant General of the Horse, and *Baylie* Lieutenant General of the Foot, put an End to this first Session, the 15th of *June*, and adjourn'd themselves to the Year 1650, that the Nobility and others might retire to the Country, and there hasten their Levies. But before they adjourn'd, by an Act of the 10th of the said Month, they declar'd, That this Meeting of Parliament had always been, and still was free and lawful. In like Manner, That they engag'd themselves upon their Honour, and as they desir'd to be thought to have a Love and Regard for Religion, the Laws, and the Liberty of their Country, faithfully to contribute, with all their Might, to the punctual Obedience of all that has been ordain'd in this Session, being satisfy'd, that the Execution of those Things was, without Doubt, the surest Means for maintaining Religion, the Laws, and the royal Authority. They likewise ordain'd, That this Act should be sign'd, before the 1st of *August* next, by all the Members of Parliament, as well by such as were present, as by those that were absent, by all the Lords, Gentlemen, Burgeesses, and generally by all the Subjects and Inhabitants of the Shires and Towns of the Kingdom; as they should more particularly be requir'd by the Committee of Parliament, which should remain at *Edinburgh*. Lastly, they determin'd, That all such as should refuse, or delay to sign this Act, should be reputed, and treated as Enemies to Religion, the King, and Kingdom.

ALL these Acts were proclaim'd at *Edinburgh* by Sound of Trumpet, over the Cross, by the Heralds in their Coats of Arms, as usual. And the Committee of Parliament having immediately caus'd this last Act to be printed, sent Copies of it over all the Kingdom; and at the same Time, order'd the Lieutenants of Shires, and the Magistrates of Towns, to see that it be sign'd by all the Inhabitants, and to send a Report to them of what Obedience should be paid to the Orders of Parliament. It was thus that all the *Scots* who preferr'd Honour to all other Interests, got over all the Objections started by their troublesome Ministers, and the People whom they had impos'd upon. They made this last Effort, in order to recover themselves from the Precipice into which they had fallen, considering that wise Men, who have acquir'd Honour in the World, when they find a Door open for getting off honourably, lose no Opportunity of running to it, for fear of falling into some Misfortune, which might blemish the Glory of the fine Actions of their past Life; how much more do they act so in Affairs, when, having gone thro' some very difficult and troublesome, Fortune offers an Opportunity such as they could wish for getting rid of them? they do not hesitate to get free of them, and take care not to engage in them a second Time.

Now,

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Now, the Marquis of *Argyle*, the Earls of *Cassils* and *Eglington*, having retir'd some Time before, and the Earls of *Loudoun* and *Lothian*, who had not consented to the War, having likewise left the Town, with a Design to join them, *Callender* and *Middleton*, both great Officers, and gallant Men, were sent with a Body of Horse to bring them back. They easily dispers'd their Forces, and forc'd themselves to submit to the Parliament. But tho' they had submitted, and what Haste soever Duke *Hamilton* made, who acted with great Vigour, and spar'd nothing to make the Parliament be obey'd, and to put the Army in a Condition to march, he found so much Opposition in a great Part of the Nobility, Gentry, and People, some of which had been practis'd upon, others terrify'd, by *Argyle's* Partisans, and the Emissaries of the Clergy, that it was already the Month of *July*, before the Army could enter *England*.

THE War was already broke out again there, in *Kent*, *Essex*, and the Principality of *Wales*; *Fairfax* was besieging the Town of *Colchester*, and *Cromwell* that of *Pembroke*. But because it was this Lieutenant General that fought the *Scots* Army, we must first speak of the military Expedition he made in *Wales*, before we mention any Thing of what pass'd in the aforesaid two Counties. The Occasion of it was this. Colonel *Fleming* having had Orders from the Parliament and the General, to take Possession of the Government of *Pembroke* Castle, and to remove Colonel *Poyer* from it, *Fleming* being got thither about the Beginning of *March*, and having acquainted *Poyer*, That he had Letters for him from the Speaker of the House of Commons and General *Fairfax*, the Governor answer'd him, That he could not go out of the Castle; but gave him his Word, that if he would come in, he should have free Ingress and Regress. *Fleming* being enter'd, and having deliver'd the Letters he had for the Governor, the Governor promis'd to give him an Answer next Morning. However, three or four Days pass'd without giving any Answer. In the mean Time, the Governor having Correspondence with Major General *Langhorn's* disbanded Troops, invited a Part of them to enter the Castle, and was preparing to stand a Siege.

FLEMING being gone out of the Castle, and having sent an Account to the two Houses of all that had pass'd there, they declar'd *Poyer* and all his Adherents Traitors, if within twenty four Hours, he did not deliver up the Castle, with all the Arms and Ammunition, according to the General's Orders, who, by the same Ordinance, was desir'd to reduce it by Force, in Case of Resistance, and then to deliver the Governor into the Hands of Justice. The Ordinance having been carry'd to the General, he sent it to *Fleming*, with Orders to let the Governor see it, and to tell him, That he would not fail to bring him to Reason, if he did not surrender within the limited Time; and for that End, he order'd some Troops that were at *Gloucester*, to march and join *Fleming*, and wrote to *Rainsborough* to send some Men of War, to block up the Port that was before the Castle.

FLEMING having sent the Ordinance to the Governor by a Drummer, he read it before his Garison, and gave for Answer, "That if he
" and his Soldiers might have their Arrears, Disbursements, and Indem-
" nity, they should give up the Castle; but otherwise, that they were
" resolv'd to keep it for the King and Parliament, pursuant to the Cove-
" nant they had taken." As he did not doubt of being reliev'd, he put on a good Countenance, and sometimes saluted the Committee of Par-
liament

liament, that was sitting in the Town, with all his Artillery. On the 16th of *March* he put four or five of the handsomest of his Soldiers in the best Apparel he could get, and by Break of Day made them go out by the Sally-Port, and, with great Ceremony, some Hours after, receiv'd them in again at the great Gate of the Castle, causing some Volleys of Cannon to be fir'd for welcoming those Gentlemen, whom, he gave out, to be Officers which the Prince of *Wales* had sent him from *France*, and who were very soon to be follow'd by a great many more.

HE was not deceiv'd in his Expectation: For a few Days after, a Company of *Langhorn's* Foot having seiz'd upon the Parliament's Commissioners, who were busy in the Town disbanding those Forces, and having very much abus'd them, threaten'd to send them Prisoners to the Castle. These Soldiers embark'd in the Night-time, and got into the Castle by Sea, from whence, the next Morning, having made a furious Sally, they cut all *Fleming's* Guards in Pieces, and took two Pieces of Cannon, which they brought into the Castle. Thus did *Poyer* make himself Master both of the Castle and Town, and declar'd open War against the Parliament.

BUT as he knew very well that Matters would not stop there, and that he should quickly have to do with much stronger Forces, he made ready for a Defence, causing the Inhabitants to be arm'd, and raising Contributions in the best Parts of the County. Colonel *Powel* join'd him with his Regiment; and many Soldiers of *Langhorn's* Troops, after having receiv'd their Money from the Parliament, likewise took Part with him. *Poyer* having got this Re-inforcement, took the Field, whither Colonel *Fleming* being gone to take Possession of a Pass with one Troop of Horse, and two of Dragoons; and finding that the Royalists had left it, march'd on, hoping to be able to beat up some of their Quarters: but he had not gone very far when he met with *Poyer*, who attack'd him, and after the first Shock, very well maintain'd, in which a great many of both Sides were kill'd upon the Spot, he push'd him so fiercely, that he was forc'd to get into a Church. Then *Fleming* in all Haste sent to Colonel *Horton*, who commanded the Foot, for Assistance; but as he was four Miles from him, he could not get there soon enough: The Church was forc'd, *Fleming* kill'd, if he did not kill himself, as has been said, and an hundred of his Men were made Prisoners. *Horton* had likewise taken some Prisoners in *Brecknockshire*, where many had declar'd for the King; and having sent a Drummer to make an Exchange, the Drummer gave an Account, that the most Part of the Royalists wore blue and white Ribbons in their Hats, which were the King's Livery, with these Words, *We long to see our King*.

GENERAL *Fairfax* having had an Account of this Defeat, and of the State of Affairs in *Wales*, where the Nobility and Gentry were generally Royalists, gave Orders to *Cromwell* to march with two Regiments of Horse, and three of Foot, in order quickly to defeat that Party which had risen for the King, and to bring *Pembroke*, *Tenby*, and *Chepstow* Castle, in the County of *Monmouth*, which Sir *Nicholas Kemey's* had surpriz'd, under the Parliament's Subjection. But before *Cromwell* got there, *Horton* was reveng'd: For on the eighth of *May*, *Langhorn* having gone to reconnoitre, with a Design to fight him before he should join the Troops which *Cromwell* was bringing him; they met between *St. Fagan's* and *Peterstone*: The *Welsh* were about eight thousand Men,

1648: the half of which had no other Arms but Sticks tipp'd with Iron ; and the *English* were about three thousand Horse and Foot together, but all old Troops. As *Horton* was endeavouring to make himself Master of an advantageous Post, between two Hills, the Country being mountainous every-where, and as he seem'd to be seeking an Opportunity to engage with *Langborn*, Colonel *Butler* fell briskly upon his Rear-guard with nine hundred Horse, and, perhaps, hasten'd the Battle too soon, which was obstinately maintain'd for near two Hours. The *Welsh*, who are generally good Soldiers, strove to compleat the Victory ; and the *English*, on the other hand, who were enrag'd with the Loss of *Fleming*, encourag'd one another to be well reveng'd of his Death. At last *Langborn's* Foot being at too great a Distance from the Horse, these gave Ground, and were routed. *Horton* had then a good Bargain of the Foot, who were for the most part raw Soldiers, and ill arm'd. *Horton* was left Master of the Field of Battle, and of all the Ammunition of the *Welsh*, whereof he stood much in Need. Many Officers were taken Prisoners, with above two thousand Soldiers, according to the Letter which *Horton* wrote to the two Houses, who having had a more particular Account of the Action by Major *Beshel*, ordain'd, that solemn Thanks should be return'd to God, in all the Towns of the Kingdom. For as they were afraid of a general Insurrection, they did so upon the least Advantage which their Troops gain'd over those that had declar'd for the King, in order to discredit that Party, and likewise to discourage such as had a mind to join them : And in order to frighten them altogether, they sent a Commission into the Country for trying the Common Soldiers that were Prisoners : They also ordain'd, that the General should send for the Officers that had been taken, in order to try them in the Council of War.

CROMWELL having enter'd *Wales*, on the 11th of *May* arriv'd at *Chepstow*, where having found the Town in a Posture of Defence, he order'd Colonel *Pride's* Regiment to break open the Gate : Which was done with so much Vigour, that he soon made himself Master of the Town, where he made some Prisoners, and oblig'd those that were under Arms, to fly into the Castle. There was in it good Store of Ammunition and Provisions for a Month ; so that when it was summon'd by *Pride*, the Garison laugh'd at his Summons, and fir'd upon the Drummer. Now, as this Colonel attempted to force his Entry into the Castle, he found a much more vigorous Resistance there, than what had been made at his entering the Town : His Major, *Griegson*, was kill'd, with five or six Soldiers. Then they were oblig'd to attack it regularly : So that *Cromwell* having left Colonel *Ewre* to carry on the Siege with seven Companies of Foot, and two Troops of Horse, and having sent to *Gloucester* for some Pieces of Cannon, he continu'd his March to *Pembroke*, which he had a mind to besiege in Person.

BEING arriv'd at *Cardiff*, two hundred and forty of the Soldiers, that had been taken Prisoners, were sold to the Company of *Barbados* Merchants, for so much a Head ; and Captain *Bardly*, with two others, who had formerly been in the Parliament's Service, were shot. The Militia of the Country were set at Liberty, having promis'd to rise up in Arms no more. But Major-General *Stradling*, Colonel *Harris*, Major *Philips*, and the other Officers who had serv'd the Parliament under *Langborn*, being brought by Sea to *Windsor*, where the Headquarters was, four of them were shot, one was hang'd, and seven others were

were condemn'd to die, by the Council of War. *Cromwell* march'd from *Cardiff* to *Carnarvon*, which the *Welsh* had deserted, and having pass'd near *Tenby*, which Colonel *Horton* had invested, on the 21st of *May* he himself besieg'd *Pembroke*. 1648.

ON the 25th Colonel *Ewre* storm'd *Chepstow* Castle. As soon as some Cannon had been brought him, he caus'd a Battery to be erected against the Castle; then he offer'd *Kemeys* and his Soldiers Quarter, which they refus'd. Yet *Ewre* having dismounted their Cannon, and made a sufficient Breach, they in vain sought the Quarter that they had refus'd, and which were refus'd them too: Therefore having no other Shift for their Safety, they carry'd a Boat, which they had in the Castle, down into the River, in order to make their Escape in it. But the Besiegers having discover'd it, one of their Soldiers swam over the River, holding a Knife in his Mouth, with which he cut the Rope of the Boat, and brought it to the other Side of the Water. At last, as the Soldiers of the Garison, having deserted *Kemeys*, who refus'd to surrender but upon Condition of having his Life and every Thing safe, had a mind to get out by the Breach, *Ewre* at the same time caus'd the Attack to be made, and enter'd the Castle pell-mell with them, where *Kemeys*, who had seiz'd it for the King, was kill'd, and a hundred and sixty Officers and Soldiers were made Prisoners. *Ewre* caus'd them all to be put into a Church, 'till he should have the Lieutenant-General's Orders.

THE taking of *Tenby* soon follow'd that of *Chepstow*; for no sooner had the Suburbs been taken by Storm, and a Breach made in the Castle, than Colonel *Rice Powel*, with all the other Officers and Soldiers of the Garison, surrender'd at Discretion; though the Place might easily have held out two Months, being sufficiently furnish'd with Provisions, and there being thirty-five Pieces of Cannon in it, with twelve Barrels of Powder, and two Tons of Match. The Troops which besieg'd it march'd presently to reinforce the Siege of *Pembroke*, which was like to last much longer, the Town being strong, well provided, and having in it three hundred Horse, with *Poyer* and *Langhorn*, besides Foot, all resolute Men, and fit for Action: They gave great Proofs thereof, for they stood out the Siege 'till the 11th of *July*, and had neglected nothing that Men of Courage could do for making a gallant Defence, and harassing the Besiegers. They made frequent Sallies, and often dismounted their Cannon: They maintain'd Attacks upon the Breach, from whence they always drove back the Enemy with Loss. *Poyer* himself went up and down between the Town and Castle, in order to hearten the Soldiers, and encourage the Inhabitants. But as they saw themselves hemm'd in so close, that they could no longer go a Foraging, they were forc'd to pull the Thatch from off the Houses to give their Horses to eat; and when their Provisions began likewise to fall short, he made every Body believe that they should soon be reliev'd, sometimes from the North by *Langdale*, sometimes from the Sea by the Prince of *Wales*; insomuch that when the Besiegers made Bonfires, and fir'd all their Artillery, because of a Victory which *Fairfax* had got in *Kent*, and that the Men of War had answer'd the Fire of the Army with their Cannon, he made the People believe that it was the Prince of *Wales's* Ships casting Anchor in the Road. At length, when they were reduc'd to a little Bisket and Cistern Water, they were forc'd to yield to Necessity, and surrender the Town and Castle, upon these Conditions: I. That Major-General *Langhorn*, Colonel *Poyer*, Colonel *Humphrey Mathews*, Captain *Philip Bowen*,

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Bowen, and *David Poyer*, should yield themselves to the Discretion of the two Houses. II. That *Sir Charles Kemneys*, *Henry Stradling*, and many other Officers nam'd in the Article, should leave the Kingdom within six Weeks, and should not return for two Years, otherwise they should forfeit this Favour. III. That the other Officers, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, who were not nam'd, should have Liberty to go Home without being plunder'd, provided they should submit to the Parliament, and live peaceably: That the Sick and Wounded should be carefully look'd after 'till their compleat Recovery: That the Inhabitants of the Town should be free from Pillage, and enjoy all their Privileges: That the Town and Castle, with all the Arms, Cannon, Ammunition, and other Stores which were in them, should be deliver'd up to Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, for the Service of the Parliament. Which having been performed the same Day, *Cromwell* sent the Capitulation to the General, and the Committee of Safety, and wrote to them, That having heard that a foreign Army was entering the Kingdom, and that a contrary Wind had kept the battering Cannon from coming from *Bristol*, he had been obliged to treat with the Besieged upon better Conditions, than otherwise he would have done: That, however, he thought they will be found hard enough, if the Parliament should treat the Prisoners as they deserv'd of them; and that as soon as he had settled the Affairs of the Town, and adjusted Matters in the County, where no Party had appear'd, since that of *Sir John Owen* had been defeated, and himself taken, and sent to *Windsor*, he would march towards the *North*. That he had above 200 Miles to go; and that his Soldiers, whereof the most Part was Foot, wanted almost every Thing, but Courage to fight.

The Duke of
Buckingham,
and the Earls
of Holland and
Peterborough
take up Arms
for the King.

BEFORE that the great Cloud appear'd in the *North*, there arose a Storm towards the *South*, which lasted but a very short Time. In the Beginning of *July*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the Earls of *Holland* and *Peterborough*, took up Arms; and having got together with 500 Horse in the Neighbourhood of *Kingston*, they wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, desiring that they would declare for them, or at least not to be against them, since they had no other Design but to join the Forces of *Surry* and *Essex*, for the King's Liberty, and the Peace of the Kingdom. The City having sent this Letter to the House of Commons, who had got Intelligence of the Matter from other Hands, they gave Orders for the Security of *Whitehall*, and the Palace of *Lambeth*; and appointed Guards on the *Thames*, and at the Ferries below *Kingston*. And the Committee of Safety taking Occasion from thence, let the House know, That it was fit the Parliament should have a Body of Horse for their Guard; and that each Member should give under his Hand, how many Horse he was willing to maintain for ten Days. There were some who answer'd, That it was not very becoming, that the House should be tax'd by their own Committee; and that all the Members were not alike rich, there being some of them, who had got by the War, and others, who had lost a great deal by it. That being the Case, it was not just, that the Losers should be as much burden'd as the Gainers, nor that the Poor should contribute for preserving the Rich in their Offices, and the Possession of the Church-lands, which they had purchas'd for almost nothing; besides, that this Proposal might create Division in the House, and give Occasion to the Rich, to make the Poor lessen their Affection for the Parliament. That it would likewise make many of the Members, who could not consent to this Proposal, and who durst not oppose it, to absent themselves from the House, even at a Time when every one ought to be present,
since

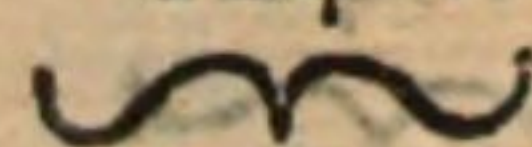
since the Matter in Question was, after what Manner the Parliament ought to treat with the King in Person. In short, That they did not see how they could be sure, that the Maintenance of this Body of Horse would end with the ten Days. However, it was agreed to by the House.

AT the same Time, the Lords who had taken Arms, were declar'd Traitors; and it was ordain'd, That their Estates should be sequestrated, for the Maintenance of the Troops that were in the *North* of the Kingdom; and that all such as should join them, should receive the like Treatment. On the 6th of *July*, Sir *Michael Levesey* having gone with a Detachment to view them, found them on their March from *Darking*, in order to take Possession of *Rygate*, which they had left the Day before; but having been prevented by Major *Gibbons*, who had got into the Town with two Troops of Horse, they march'd towards *Kingston*. As *Levesey* was pursuing them, they drew up in Order of Battle betwixt *Kingston* and *Nonfuch*. While their Foot were filing off to *Kingston*, their Horse boldly fought those of the Enemy, and retir'd to the Town in good Order. The next Morning having march'd out of *Kingston*, the Enemy enter'd it, and took some Baggage Horses that had been left there, with some Prisoners who could not follow the main Body. *Francis*, the Duke of *Buckingham's* Brother, was kill'd in this Skirmish. He was truly a well-accomplish'd and promising Youth.

THESE unfortunate Beginnings were sad Prefages of an unlucky Issue of this Undertaking, and gave Reason to believe, that this Handful of Men would not increase much, nor be able to stand their Ground very long. In Effect, Colonel *Scroop*, who had been detach'd from the Army before *Colchester*, having, with his Regiment of Horse, join'd *Levesey*, who was pursuing those Lords close at the Heels, overtook them at *S. Neot's*; where, after a sharp and bloody Engagement, they were defeated, so that the Duke of *Buckingham*, after having behav'd himself gallantly, retir'd towards *Lincoln* with about sixty Horse; *Peterborough* made his Escape to *Flanders*; the Earl of *Holland* was taken Prisoner, with many Officers, all Men of Quality; Colonel *Dalbeer*, who fought most gallantly, and Sir *Kenelm Digby's* eldest Son, were kill'd upon the Spot. The Place where this Battle was fought, by the common People, is call'd *S. Need's*; but the true Name of it is *S. Neot's*, who was the Son of *Ethelwolp*, King of *England*, and who was so much taken with the Holy Scripture, in which he was well skill'd, that he would be Professor of Divinity in the University of *Oxford*.

THE Earl of *Holland* was carry'd to the Castle of *Warwick*, and from thence remov'd to his House at *Kingston*, the two Houses having order'd, That no Prisoners of Quality should be any more brought to *London*; because, as the Lord *Molyneux*, who was discover'd and taken at *Islington*, near *London*, had been brought thither, the Apprentices having risen, follow'd the Coach, and were like to have rescu'd him from the Guards. But the House of Lords having some Regard for the Duke of *Buckingham*, propos'd to the Commons to forgive him this Sally of Youth, provided he should appear in a Fortnight, and acknowledge his Fault. But this Lord took a much more generous Resolution than that; for very soon after, he found Means to make his Escape, and to go and join the Prince in the *Downs*.

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IN the mean Time, *Cromwell* still advanc'd towards the *North*; and complain'd, as he had done before, That his Foot were in a very sorry Condition, and that all his Soldiers were almost barefooted. The House of Commons presently gave Orders to get ready for him 3000 Pair of Shoes, which his Army should find in passing thro' *Northampton*. Upon his Arrival at *Nottingham*, where he left *Langborn* and *Poyer* Prisoners, he wrote to *Lambert*, That he should keep close in his Quarters, and not engage in Battle, till he had join'd him. As he was a more fortunate than daring General, there was nothing so hard, but he thought he might be successful in it by his Conduct and good Fortune. So, tho' this Attempt appear'd altogether rash, yet his Success was beyond his Expectation; because the *Scots* had God Almighty against them, and who would not suffer, that the Hands which had sign'd a criminal Covenant against the King's Authority, should afterwards be the Instruments of his Liberty. Not that they bore a Hatred against him, much less against Monarchy. For *Scotland*, where every Body knows that the Nobility carry it very high, cannot endure any other than royal Government. But the Illusion of their pretended Reformation had so blinded them, that they themselves have ruin'd their own Country; and after having exhausted it of its principal Strength, and sacrific'd the most eminent Men to their Fury, at length they have made it fall under the Yoke of a foreign Government.

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere Malorum !

The END of the NINTH BOOK.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
TROUBLES
OF
GREAT-BRITAIN.

BOOK X.

IN the Beginning of the Month of *July*, Duke *Hamilton* order'd his Army to rendezvous at *Annan* upon the Borders of *Scotland*, towards the South-West, where having been oblig'd to stop for eight Days, waiting for some Troops, he enter'd *England*, and quarter'd at *Roccliff*. He had an Account there, that the *Scots*, who were to come from *Ireland*, were landed in *Galloway*, and were marching to *Dumfreis*. The next Day the Army got to *Carlisle*, whereof the Keys were deliver'd to the Duke : After which he went up to the Castle, and order'd the Ammunition of the Army to be brought thither. This was a certain Sign of the Confidence he had in the *English*, who held the Castle for his Majesty. 1648.

THE two Houses having receiv'd the News of the Entry of the *Scots* Army into *England*, they declar'd Traitors all the *Scots* who were already enter'd, or who should afterwards enter in Arms into the Kingdom. But upon the Remonstrance, which some of *Argyle's* Friends made to them, That that Lord might raise all his Party in *Scotland*, and follow the Duke at the Heels ; the Sentence was amended, so that no mention was made in it of the *Scots* that might for the future enter into *England* :

1648. *England*: It was only added, That all such as should keep a Correspondence with the Duke, or give him Assistance, should be proceeded against as Traitors and Rebels.

THE Duke having join'd Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* at *Thursby*, order'd the Troops to march streight against *Lambert*, who was then at *Penrith*; but *Lambert* finding himself not strong enough for disputing the Ground with the Duke, and having had Orders from *Cromwell* not to engage in Battle 'till he had join'd him, retir'd in all Haste to *Appleby* Castle, by that Means leaving the River, which was very much swell'd, between the Duke and him. A Body of *Scots* Horse, which was pursuing *Lambert*, being come to the Bridge, could not force it for want of Foot, who having very bad Roads to pass, could not get forward; besides, that the River, by the continual Rains, had so overflow'd its Banks, that the Horse could not pass it. But towards the Evening, some Regiments of Foot having join'd the Horse, they endeavour'd to make themselves Masters of the Bridge, still skirmishing with *Lambert's* Troops 'till it was quite dark. In this Action the Earl of *Callendar* receiv'd a very favourable Musket-Shot in the left Side. On the Enemy's Side, Colonel *Harrison* was slightly wounded; and a Lieutenant having been made Prisoner, the Duke sent him back to *Lambert* the next Morning.

THAT same Night, *Lambert* having left a Garison in *Appleby*, cross'd *Stainmore*, where are still to be seen the Ruins of *Rei-Cross*, that is to say, the Cross of Kings, which *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, and *William I.* King of *England*, had cau'd to be erected there, for marking the Boundary between the two Kingdoms. And as it was of great Importance to the Royalists to be Masters of the Pass to *Appleby*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* laid Siege to the Castle, which he took in a few Days. During the Siege, the Duke gave a Commission to Sir *Thomas Tildesley* for levying Troops in *Lancashire*, and encamp'd a Fortnight at *Kirkby*, waiting the Cannon and Ammunition, which was to come to him from *Carlisle*: It was there that it was debated in a Council of War, if it was fit to order the Troops that were come from *Ireland* to advance and join the Army. Many gave their Opinion, that it was absolutely necessary that they should be order'd to come; because, otherwise, the Enemy might, in a short time, make it impossible for them to arrive. And as for the rest, the little Help that could be expected from the Cannon, whereof there were but four six Pounders, and two twelve Pounders, was not worth the while to lose Time in waiting it. Nevertheless, by an unlucky Fatality, nothing was resolv'd at that time upon this important Affair, nor even, when, some Days after, Major-General *Monroe*, who had brought the Troops from *Ireland*, came himself to the Army, in order to receive the General's Commands. It was likewise debated, whether it was proper to pursue *Lambert* into *Yorkshire*: but some having represented, that the Enemy had ruin'd that Country, it was resolv'd to march into *Lancashire*, where there was great Plenty of every thing; besides, that the Ammunition could be more safely brought thither, than to *Yorkshire*.

THAT having been resolv'd, the Army march'd from *Kirkby* to *Kendal*, and from thence to *Hornby* in *Lancashire*. On the 13th of *August* the Horse lay at *Garstang*; and on the 15th, Sir *Marmaduke* having been press'd by *Cromwell*, wrote to the Duke, that the Enemy

was

was advanc'd to *Skipton*, and desir'd that he might be allow'd to quarter his Troops nearer *Preston*. Which having been granted him, the Duke gave Orders to sustain him, in case he should be attack'd, and to send him what Ammunition he should stand in Need of. However, that Order was not put in Execution, nor even another for the Foot, which ought to have been already at *Preston*, as it had been resolv'd at *Hornby*; and to which, chiefly, may be attributed the Defeat of the Army, whose Safety depended upon the Quarters being near one another, and the joining of all the Bodies, the Enemy being so near as they were: For the Enemy, taking Advantage of the Distance that was between the Foot and the Horse, got in betwixt them; so that having put them into Disorder in marching to *Preston*, (where, however, the *Scots* forc'd the Pass) and then having made themselves Masters of their Ammunition, *Cromwell* very soon after took all the Foot, which consisted of four thousand Men, at the Bridge of *Warrington*, without their striking a Stroke. *Bailly*, who was their Lieutenant-General, surrender'd to the Enemy upon such Conditions as he could get. Many Officers, however, not having agreed to them, join'd the Horse at *Malpas* in *Cheshire*. This Action of *Bailly* was so surprizing, and fell so far short of what was expected from him, who was a very good Soldier, that the other General Officers could hardly believe it, when the News thereof was brought them.

AFTER this horrid Disgrace, as the Horse were marchig to *Whitechurch*, some Officers began already to say, That they plainly saw they would be forc'd to capitulate; because, that besides the Loss of the Foot, all the Horse were in great Disorder, and harass'd by long and troublesome Marches. There were others more considerate, who would not hear of that, and made it appear that they had a considerable Body of good Horse, with which they might very soon be able to raise a Body of Foot; and added, That they were within a Day and a half's March of a Country, where they should find all manner of Provisions, and in perfect Safety. They design'd to have march'd into *Wales*; but having been told, that the Lord *Byron* had no Troops there, they resolv'd to march into the North, where *Monroe* was with five thousand Men, and where Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had also three thousand in *Westmorland*. It had been much better that these Troops had been order'd to advance and join the Army, when that joining was judg'd so necessary by the most experienc'd Commanders.

ON the 21st of *August* they march'd towards *Uttoxeter*; and when they came near to *Stone*, the Duke receiv'd a Letter, written by the Committee of *Shropshire*, offering him Quarter, provided he would lay down his Arms. The Duke let *Callender* and *Middleton* see the Letter, who were surpriz'd at the Assurance of those Men, who having no other Troops but their Garisons, were so bold, as to make such a Proposal to an Army. They were, however, upon the Brink of a Precipice, and their Misfortune was hanging over their Heads; for the next Day such a Mutiny arose among the Horse, that they ruin'd them all. Having refresh'd themselves a little at *Stone*, they continu'd their March to *Uttoxeter*, where, about three or four o' Clock in the Afternoon, a Party of the Enemy began to appear. *Middleton*, who was bringing up the Rear, having commanded to charge them, a great many of the Troopers answer'd, muttering, That it was not enough to command, but it was likewise his Part to act. *Middleton* reply'd, That it was not his Custom to command any thing, but wherein he acted his

1648. Part too; and having put himself at their Head, charg'd the Enemy so vigorously, that they gave Ground; and he would have beat them back with greater Loss, if his Horse had not fallen under him, as he was upon the Declivity of a little Hill, which was very slippery, because of the continual Rains; so that this excellent Officer was made Prisoner by the Enemy, and carry'd to *Stafford*, though Colonel *Lockbart* pursued them with great Eagerness, to make them quit their Prisoner. *Callender* being told of it, prepar'd himself to go to his Relief; but understanding that the Enemy had retir'd, he halted on a Heath, in order to rally the Rear-Guard, so that he could not reach *Uttoxeter* 'till it was dark Night, whither the Duke and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had already gone.

THE next Morning the General Officers went to the Duke's Quarters, where, upon a Report that was given out amongst the Troops, that there was a Design to enter upon a Treaty, Sir *Marmaduke* said, If there was such a Design, he took Leave of his Excellency; because he knew very well, whatever Treaty should be made, that there would be no Quarter for him; and that in case they should treat, he had no other Choice, but to return Home. *Callender* adding, That he would take his Chance with Sir *Marmaduke*; the Duke answer'd, That as for himself, he should not stay behind, however indispos'd he was, having a great Difficulty to stand up, because of a Defluxion that had fallen down upon his Legs. At the same time the Captains of Horse were order'd to mount on Horse-back, and draw up their Troops upon a little Hill, which was on the other Side of the River, where the Rendezvous had been appointed. But very few obey'd, let their Commanders entreat them ever so much. *Langdale*, for his Part, being ready to march, sent to acquaint *Callender*, who begg'd of him to wait a little while: but *Langdale* having sent him Word that it was already late, and that he had a great March to make, he went away. *Callender* then not being able to prevail with the Horse, gallop'd after *Langdale*, to take his Leave of him. In the mean time, the most Part of the Officers having gone to wait upon the Duke, he sent for *Callender*, in order to determine what Course they had best to take, after so many Misfortunes that had still attended them, with which the Duke was sensibly affected. *Callender* having return'd to *Uttoxeter*, he barricado'd the Avenues of the Town, and plac'd Guards upon them: Then he went in to the Council of War, where the Duke having told him that many of the Officers desir'd to treat; he answer'd, That he had a mind to take another way than that, to get out of the Difficulty he was in. The Duke could do no more; the Disobedience of the Troops had gone to such an Height, that they observ'd no Orders. It being carry'd to Treat, by the Majority of Votes, a Trumpet and Hostages were sent to the Enemy, who likewise sent Hostages the same Day to *Uttoxeter*. They were no sooner come, than a Party of the Horse having appear'd in the Market-place, they went and took off the Guards that *Callender* had plac'd, and having seiz'd their Arms and Horses, that same Party sent to arrest *Callender* himself in the General's Quarters. The Number of Mutineers having increas'd towards the Evening, some of them, with their Pistols in their Hands, went up to the Duke's Chamber; who told them, That the Officers had never had any Thought of abandoning them; on the contrary, that they were fully resolv'd to live and die with them. After that, *Callender* express'd a great Resentment of the Violence they had offer'd him; and gave them to understand,

stand, that such a Behaviour was not the Way to get good Conditions from the Enemy.

1648.

THAT Night being pass'd with a great deal of Bustle, and many Alarms, the next Day, *Callender's* Equipage was return'd to him; and without being comprehended in the Treaty, which was concluded the same Day, he immediately set out, accompany'd by the Lord *Livingston*, his Nephew, with about 120 Troopers, in order to follow *Langdale*. Upon his Arrival at *Ashborn*, he was told, That *Langdale* had disbanded his Troops, which made him resolve to retire to *Pontefract*. But being attack'd by the Militia of *Derby*, in Places very inconvenient for Horse, Colonel *Keith*, Brother to the Earl Marshal, and some of *Callender's* Men were taken Prisoners. And as, according to the Custom of *England*, the Beacons had been lighted for raising the Country, they resolv'd to separate, and to make their Escape by different Routs, every one as he best could, it being no longer possible to march in a Body. The Lord *Grey of Groby* was charg'd with the Keeping of Duke *Hamilton*; and the Committee of the County dispos'd of the other Prisoners of War, according to the Orders they receiv'd from the two Houses. Thus was this Army pitifully ruin'd, which not only might have reliev'd *Colchester*, whither they ought to have march'd in all Haste, but might likewise, if God Almighty had not been against them, have given Laws to the Kingdom of *England*, and restor'd their Prince, who, in the mean Time, was undergoing a hard Confinement.

THE News of this Victory was spread every where, before *Cromwell* had sent an Account of it to the Speaker of the House of Commons. He did not write him the Particulars of it till the 20th of *August*; and after having admonish'd him not to hate the People of God, who were as dear to him as the Apple of his Eye, and for whose sake his divine Majesty was pleas'd to rebuke Kings, he ended his Letter with these Words, "That he could not write him less than what he had acquainted him with of this Victory, there being so much of the Hand of God in it; and truly he could not tell him more of it, there being so little of the Arm of Flesh in it."

THIS Letter having been read, the two Houses appointed a Day of Thanksgiving for this Victory; and sent Orders to *Cromwell* to pursue *Monroe*, who was in *Westmoreland* with 5000 Men, till he had driven him out of the Kingdom, and that the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carlisle* should likewise be surrender'd. The Disorders which happen'd during all this Time in *Scotland*, were the Cause of his so easily performing what the two Houses requir'd from his Service. For *Argyle's* whole Party having taken the Field under the Command of General *Lesly*, in order to oppose the Earls of *Lenrick* and *Lindsey*, who had rais'd Recruits to be sent to the Army in *England*; these Earls recall'd *Monroe* after the Defeat of the Army, and generously invited all the King's Friends to take a firm Resolution with them to be reveng'd of this Disgrace, or not to survive it. These two Lords being join'd with *Monroe*, made about 6000 Foot, and 2500 Horse. Having been inform'd that *Cromwell* was advancing in order to assist *Argyle*, they made all the Haste they could, to make themselves Masters of *Stirling*, which is the best Post in the Kingdom. *Lesly* had 7000 Foot, but was very weak in Horse, and the whole Body was only new Troops. As the Soldiers were raising in the adjacent Parts of *Edinburgh*, the Lords of the Committee of Parliament, who were

1648. were engag'd with the Duke of *Hamilton*, retir'd from thence; and those of *Argyle's* Faction, who had all the most zealous of the Clergy for them, put *Lesly* in Possession of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and at the same Time, seiz'd the Government of the State.

ON the 14th of *September*, the Royalists sent Proposals of Accommodation to the leading Men of *Argyle's* Faction, rather indeed to amuse them, than out of any Belief that they would accept of them. And truly they rejected them, saying, That they were contrary to the Articles of the Covenant, and the Union between the two Nations: But however, they would consent to treat with them at *Wensburgh*, which was a Village mid-way between the two Armies. The Royalists having agreed to confer in that Place, as the Commissioners of the rigid Covenanters did not come at the precise Hour appointed, the Royalists took their Advantage; and advancing in all Haste, made themselves Masters of the Bridge of *Stirling*; where having surpriz'd *Argyle's* Troops, they kill'd some of them, and took 7000 Prisoners. *Argyle* himself narrowly escap'd: For one of *Monroe's* Soldiers had taken him; but by the Misfortune that still attended the Nation, he was taken from him.

IN the mean Time, *Cromwell* being advanc'd to *Alnewick*, not far from *Berwick*, caus'd it to be summon'd, and wrote to *Lewis Lesly*, who was Governor of it, "That if he should refuse to deliver up the Town to him, which had been taken from the two Houses, in the midst of Peace, contrary to the solemn Treaty betwixt the two Nations, he would a second Time make his Application to God, who had but just now testify'd, that he did not approve of the unjust Invasion which the Scots Army had made into *England*; and that he would rely upon his divine Assistance, for maintaining the Rights of that Kingdom, and recovering the Towns which belong'd to it." The Governor answer'd, "That the Committee of the Parliament of *Scotland* having trusted him with the Town, he would send his Letter to them, and afterwards he should follow their Directions."

*Cromwell's
Letter to the
Governor of
Berwick.*

*The Governor's
Answer.*

CROMWELL having written to that Committee, in the same Terms he had done to the Governor of *Berwick*, got a Passport from the Governor, for sending the Letter by Colonel *Bright*, who had likewise Orders from *Cromwell* to assure *Argyle*, and the good Men of *Scotland*, of the Affection and good Will, which the Army had for them. But before the Letter was deliver'd, Sir *Andrew Ker* and Major *Straban* came, and presented him one from the Chancellor, dated at *Falkirk* the 15th of *September*, in Name of all *Argyle's* Faction. This Letter was as follows:

*The Chancellor
of Scotland's
Letter to Crom-
well.*

"That having had Advice of his drawing near the Borders of *Scotland*, in order to reduce *Berwick* and *Carlisle* under the Obedience of the Parliament of *England*, they thought themselves oblig'd to let him know, That above all Things, they desir'd to keep up a good Correspondence betwixt the two Kingdoms: That for that End, they had protested against the Duke of *Hamilton's* raising of Forces, which had been carry'd by a prevailing Faction, contrary to the Sentiments of the Clergy, and against the Will of the most considerable Shires of the Kingdom. For the rest, That nothing shall be wanting on their Part, for getting the two Towns, which he demanded, deliver'd up to him. And whereas those, who commanded the Troops that were return'd from *England*, had desir'd to treat with them, they assur'd him, That whether they should make Peace, or pursue the War, they should always have

“ have as great a Regard for the Concerns of *England*, as for those of the
 “ Kingdom of *Scotland*. In fine, That all their Actions should still every-
 “ where demonstrate the Sincerity of their Intentions to maintain the
 “ Covenant, and the Treaties between the two Nations. 1648.

THE Messengers had it in their Instructions to let *Cromwell* understand, that *Lanrick* and *Monroe* were busy levying new Troops; and that *Hamilton's* Enemies being resolved to oppose them, they never should make Peace with them, 'till they should first lay down their Arms, and strip themselves of the Authority which they pretended to have in the Kingdom, that both Peace and War may be manag'd by such as had been against the Invasion of *England*. They had it likewise in Charge to tell him, that if *Lanrick* and *Monroe* should not disarm, and that, on the contrary, they should make any Attempt to pursue the War in *England*, the Covenanters hop'd that the Armies of the two Houses would assist them against those common Enemies of both the Kingdoms, whenever they should be required so to do, as *Scotland* had assisted the two Houses against the Malignants of *England*.

CROMWELL having inform'd himself particularly about the State of the Affairs of the good Men in *Scotland*, (so he call'd *Argyle's* Faction) as he had Difficulty to subsist on this Side of *Tweed*, because of the Havock that *Monroe* had made there, and having a mind likewise to prevent the Governor of *Berwick* from throwing Provisions into the Place, on the 20th of *September* he pass'd the *Tweed*, and enter'd *Scotland*. Upon his entering, he caus'd an Order to be publish'd, forbidding as well Officers as Soldiers, under Pain of Death, either to demand or take Money from the People, to use them ill, or to take Horses and Provisions by Force, under the same Pain. He ordain'd, that each Colonel should take a Copy of this Order, and that he should also give one to each Captain, in order to cause it to be read at the Head of their Companies, that none might pretend Ignorance. Then he wrote an Answer to the Chancellor's Letter, to be communicated to the whole Party, and told them, in his usual prophetick Stile, in Name of the whole Army, “ That he blest God for the Goodness he had
 “ shewn them; and that the Authority of the Kingdom was going to
 “ be settled in the Hands of such as had learn'd to seek the Glory of
 “ God, and the Comfort of his People. That he was not afraid to tell
 “ them sincerely, as in the Presence of God, who knows the Secrets of
 “ all Hearts, that as they believ'd that Divine Providence had not per-
 “ mitted the Enemies of God and of all Good to raise themselves so
 “ high in the two Kingdoms, but in order to make the Necessity of the
 “ Union of those who belong'd to him, in both Nations, appear the
 “ more; so they hop'd that the glorious Dispensation of the happy Suc-
 “ cess of their Arms against their common Enemies, would be a
 “ sure Foundation of that Union in Charity and Peace. That for what
 “ concern'd them in particular, they promis'd, on their Part, to con-
 “ tribute thereto, with God's Assistance, whatever lay in their Power;
 “ and that they wish'd that this Promise might rise in Judgment against
 “ their Hypocrisy, if they should ever fail in it. That God would
 “ surely be reveng'd of it, even as he had made it appear upon Duke
 “ *Hamilton's* Army, who had attack'd them under the Cloke of Piety
 “ and Justice: And as for them, they still rejoyc'd with Awe, not daring
 “ to act in that manner.

*Cromwell's
 Answer to the
 Chancellor's
 Letter.*

1648.

THEN he gave them an Account of the Reasons he had for entering *Scotland*, and told them, " That he hop'd his coming there, would be
 " of Use to them, for bringing their common Enemies to Reason, and
 " for obliging them to submit to what should be justly propos'd to
 " them." Then he promis'd, " That as soon as they should understand
 " that their Enemies had submitted, and that the Army of the two
 " Houses had got Possession of their Towns, they should leave *Scot-*
 " *land*; and in the mean time, that they should be more careful to
 " ease it while they were there, than *England* itself; and that if the
 " good Men should stand in Need of them, they should be always ready
 " to go to their Assistance, in what Part soever they might be.

SIR *Andrew Ker* and Major *Straban* having carry'd this Letter to the rigid Covenanters, *Argyle*, the Lord *Elcho*, and Sir *John Scot* went to wait upon *Cromwell* in the House of the Lord *Mordington*, Brother to the Marquis of *Dowglas*. *Argyle* sent from thence to *Berwick*, to treat with the Governor about the surrendering of the Town; but he was waiting his Orders from *Lanrick* and *Monroe*, who having already made their Agreement with *Argyle's* Faction, *Berwick* and *Carlisle* were surrender'd to *Cromwell* before the End of the Month. Both Parties agreed to the following Articles, which were sign'd the 26th of *September*:
 " That all the Troops commanded by the Earls of *Lanrick*, *Lindsey*,
 " and Colonel *George Monroe*, which were on this Side of *Tay*, compre-
 " hending therein the Garisons of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, should be dis-
 " banded before the first of *October* following; and that all those on the
 " other Side of that River should lay down their Arms before the 10th
 " of the same Month. That General *Lestly's* Troops should be dis-
 " banded within the same Time. That whatever concern'd the Re-
 " formation of Religion, should be refer'd to the National Assembly;
 " and that the Differences upon the Account of Government, should
 " be decided by the Convention of Estates, which should meet before
 " the 10th of *January* 1649. That in order to prevent new Troubles,
 " and a Rupture between the two Kingdoms, all such as had consented
 " to Duke *Hamilton's* raising of Troops, should forbear meeting in the
 " Committee of Estates. That *Lanrick*, *Lindsey*, *Monroe*, and all their
 " Adherents, should not be call'd to Account, either in their Persons
 " or Estates, for whatever had pass'd since the Invasion of *England*.
 " That the Prisoners that had been taken on either Side since the
 " 25th of *August*, should be set at Liberty." The Earls of *Lanrick*
 and *Glancairn*, not thinking fit to accept of these Articles, retir'd to *Holland*.

AFTER *Cromwell* had put Garisons into *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, he was invited to go to *Edinburgh*, where, he said, he had something to communicate to the Committee of Estates. The Lord *Kirkendbright* and Major-General *Holburn* went, on their Part, to meet him, as far as *Seaton*, which is about six Miles from *Edinburgh*, where the Earl of *Murray's* House, the finest of the City, was fitted up for his Reception. As soon as he came there, the Chancellor, the Marquis of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Cassels*, the Lord *Burleigh*, the Provost of *Edinburgh*, with many other Lords and Gentlemen, went to pay their Respects to him; and the next Day the Earl of *Cassels* and Sir *Archibald Johnston* of *Wariston* went to visit him on the Part of the Committee of Estates, to know what he had to communicate to them. *Cromwell* presented them a Writing, whereby he demanded, that, in order to keep *Hamilton's* Party from
 being

being able to rise up again in *Scotland*, where they might embroil the two Kingdoms, they would be pleas'd to order, that none of those who had carry'd Arms under his Command, or who had consented to the Invasion of *England*, should have any publick Employment in *Scotland*. The Committee granted him that Article, and added, That no Person should be admitted into any, but with the Consent of the Parliament of *England*. *Cromwell* was afterwards feasted in the Castle, where *Argyle* receiv'd and entertain'd the Guests; and when he went out of it, he was saluted with all the Artillery thereof. But these good Men, so zealous for the Covenant, had not reflected, that having deny'd that Reception to their native Prince, they were discovering the Fortresses, and the State the Kingdom was in, to their mortal Enemy, and who, ere it was long, made himself Master of it.

THE Committee of Estates designing to keep up an Army of four thousand Foot, all rigid Covenanters, they desired *Cromwell* to allow Major-General *Lambert*, who was well belov'd in *Scotland*, to continue there some Time, with two Regiments of Horse. To which *Cromwell* having consented, a great many Lords accompany'd him out of *Edinburgh*, from whence, taking the *Berwick* Road, he march'd to reinforce the Siege of *Pontefract* Castle, which had not as yet surrender'd, nor those of *Scarborough* and *Cockermouth*, which, however, surrender'd very soon after.

LAMBERT's Regiments were quarter'd in the Shire of *Lothian*, where some of *Monroe*'s disbanded Soldiers stript and abus'd his Troopers, whenever they found them by themselves. *Lambert* having complain'd of it to the Committee of Estates, they prohibited, upon Pain of Death, all Persons, of what Quality or Condition soever, to attempt any thing upon *Lambert*'s Soldiers, or to refuse them all manner of Necessaries for their Subsistence. And when he return'd to *England*, the Chancellor, in Name of the whole Committee, wrote to the two Houses a long Letter of Thanks for the Assistance they had receiv'd from their Army; and testify'd the great Delight they had had, in the good, nay, the exemplary Behaviour of *Cromwell* and *Lambert*'s Troops in *Scotland*. We must now see if General *Fairfax* had as great Success at *Colchester*, as his Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* had had in other Parts, who having compass'd all that he had undertaken, was returning in Triumph to *London*.

THERE was nothing more memorable happen'd in the Armies in *England*, than the famous Siege of *Colchester*, which can boast of having given Birth to *Constantine* the Great; which obliges me to give an exact Relation of all the Particulars thereof, and to resume the Occasion of it a little higher. Altho' the two Houses had abolish'd all Holidays, and forbid them to be kept for the future, yet it was impossible to root out of the Minds of the People the Respect they had for those holy Festivals, particularly that of *Christmas*, which was always observ'd in *England*, even since its Separation from the Catholick Communion, with more Ceremony and Merry-making, than in any other Part of the World. There is also a Tradition amongst the People, that the holy and religious Observance of that happy Day, upon which Heaven distill'd the Dew, and rain'd down the Just One, and when the Earth conceiv'd, and brought forth the Saviour, was yearly confirm'd by a very extraordinary Thing. For it was affirm'd, That every Year, on that Day that the Lily of the Valley sprung out

1648. out of the Stem of *Jesse*, a white Thorn blossom'd in the antient Monastery of *Glastonbury*, which is said to have been built by *Joseph of Arimathea*, as the antient Monuments of the House, and a Letter of *S. Patrick*, a Native of *Scotland*, and the Apostle of *Ireland*, who had led a monastick Life there for 30 Years, testify'd. For which Reason also, the *English* of old call'd this holy Place, the first Land of God, the first Land of the Saints in *England*, the Origin and Source of all the Religion which has flourish'd there since, the Tomb and Mother of the Saints, and in short, the House built by the Disciples of *JESUS CHRIST*. It was rebuilt by *Ina*, King of the *West Saxons*; who caus'd a magnificent Church to be erected there in Honour of *JESUS CHRIST*, *S. Peter*, and *S. Paul*; and who having founded a College at *Rome*, for the Instruction of the *English* Youth, oblig'd all the Houses of his Kingdom to pay a Penny yearly, for maintaining that Seminary.

So then, on *Christmas* Day last, 1647, a great Congregation of People of all Ranks met in *S. Andrew's* Church in *Canterbury*, where the Parson of the Parish, according to antient Custom, preach'd a Sermon upon the Nativity of our Lord. That having displeas'd the New-reform'd, they got together under the Windows of the Church, in order to disturb the Sermon by a great Noise. But the Sermon and divine Service being ended, notwithstanding all their Noise, as the Mayor was going thro' the Town, endeavouring to make such as had shut their Shops, to open them again, he flew out into such a Passion, that he beat a Citizen. This Affront incens'd the whole Neighbourhood, who were more inclin'd to keep the Festival, than to sell their Goods; insomuch that a great Multitude conven'd, who fell upon the Mayor, and after having beat him soundly, oblig'd him to run home as fast as he could. After that, the Tumult grew still greater: Every Man betook himself to his Arms; and the whole Town was instantly in such a Confusion, that some were knock'd down with Musquet-shot. Those who at first thought of nothing but keeping themselves from being abus'd, knowing well the Malice of those, with whom they were sure they should have to do, seiz'd the Magazines, and plac'd Guards at the Gates of the Town. At length some Men of Character, who were of a peaceable Disposition, having labour'd to appease the Disorders, were so successful, that by a Writing sign'd by both Parties, the Affair was made up, all Arms were laid down, and every Man retir'd peaceably to his own House.

BUT tho', by the Articles of Agreement, it had been stipulated, That what had pass'd should be forgot, and that no Person should ever be call'd to an Account for that Fact; yet at the Sollicitation of the Mayor, who had a mind to be reveng'd of the Affront he pretended to have receiv'd, a Month after the Affair had been made up, Colonel *Hewson's* Regiment of Foot was sent to garison *Canterbury*. As soon as the Regiment was quarter'd, the Colonel, by Order of Parliament, seiz'd Sir *William Man*, Mr. *Lovelace*, Mr. *Savin*, and Mr. *Wills*, by whose Care the Tumult had been quieted. He caus'd them, with some poor Burghers of the Town, to be carry'd to the Castle of *Lyd*, near *Maidston*; where having continu'd above two Months, those who liv'd only by their Industry, and whom no Body durst relieve, began to want all Necessaries of Life, as well as their Wives and Children, whom they had left at home. At length, at the Request of those of greatest Note, they were all let out upon Bail, and return'd every one to his own House: Whither they were no sooner come, than the Mayor, not as yet satisfy'd with so severe an Imprisonment,

prisonment, and having Soldiers for the Ministers of his Passions, had a mind, by all Means, that some of the Prisoners, of the meaner Sort, should be whipp'd thro' the Town: But the Aldermen his Collegues, wiser and better Politicians than he, gave him to understand, That he must take a more moderate Course than that, which perhaps might exasperate the Minds of the People, and carry them into some other Extreme, worse than the first. By that Means, all continu'd quiet in the Town till *Whit-sunday*, that the two Houses sent thither Mr. *Wild* and Mr. *Steel*, both Sergeants at Law, with a Commission to inquire into the Tumult, and to try the Authors of it, tho', to speak the Truth, none were try'd but those who had been injur'd in the Commotion; and the Authors thereof were either their Judges, or the Witnesses that swore against them.

THE Court sat in the Castle of *Canterbury*, where many Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood were present, with the Deputy Lieutenant and Committee of the County, by Order of Parliament. The Judges being seated on the Bench, and the Prisoners appearing at the Bar, the Accusations were read: Then, according to the Custom of *England*, which we have explain'd elsewhere, the Jury retir'd in order to give their Verdict; and having conferr'd together, they return'd, and declar'd, That the Prisoners were innocent. The Judges, who had a mind to ruin those Men, quite surpriz'd, were forc'd, against their Will, to acquit them; but with this Proviso however, That after the House of Commons should be inform'd of the Affair, the Process should be revis'd. In the mean Time, they receiv'd Advice of the Defeat of the *Welsh*, near *S. Fagan's*, in the County of *Glamorgan*, of which we have spoken in the preceding Book. No sooner had they read their Letters, than one of the Judges getting up all of a sudden, out of a Transport of Joy, said to one of the Jury, That if this News had come a little sooner, they should have been oblig'd to bring in another Sort of a Verdict than they had done. The Gentleman boldly answer'd the Judge, That neither their News, nor their Threats, should have oblig'd them to bring in a Verdict contrary to the Dictates of their Consciences.

THIS Judge's Speech being spread amongst all the Gentlemen, and others, who were present at the Trial, they recollected themselves a little, and began in good Earnest to reflect seriously upon the deplorable State to which the poor Kingdom was reduc'd, and to revolve in their Minds, by what Means they might be able to shake off the Yoke of Tyranny they were kept under by their Fellow-Subjects. At length, after many Proposals that were made, they resolv'd to begin their Complaints by a most humble Petition, which was drawn up at that very Instant, to be presented to the two Houses. This Petition contain'd: "That being
" sensibly affected with their own Misery, and that of all their Country-
" men, they could no longer forbear making them these Requests, which
" they thought most just: First, that, as soon as possible, the King may,
" with Honour and Safety, go to the two Houses, in order to treat there
" with them about Means for restoring Peace both in the Church and
" State: That the Army, whose long Standing occasion'd so much Dis-
" order and was so burdensome to the whole Kingdom, may be quickly
" paid, and then disbanded: That the free-born Subjects may hence-
" forth be govern'd according to the Laws of the Kingdom: That agree-
" ably to the fundamental Laws of the State, they may no more, for the
" Time to come, be burden'd with any Imposition whatsoever; and that
" especially they may be freed from the insupportable Burden of the Excise.

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THIS Petition being generally approv'd of, as well by the Gentry, as by such of the Clergy as were present in the Town, on the 11th of May it was sign'd by two hundred Gentlemen. A great Number of Copies of it were written out, which some took upon them to disperse over all the County. They had caus'd to be written at the Foot of each Copy, That the Company desir'd, that all the Copies that should be sign'd, may be carry'd to *Rochester* against the 29th of May; and that all such as were willing to accompany the Petition, may be upon *Black-Heath* the next Day at nine o' Clock in the Morning.

SIR *Henry Heyman* and Sir *Michael Lucy* being in a different Interest from those, took Post, in order to acquaint the two Houses with what was doing. The House of Commons having taken it into Consideration, the Speaker, by Order of the House, wrote to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County, and told them, That having heard that there was a Petition drawing up, to be presented to the House, he charg'd them to do their utmost for causing it to be immediately suppress'd, and to cause to be arrested all such as had a mind to back it; and that, after having given the necessary Orders for the Security of all the Towns and Castles of the County, by all Means a Stop may be put to any more Meetings.

THESE Lieutenants having met at *Maidston*, where the Committee of the County was sitting, they caus'd an Order to be publish'd for suppressing the Petition, which they call'd seditious, and injurious to the Authority of the two Houses; and commanded, that their Order should be read in all the Parish Churches, that none might pretend Ignorance. This manner of proceeding produc'd a quite contrary Effect to what they intended: For those who had not heard of the Petition, but by the Means taken to suppress it, had such a Curiosity to see it, that in a Trice it was spread over all the County; and there was a great Number, as well of the Gentry as of the Clergy and Commonalty, who boldly join'd in it, and frankly offer'd to support it to the utmost of their Power. It was, indeed, acting against all Form, to pretend to stop Petitions from being presented to the two Houses, since the Kings have always call'd them, in order to hear the Complaints of the People, and to redress their Grievances; and that the Commons being call'd there by the Prince, and chosen by the People, it could be for no other End, but that all the Counties might there, by their Representatives, shew the Infringements made upon their Privileges, to the King and the Peers of the Kingdom, from whom alone they expect the Redress of their Grievances.

THIS Order of the Committee not having in the least discourag'd those who had sign'd the Petition, they, on their Part, shew'd the Justice of their Reasons, and of the Motive they had had to present their Petition, which, they clearly prov'd, did not contain any thing that was seditious, or contrary to the Authority of the two Houses; and that, on the contrary, they demanded nothing but what was most just, nay, most necessary for the Peace of their County, and the Tranquillity of the whole Kingdom. They added, that their Intention was, to present it with Respect, as having no Thought of stirring up Tumults, or forming Factions that might disturb the two Houses: In a Word, that they were all resolv'd to go on with it, at the Peril of their Lives and Fortunes, without standing in Awe of their Threats: For having never design'd

design'd to impose upon any Person whatsoever, under Pretence that their Petition had been approv'd of by some of the Committee, therefore they desir'd that no Person might join with them, but such only as were fully perswaded, at the Bottom of their Consciences, that what they demanded, was just, and grounded upon Reason.

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THE Committee seeing that Threats did not in the least frighten the Petitioners, the Militia was order'd to be rais'd: But what Diligence soever was us'd, scarce one Man appear'd to list himself. The Commanders were almost all in the Interest of the Petitioners, and the People likewise generally declar'd for them with a great deal of good Will. The Committee having complain'd of it to the Parliament, requir'd the Assistance of the Army. On the other hand, the Petitioners, seeing that the Army was to be employ'd against them, met every Day, in order to consult what Course they should take for supporting their Petition, knowing well that there was no room left for retracting what they had done, and that they must either die, or bring it to an Issue; first of all they publish'd a Declaration for justifying the Sincerity of their Intentions, and call'd the Committee in question, accus'd them of Extortion, and openly complain'd of the Robberies that all the Members thereof had committed, by the exorbitant Taxes with which they loaded the County, without being authoriz'd by Parliament: And that whereas they were inform'd of the insolent Violence that had very lately been offer'd to their Neighbours, for a Cause altogether such as their own, they declar'd, that they were oblig'd to take up Arms for their Defence.

By *their Neighbours*, they meant the Gentry and People of the County of *Surrey*, who, on the 16th of *May*, having come in great Numbers to *Westminster*, in order to present a Petition to the two Houses, which contain'd in Substance the same Complaints with those of the *Kentish* Petitioners, though those poor People had no other Arms but Sticks in their Hands, they were attack'd by the Soldiers, in passing by *Whitehall*, and were likewise driven back by the Guards at *Westminster*. At length, having with great Difficulty got into the Hall, they were there surrounded by a Body of Horse, which came from the *Meuse*, and the Guards having begun to pick a Quarrel with them, as if Assistance was come to them from *Whitehall*, they fell upon them, and kill'd and wounded several of them, without any Distinction: The Gentlemen were disarm'd, and shamefully turn'd out of the Lobby, and many of them also made Prisoners, after having been robb'd. The Soldiers, who had Orders to abuse them, told them, that they were commanded thus to answer their Petition, and that they should have no other. And, truly, the Lieutenant-Colonel, to whom this Office had been given, having perform'd this noble Action, was call'd into the House, where he was thank'd by those worthy Protectors of the publick Liberty, who caus'd an Ordinance of the two Houses to be publish'd, forbidding any more Petitions henceforth to be presented to them by above twenty Persons, who should behave themselves modestly and peaceably; and that, in order to present their Petitions, they should apply themselves to the Representatives in the House of Commons, of the County or Town from whence the Petitioners should come; it being, indeed, lawful, by the Right and Privilege of Subjects, to lay their Complaints before the Parliament, but that it must be done in a civil and submissive manner.

THE

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THE Petitioners, therefore, having resolv'd to defend themselves, seiz'd all the Arms and Ammunition that were in *Ashford*, *Feverham*, and some other Parts; and Mr. *Hales*, having in a short time drawn a good Number of Men together in his Neighbourhood, where he was much belov'd, on account of his Merit, made himself Master of Sir *Peter Bicot's* House, where he found a great Magazine full of all manner of Ammunition, which came very seasonably to the Petitioners. At the same time, several other Parties met, and join'd them at *Rocheſter*, *Graveſend*, and in some other Places; so that the Committee was forc'd to retire to *London* in all Haſte. Captain *Lee*, and another Member of the House of Commons, having preſently ſet out from *Westminster*, went directly to *Rocheſter*, in order to make ſome Propoſals to the Petitioners; and as they were preſſing them to give over their Enterprize, and adviſing them to accept of a Pardon, they were immediately ſeiz'd, and oblig'd to treat for themſelves: For the Petitioners ſuſpected much in what manner the Pardon, that was promis'd them, would be worded, if they ſhould lay down their Arms.

ON the 23d of *May* the Petitioners had a great Meeting at *Canterbury*, where it was reſolv'd, that they ſhould march with their Petition in one Hand, and their Swords in the other. This Procedure would, indeed, have been criminal in Subjects, who ſhould have had the Boldneſs to appear in that Poſture before their King; becauſe Subjects ought never to make uſe of other Arms, than Tears, and humble Requeſts, for obtaining the Favours they aſk of their Prince. But this was not done with a Deſign to force ſuperior Powers; though the two Houſes were no longer lawful Powers, being deſtitute, as they were, of the Royal Authority, and that they no longer govern'd by the Laws, but by the Orders of the Council of War. However, as they had ſtill ſome Reſpect, even for the Shadow of the two Houſes, they march'd in this Equipage, only in order to ſurmount the Obſtacles they expected to meet with in the Way, and likewise to break through the Oppoſitions which their Enemies might make.

The Remon-
ſtrance of the
Kentish Peti-
tioners.

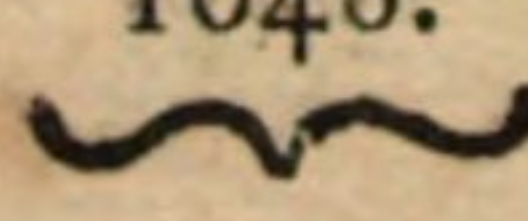
IN order to let all the World know, both Friends and Foes, the juſt Grounds they had to take up Arms, they cauſ'd this Remonſtrance to be publiſh'd: "That being reduc'd to chuſe one of two Extremes, either
" to loſe their Liberties and Lives, or to die free, they were reſolv'd to
" act the laſt Part of this Tragedy with Sword in Hand; but, however,
" they would rather thruſt it into their own Breasts, than ever to hurt
" the Lovers of Peace. That they call'd all the World to Witneſs, if
" they had not been forc'd to back with their Arms, a Petition full of
" Charity and Reſpect, which ſome Perſons, without any Authority,
" had had the Inſolence to thwart; and having declar'd themſelves
" implacable Enemies to the Petitioners, had threaten'd them with an
" inconceivable Malice, to that Height, that Sir *Anthony Welden* had
" ſworn, that he would not ſo much as croſs one of the Streets of
" *Rocheſter*, to ſave the Life of any of thoſe who had ſign'd the Peti-
" tion, whatever they were; and that Mr. *Bell* had propos'd to cauſe
" two of the Petitioners of each Pariſh to be hang'd. That it was im-
" poſſible but ſuch Proceedings muſt ſtir up their Reſentment: Beſides,
" that having ſeen that their long Patience had been the Cauſe of the
" Ruin of their Affairs, if it was a Crime to make uſe of Petitions at
" laſt, they had better die that way. That, in ſhort, they promis'd
" before God, as heartily as they deſir'd his Aſſiſtance, to purſue, even
to

“ to the Loss of their Lives, all such as should take in hand to oppose
“ them in the lawful Prosecution of their most humble Petition ; and
“ to protect one another with all their Might, in the Defence of this
“ Cause. And in case it should happen that any one of them in parti-
“ cular should be troubled on account of this Engagement, they pro-
“ mised to run all in a Body to his Relief, and to get him full Satis-
“ faction for the Injury he may have suffer’d.

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IN the Afternoon of the same Day, the Petitioners gave Commission to Colonel *Hammond* to raise a Regiment of Foot, and to *Hatton* to raise one of Horse, for the Service of the County, that the general Petition thereof might the more quickly and safely be presented to the two Houses. These were the Words of their Commission ; and *Hammond* having immediately caus’d the Drum to be beat, in a very short time he rais’d three hundred Men, and before Night *Hatton* had got sixty Horse. This Readiness shew’d plainly, with what Eagerness the People wish’d for the Liberty of the King, and of all the Subjects of the Kingdom. They furnish’d them with Arms out of the Magazine of the Town, which the Petitioners had seiz’d the Day before ; and the next Day they went to *Barham-down*, where the Militia was likewise to rendezvous. The Weather was so bad that Day, that there were but about 200 appear’d. A great many Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood of *Canterbury* and *Dover* met there. There were even some of the Lieutenants of the County, who took Part with them, but against their Wills, and with a Design to desert them, whenever they should find an Opportunity. They consulted there about Means for levying Men, and Money for subsisting them, especially those, who having left their Trades, and other Employments, had not wherewithal to maintain themselves. The Gentry voluntarily, and with a good Grace, advanc’d considerable Sums of Money, for subsisting the poor Soldiers, and supplying the other Necessities of the Party, every one taxing himself according to his Ability. Then the leading Men of the Meeting, who were charg’d with the Management of this important Affair, dispatch’d Expresses over all the County, to invite the honest Men, in this pressing Necessity, to give Proofs of their Fidelity and Affection to their Prince and Country ; that they were not ignorant how much the King and the whole Kingdom were suffering ; and that they were in a severe and shameful Bondage, which the brave *Kentishmen*, who never could be brought to yield to the Arms of *William* the Conqueror, ought even to be asham’d to have undergone so long.

UPON the breaking up of the Meeting towards Evening, the Colonels *Hammond* and *Hatton* went to quarter near *Dover* ; and Sir *Richard Hardress* and Sir *Anthony Aucher*, after having written to the Mayor of *Sandwich*, to acquaint him with their Coming, march’d directly towards that Town, with two Troops of the Horse Militia, whom they had mounted after the Manner of Dragoons, upon Account of the bad Weather, tho’ the Season was fine ; because the Rains are frequent in *England* at all Times of the Year. They found the Gates of the Town shut, and Guards posted in all the Avenues. *Matthew Carter*, who was at the Head of the Troops, having summon’d the Town, was refus’d Access for some Time : But at length, an Officer having come to ask, if Sir *Richard Hardress*, one of the Lieutenants of the County, was amongst them, and he appearing, the Mayor order’d the Gates to be open’d. The Petitioners having enter’d the Town in very good Order, and without using the least Violence, drew up in the Market-place, and caus’d the Guards to be re-
5 M liev’d.

1648.  liev'd. Then they sent for the Mayor, to whom they presented the Petition to be sign'd by him, and at the same Time, order'd him to raise a Sum of Money for the Service of the County. The Mayor receiv'd this Order very coldly, desiring to be excus'd upon Account of the Poverty of the Town. The Officers of the Excise were likewise sent for; but there was very little Money in their Office, so that the Petitioners saw there was but little Relief to be got in this Place.

HOWEVER, they found there a private Man, who did them more Service, than the whole Corporation could have done, tho' they had been as willing, as they were able. This was one *Keme*, who had been a Chaplain in the Fleet; and who afterwards having been a Major in the Parliament's Troops, made it appear then, that he was sorry for having been engag'd in so unjust a Cause, that he could not enough express how much it griev'd him. Having offer'd to join with the Petitioners, and to make Use of the Interest he had in the County for their Service, if they would do him the Honour to employ him; the Petitioners well knowing that he had been at Sea with the Earl of *Warwick*, and that he had good Acquaintances in the Fleet, thought fit to employ him, after he should have sign'd the Petition. And that very Instant, they wrote to all the Captains of the Men of War that were in the *Downs*; and in each Letter put a Copy of their Petition, and charg'd this Major with them; who that very Night went on Board the Admiral, and by a good Luck, which exceeded all their Expectations, he got the whole Squadron to declare for the royal Party.

THE next Day, the Petitioners sent again for the Mayor and Aldermen, to know if they had rais'd any Money, and if there was Reason to expect any Thing from them that might forward the King's Service. For they had especially given them to understand, That it was in order to restore his Majesty to his Throne, and all the Subjects to their Liberties, that this Party had been form'd. But these Men not shewing the least Sign of their being affected with that, the Royalists thought it not fit to trust them any longer with the Militia of the Town. Therefore they made them deliver up the Commissions they had got for commanding it, and put it into the Hands of other Commanders, who were Inhabitants, and very honest Men, upon whom the Royalists could depend. At the same Time, they seiz'd upon the little Ammunition that was in the Town-house; and having put it upon a Cart for an Undertaking they were going to put in Execution, they made themselves ready to march to *Dover*. Before they set out, they thought fit to see a sham Prince, who gave out himself to be the Prince of *Wales*. On the 3d of *May*, this Cheat having come all alone to an Inn in *Sandwich* in a Beggar's Habit, said he was the Prince, and that he had been forc'd to make his Escape out of *France*, in the Condition they saw him, because the Queen his Mother had a Design to have him poison'd. The foolish Credulity of the People was then such, that, by Order of the Mayor, he was conducted to Captain *Forstal's* House, who was one of the Aldermen of the Town; whither they sent Men to serve him, with Guards for his Person, till a very rich Suit of Cloaths should be made for him, as soon as possible. Then they made a Speech to him; and on *Sunday* he went to Church, with the Sword carry'd before him, the Guards likewise marching before him bare-headed. The News of this having been spread in those Parts, many Gentlemen of Note, and Abundance of Ladies went to kiss his Hand, and make him Presents. The whole Town had suffer'd themselves to be so impos'd upon by this Cheat,

Cheat, who had already play'd this Part for a whole Week, that, as Sir *Thomas Disbington*, whom the Queen and the Prince of *Wales* had sent into *England*, was returning by *Dover*, he was very much surpriz'd, when he was told, for certain, that the Prince was at *Sandwich*. Sir *Thomas* having gone thither in all Haste, and ask'd this Impostor, where he had left the Queen, and about some Particulars of what had lately pass'd at the Court of *France*; he answer'd so impertinently, that it was very surprizing, that the People were not at that Instant undeceiv'd: Besides, that the Manner in which he had spoken of the Queen, should have oblig'd the Magistrates to put him in Prison; as, without Doubt, they would have done, had it not been for their Blindness. Sir *Thomas*, not able to forbear calling him Names, this Cheat order'd the Mayor to make him Prisoner, for the Treason he had thereby committed. The Mayor forthwith obeying, sent Sir *Thomas* to Prison, where he remain'd very near two Days, whatever Sollicitations could be made for releasing him.

THOSE who were for the King, being inform'd of all the Parts of this Comedy, and believing that some disaffected Persons made it to be acted after this manner, in order to put the County in Confusion, resolv'd to carry him away; and lest any Commotion should be made in the Town, where this ridiculous Idol was ador'd, they bethought themselves of desiring him, in a civil manner, to be pleas'd to put himself at their Head, and of causing an empty Coach to be brought for receiving him: But as they came near the House where he was, he and his Companions having guess'd the Design, order'd the Door to be shut; and the Landlord standing behind it, told them, That what he did, was by the Prince's Order, who had forbid him to let them in. Then the Royalists having resolv'd to carry him away by Force, sixty Musketeers were order'd to break open the Door; the rest of the Soldiers putting themselves in a Posture of sustaining them, and repulsing the Crowd of People that was flocking together on all Sides. In the mean time, this Impostor having run to a Window, fell a crying to the Burghers and Seamen to take Arms, and come to his Relief, at the same time throwing Handfuls of Money among the People, who were much griev'd, the Women crying for Fear that any Violence should be offer'd to their Prince, and many also swearing that they would rather die, than suffer him to be insulted in their Town, for which he had express'd more Affection, than for any other of the Kingdom. While the Soldiers were forcing the House, he made his Escape by a Back-Door, where some Watermen were waiting him, and who carry'd him over to the Isle of *Thanet*. Some Men were immediately sent into that Island, where he was found supping, still like a Prince, in Mr. *Cripp's* House: From thence he was conducted to *Canterbury*, and at length to the Prison of *Newgate* in *London*. This Rogue was a Native of *Marseilles*, his Father was a *Welshman*, and his Mother a *Provensale*. Having continu'd some Time in Prison, he found Means to make his Escape, in order to act the last Part of his princely Dignity upon some other Theater.

THIS Impostor has not been the first who has appear'd in this Quality in *England*. In the Reign of *Henry VII.* which began when the Kingdom was afflicted with a Sweating Disease, which many took for a Presage that his Reign would be uneasy: This great Prince, having wrested the Crown from the Tyrant *Richard III.* was oblig'd to maintain
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it with the Sword against two Impostors, who, under borrow'd Names, had the Boldness to pretend to it. The first of these Cheats was the Son of a Baker, call'd *Lambert Simnel*, whom *Richard Simon*, a Priest of *Oxford*, brought up, and made him pass for *Edward Plantagenet*, Nephew of King *Edward IV*. It having been reported amongst the People, that he had made his Escape out of the Tower, where *Henry* had caus'd him to be put : The Priest having instructed his Pupil, went over with him to *Ireland*, where the House of *York* was in great Veneration. The Gracefulness of *Simnel's* Person, made every Body to be in love with him ; and the Priest us'd so much Dexterity in shewing him, that the Earl of *Kildare*, who was then Lord-Lieutenant, was the first that welcom'd him : The greatest Part of the Nobility and Gentry follow'd his Example, and the People were transported with Joy ; insomuch that *Simnel* was conducted to the Castle of *Dublin*, and very solemnly proclaimed King. King *Henry* having had Advice of it, in order to undeceive the People, order'd the true *Plantagenet* to be conducted through *London*, as far as *St. Paul's Church*, and so order'd Matters, that many Persons of Quality spoke to him as he pass'd along. But that did not in the least move the *Irish* ; on the contrary, they retorted the Impostor upon the King, saying, that it was He who impos'd upon the People, having caus'd a young Man to be dress'd after such a manner, as to resemble the true *Plantagenet*, and having even prophan'd the Solemnity of a Procession, in order to deceive the World. *Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgundy*, who was *Edward IV's* Sister, being told by some *English* Lords what had pass'd in *Ireland*, though she very well knew that *Simnel* was nothing but a Cheat, yet the Hatred she bore against the Branch of *Lancaster*, of which *Henry* was come by his Mother's Side, induc'd this Princess to send two thousand old *German* Soldiers to the pretended King in *Ireland*. The *Irish* having got this Supply, caus'd their King to be crown'd ; and having rais'd an Army, brought him over to *England*. As they were advancing towards *York*, *Henry* gave them Battle, in which all their chief Officers were kill'd, and *Simnel* was taken Prisoner, who, after having been for a long time a Turn-Spit in the King's Kitchen, was made one of his Falconers. This was nothing but an Idol well deck'd, and who, truly, had a good Mien, and acted the Prince well enough : But the Dutchess of *Burgundy* very soon set up another, who was more sprightly than *Simnel*, and who knew so well how to act his Part, that he charm'd all sorts of Persons that approach'd him, and had I know not what so engaging, that one could scarce forbear paying him Respect. The Dutchess of *Burgundy* had always endeavour'd to persuade every Body, that the Parricides who murder'd the young King *Edward V*. having presently testify'd their Regret, set *Richard* Duke of *York*, his Brother, at Liberty, for whom she was in great Pain, not knowing what was become of him. She said that, because she had given Orders to look for some Youth, whom, by the Conformity of Age, and some other Resemblance, she might, one Day, suppose for the Duke of *York*. At last, such a one as she wanted was brought her : This was the Son of a converted *Jew*, born in *London*, who was call'd *Perkin* or *Peter Warbeck*. The Dutchess found him so well adapted to her Purpose, that he was very soon taught to act his Part, and not to be surpriz'd, where-ever he should appear. But because the whole Secret would have been discover'd, if he had been seen coming directly from under the Dutchess's Management, she sent him privately to *Portugal*, where having staid a Year, he took Shipping for *Ireland*. *Henry*, at the same time, having declar'd War against *France*,
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King *Charles VIII.* sent to invite *Perkin* to Court. He came there forthwith, with great Pleasure, and was receiv'd as Duke of *York*: but he did not stay long there; for a Peace being made between the two Kingdoms, *Perkin* was desired to retire. However, that did him no Prejudice; for the People said, that two great Kings had made Peace, to the Cost of a poor afflicted Prince. Then he went to the Dutches in *Flanders*, who pretending never to have seen him before, began to interrogate him about all his Adventures: At length, she made as if she had been persuaded of the Truth of the Thing, treated *Perkin* as her Nephew, and declar'd openly, that it was not to be doubted but he was the White Rose of *England*. Many of the *English* Nobility went to attend him; but King *Henry* found Means to get some of them to leave him, who discover'd all his Partisans in *England*; so that having a mind to attempt a Descent in *Kent*, he found a general Opposition there. From thence he went to *Scotland*, where King *James IV.* not only gave him an honourable Reception, but carry'd him twice at the Head of an Army into *England*, where no Body, however, shew'd any Willingness to espouse his Interest. That having made *James* suspect that he was an Impostor, he retir'd again into *Ireland*, where having heard of the Revolt in *Cornwall*, he went thither in all Haste, and, with seven thousand Men, that join'd him, laid Siege to *Exeter*: But not having been so bold as to wait the King, who was marching against him, he got into a Sanctuary: But the King having assur'd him of his Life, he came out of it, and follow'd him to *London*, where having, for some time, been a Laughing-stock to all the Court, he fled, in order to go beyond Sea. At last he was catch'd, and put in the Tower, where having persuaded *Edward Plantagenet* to bribe his Guards, and pretend to the Crown, the Design was discover'd; and having been both brought to their Tryals, *Perkin* was hang'd at *Tyburn*, and *Edward Plantagenet* had his Head struck off on *Tower-Hill*.

THE Royalists having left some of their Men in *Sandwich* for the Security of the Town, and given their Orders to the new Officers, whom they had pitch'd upon for commanding the Militia, they march'd to *Dover*, where having found the Regiments of *Hammond* and *Hatton* more in Number by half than before, with some Companies of the Militia of the Neighbourhood, drawn up before the Castle, they were receiv'd with great Joy into the Town, which presently took up Arms for assisting them in their Undertaking. Having summon'd the Castle to surrender for the Service of the King and County, he, who commanded within, refus'd absolutely to do it, what Conditions soever they could offer him. The Garison was not afraid of being taken by Force, being well provided with all Things necessary; besides, that the Battery, which the Petitioners had rais'd against the Castle, upon the Top of a Hill, where, perhaps, Cannon had never been planted before, prov'd to be of no great Effect. But if they got not this Castle, at the same time they receiv'd the News of a Conquest, which was of much more Advantage to their Party: For Major *Keme*, being return'd from the Fleet, assur'd them, that their Letters had been receiv'd there with as much Obedience as Joy; and that he had found all the Seamen so well inclin'd to engage in the Party, that as soon as the Letters had been read, they declar'd openly for the King, and the Gentry of *Kent*. He added, that having got up upon the Deck, with Sword in Hand, in order boldly to maintain the Resolution they had taken, there was not one that dar'd to oppose it; though some, whom they instantly secur'd,

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VICE-ADMIRAL *Rainsborough* was then in *Deal* Castle; from whence having heard a great deal of huzzaing on Board the Ships, and not able to conjecture what could be the Matter, he got into a Boat in great Haste, in order to know the Meaning of it. But as he had a mind to get up into the Admiral Ship, the Seamen told him, That they own'd him no longer, and that they had espous'd the King's Interest, in which they very well knew that he would not join: That, however, they could not but acknowledge, that he had always commanded them with great Gentleness; and upon that Account, he should receive no ill Usage from them, nor should he lose any Thing of the Furniture that belong'd to him on Board of their Ship, which should be restor'd to him, whenever he should think fit. *Rainsborough* surpriz'd with this Change, and seeing the Seamen fully determin'd, without losing Time in disputing, desir'd a Pinnace of them for carrying him to *London*, knowing that the Road by Land would be no longer safe for him. A Seaman, who had heard his Demand, answer'd him jestingly, That all the Ships in the *Downs*, both great and small, were design'd for a better Use; and that, if he was in Haste, he might get his Passage, for half a Tester, in a *Dutch* Fly-boat, that was ready to sail for *London*. This Language vex'd him so much, that he knew not what Resolution to take: For he was told, That *Sandown* Castle had declar'd with the Fleet; and he was not sure but all the other Castles upon that Coast had done the same. At last he was forc'd to take the first Conve- niency that offer'd for *London*, whither he carry'd this troublesome News to the two Houses.

KEME having succeeded so well at Sea, was sent to *Deal* and *Walmer* Castles, in order to treat about their surrendering. For the Royalists thought, that they ought not to leave these Fortresses behind them, in the Hands of their Enemies, who would not fail, in their Absence, to follow the Example of those who held *Dover* Castle, who having made frequent Sallies, had pillag'd the Houses of many of those who had sign'd the Petition. At the same Time, they treated with some *Dutch* Merchants, about furnishing them with Arms, and other Ammunition of War; and sent into *France*, to give the Prince of *Wales* an Account of all they had done, and of the Designs they had, which did not at all tend to kindle the War again in the Kingdom, but on the contrary, to establish an happy and lasting Peace therein.

THEN they march'd from *Dover* to *Deal*; where having drawn up in Order of Battle before the Castle, *Keme* sent them Word, That the Capitulation of it was almost finish'd, and that that of *Walmer* was done. The Garisons having march'd out with their Baggage only, the Royalists left *Antony Hammond* and Captain *Burgrave* there; and having sent for Sir *John Mennes*, who had been a Rear-Admiral, and Captain *Fogg*, likewise a Sea Officer, whom the two Houses had cashier'd, they presently went to take Possession of the Ships. They were receiv'd there with very great Demonstrations of Joy, and much Zeal and Affection for the King's Service; insomuch that they had Difficulty to keep the Seamen from going ashore to serve at Land: And they behav'd themselves with so much Eagerness, that, had it not been for fear of unmanning the Ships, they would have been employ'd as Soldiers. However, they sent a Declaration, in the Terms of the Petition, to the Admiralty at *London*; and having

having wish'd all manner of good Success to the Messengers they dispatch'd with it, they accompany'd them ashore with many Volleys of Cannon-shot.

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THE Royalists being come to *Sandwich*, were a little better receiv'd, than they had been the first Time. For the Magistrates, after having represented to them the Poverty of the Town, nevertheless made them a Present of 250 Pounds. Having left five Companies in the Town, with some Persons of Note, that it might serve as a retiring Place, in Case of Necessity, they march'd to *Canterbury*; where many Persons of great Distinction came to join them, and sign'd the Petition. There was a great Number of *Valloons* settled in this Metropolis, who preach'd and pray'd after the Manner of *Geneva*, in a Church under the Quire of the Cathedral, which was one of the finest Churches in the World. The Glass Windows, which have been all broke in Pieces, were painted after a most beautiful Manner, the Art of which is lost. The Church was nothing the darker for them; and their Beauty would have been respected by the most barbarous People. These *Valloons* having offer'd to maintain two Companies of Foot, the Royalists join'd to them three Companies of the Town-Militia; and left the Command of them to some considerable Gentlemen of the Party, whose Presence was so much the more necessary there, because the Neighbourhood was almost all the Enemy's Country.

IN the mean Time, the Earl of *Thanet* having declar'd for this Party, engag'd the greatest Part of the Gentry of the Neighbourhood of *Asbford*, *Hatfield*, and *Charing*; and in a very short Time rais'd near 1000 Men, of which he advis'd Mr. *Hales*, who, on the other Hand, was still doing his best. But this Earl did not long continue stedfast, and was soon weary of well-doing; for suffering himself to be carry'd to the Committee of Safety by the Earl of *Pembroke*, he was there receiv'd into Favour, and even made Overtures to the Committee for dispersing the Petitioners, and their Adherents. Having receiv'd Instructions for bringing this about, he return'd into the County; where having begun with the Gentry, who he well knew would always draw the People after them, he persuaded some Gentlemen to follow his Example. But the greatest Part being rather confirm'd by a noble Resentment of this Desertion, instead of going to ask Pardon of the Committee, as was requir'd of them, they wrote to them, "That the Instructions, which the Earl of *Thanet* had brought into the County, shew'd them plainly, that the Lords and Commons of the Committee had been very ill inform'd of the Design of the Petitioners; who should make it appear, if they had the Liberty to do it, that it was not they, but their Enemies, that disturb'd the Peace of their County. That they should comply with the Ordinance of the two Houses, in presenting their Petition to them, not having any Design to displease them, nor to use the least Violence, which might give them any Reason to doubt of the Sincerity of their Intentions: That they had desir'd the Earl of *Thanet* more fully to assure them of it, and likewise to beg of them not to take ill their continuing arm'd, till they should be assur'd, that the Complaints, which their Enemies were giving in against them without any Ground, had not prevail'd with the two Houses; which, otherwise, might induce them to take some other troublesome Resolution, which would certainly put the County into a strange Confusion."

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THE Royalists, who were at *Canterbury*, remembering that the next Day, the 29th of *May*, was the Day appointed for the general Rendezvous at *Rochester*, set out betimes in the Morning; but the Foot not being able to make so long a March, quarter'd at *Sittingborn*; as for the Horse, they got to *Rochester*, where they found a great many of the Gentry, who had come thither from all Parts of the County. These Gentlemen had left some Bodies of Foot in the Neighbourhood of *Dartford*, in Posts not far from *Blackbeath*, on which the whole Party was to meet the Day following. Two Gentlemen of the County of *Essex* having likewise come to *Rochester*, desir'd, That the two Counties might join together; and having promis'd that theirs should be ready to back the Engagement of *Kent*, they begg'd that some Gentlemen of both Counties might meet together on the other Side of the River, in order to consult in what Manner they could join. There was the like Deputation from the County of *Surrey*. But as the *Kentish* Royalists were the next Morning to send from *Blackbeath* ten Gentlemen, and as many Yeomen, to carry their Petition to *London*, they could not then enter into a Treaty with the other two Counties; and were satisfy'd to take their Deputies Words, that they should be ready to march with them for demanding the King's Liberty, and that of the whole Kingdom, which altogether depended thereupon.

BUT the same Night, the House of Commons sent an Order by an Expres to the Heads of the Party: Which Order contain'd, "That having had Advice, that the People of *Kent* were coming in a tumultuary Manner to *Westminster*, contrary to what had been ordain'd, under the Pretence of a Petition, which they said they had a mind to present to the two Houses; as the House was ignorant what their real Design might be, they referr'd them to treat thereupon with General *Fairfax*, and the Committee of Safety." The Royalists having read this Order, saw plainly, that they would be oblig'd to take other Measures, than those they had taken. For they consider'd, that having nothing but new-raisd Soldiers, they could expect nothing but the intire Ruin of their Party, if they should venture to fight the General, who had already refus'd to hear them, and who look'd upon them but as Rebels. After having held a Council, they sent Orders, early in the Morning, to the Bodies of Foot that were quarter'd about *Dartford*, to march back again; and not doubting but *Fairfax* was already marching against them, these Foot had Orders, in retiring, to leave a good Number of Soldiers at a Pass call'd *Stonebridge*, near *Gravesend*. But that Pass was not long kept, the Enemy being already so far advanc'd on their March, that 'tis surprizing the Royalists were not sooner advertis'd of it.

THE Troops being come to *Rochester*, *Carter* was made Quarter-Master General, and began immediately to do that Duty. He order'd all the Regiments of Foot to be drawn up, in order the better to know the Number and Strength of them; and found that there were 7000 good Men, well arm'd, without reckoning the Companies that had been left at *Sandwich*, *Canterbury*, and in some other Places, which might make near 3000 Men. He could not so exactly know the Number of the Horse, because they were dispers'd in several Places; but having quarter'd the Foot in *Rochester*, *Stroud*, and *Chatham*, he sent the Horse, that had been at the Rendezvous, into the neighbouring Villages. The Troops being thus quarter'd, they set about to dispose of the whole into one Body of an Army under the Command of a General, seeing very plainly, that it could not be long before they should have to do with the Enemy. All the Gentry were

were unanimous : But there very soon began to appear Emulations and Jealousies, as it frequently happens upon the Account of the Point of Honour, which would have made all their Designs miscarry, and dissipated the Party before it had been form'd, if, by good Fortune, the Earl of *Norwich*, in going to *Sussex*, had not by Chance pass'd through *Rocheſter*. As soon as the Gentlemen, who were assembled, had heard of his Arrival, they all agreed, that they ought to offer him the Command of the Army : They knew his Merit, and were not ignorant of the great Affection he had for the King, his Master, and that he was Proof against all Temptations whatsoever ; inſomuch, that the Affair having been unanimously agreed to, they ſent ſome of their Number to him, to let him know the Reſolution of their Meeting. *Norwich* having expreſs'd a grateful Acknowledgment of the Honour they had done him, and, with a great deal of Modeſty and Civility, deſir'd to be excus'd, ſaying, That he could not reſolve to command ſo many brave Gentlemen of a County, wherein he was a Stranger, and where there were a great many eminent Noblemen more capable than he, to diſcharge that Office. However, at length being preſs'd by the whole Gentry in a Body, he accepted the Generalſhip ; and the Troops being drawn up on *Barham-Downs*, about two Miles from *Maidſton*, he was there proclaim'd General with great Acclamations, by all the Army.

THE Weather being fair, he was of Opinion, that the Army ſhould encamp that Night upon the Banks of the River, and draw as cloſe together as poſſible, that the Troops might be the ſooner ready to repulſe the Enemy, in caſe they ſhould attempt to force ſome Paſs upon the River. That was giving his Opinion like a prudent General, of which he has given Proofs, upon all the Occaſions that have offer'd, as much as if he had ſpent his whole Life in Armies, as he had done in the Management of the other more important Affairs of State. But there were ſome People there, who could not ſo ſoon reſolve to quit the Power they had had over the Troops which they had rais'd, who having repreſented, that the Soldiers were ſo fatigued with the long March they had been oblig'd to make, that they thought the Quarters ought to be enlarg'd, in order more conveniently to reſreſh themſelves. This Opinion having prevail'd, and likewiſe been put in Execution, *Norwich*, with the chief Men of the Gentry, return'd to *Rocheſter*, which was the head Town of the ſmalleſt Dioceſe of *England*, but famous, however, for having been the only See of the bleſſed Martyr, Cardinal *John Fiſher*, who, when King *Henry VIII.* before he became a Schiſmatick, offer'd him the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, one of the moſt conſiderable of all the Kingdom, answer'd like a great Biſhop, but very far from the Practice now-a-days, *That he could not part with his poor little Wife, to take another richer, and of a greater Size.*

THIS fatal Night, between *Wednesday* and *Thursday* the 2d of *June*, *Fairfax* having advanc'd towards *Maidſton* with four thouſand Horſe and Foot, and having found the Paſſage of *Farley-Bridge*, about two Miles from the Town, very ill guarded, he forc'd it, without meeting with ſcarce any Reſiſtance, and march'd ſtreight on to attack the Town, which, by Miſfortune, or otherwiſe, had not had any certain News of his March. There were in the Town eight hundred good Men of the Regiments of Sir *John Mennies* and *William Brokmans*, who defended themſelves behind the Hedges, having no other Fortifications, but, however, with a wonderful Reſolution. The Enemy looking upon them

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only as a Handful of raw, unexperienc'd Men, thought to take them without any Opposition: but they found that they had to do with Men who knew very well how to handle their Arms, and who would sell their Lives very dear. They bore the first Attack, without losing the least Ground, and with so much Vigour beat back the Enemy, who had attack'd them so sharply, that this first Heat being over, and their Courage cool'd, the General himself dismounted, in order to rally them, and bring them back to the Charge. The Royalists, however, lost no Ground, but what they disputed Foot by Foot; but at last, seeing themselves overpower'd by fresh Troops, which charg'd continually, they were forc'd to quit their Hedges, and retire into the Town, but still fighting. They defended themselves there, from Street to Street, above six Hours, running headlong with Sword in Hand amongst the Enemy's Horse. At length, not able to get but little Assistance, by a small Number of Soldiers from the Army, whose Quarters were at too great a Distance, being driven into the Church-yard, and the Church, they were oblig'd to yield to Force, and lay down their Arms.

THE Officers of the Army saw then the Error they had committed, in not having been rul'd by the Earl of *Norwich*, who having got the Alarm, immediately mounted his Horse, in order to draw the Troops together again, and send Relief to *Maidston*, for he no longer doubted but they were engag'd with the Enemy; but it was not in his Power to cause any considerable Body to march: So that, by Break of Day, having made the Army to be drawn up in Order of Battle upon *Friendsbury-Plain*, on the other Side of the River *Medway*, towards *Stroud*, he presently held a Council of War, wherein some having said, that they might still be in Time enough to relieve *Maidston*, it was resolv'd to march thither with the whole Army. For that End, they march'd through *Rocheſter*; but they had scarce gone two Miles, when they had certain Advice that the Place was lost, and that all therein had been cut in Pieces, or taken, excepting some Prisoners, who had made their Escape, and rejoin'd the Army.

AFTER this News, the Army made a Counter-march to *Rocheſter*, where a Council of War was held, about what Course they had best to take, in the present Situation of their Affairs. The two Houses had refus'd their Petition; and their Troops having enter'd the County, were laying it Waste, and giving it up to be pillag'd. Besides *Fairfax's* Army, there were other Detachments that had slip't towards *Aſſford* and *Sittingborn*: Whereupon *Hammond*, who had not come to the Rendezvous, had Orders to stop with his Regiment of Foot at this last Place; and *Hatton*, having been order'd to return with his Regiment of Horse, met, upon his March, Major *Osborne's* Troop of Light Horse, which he charg'd, and where Major *Samner* was kill'd, and some others were wounded. *Hardreſs* was likewise desired to get into the Eastern Part of the County, and having made Levies there, to take the best Course he could for the Security of *Canterbury*, and the other Towns that were in their Interest. In the mean while, the Soldiers not giving Time to their Officers to consult about what was fit to be done, grew impatient, and were like to have mutiny'd: For, having caus'd the Drums to beat, and display'd their Colours, they cry'd with a loud Voice, That if their Officers would not lead them on to Battle, they would march without them. This oblig'd *Norwich* to give Orders for Marching, notwithstanding it rain'd very hard, and to cause them to be drawn up upon the same

same Plain, where they had been in the Morning. Nothing had as yet been resolv'd upon, and *Norwich* would do nothing without the Advice of the Council of War, into which had newly been admitted many Officers well skill'd in the Art of War, who had come from *London*, and other Places, in so great Numbers, that there could not be Horses found immediately for mounting them all. That gave some Gentlemen, who had come from *London* by Water, Occasion to think that the Leading Men of the Army had a little too much neglected them, who, however, did what they could to furnish them with all Things necessary, and gave Orders for their Subsistence, at the Charge of the County; and Mr. *Hales* equipp'd such of them as were in greatest Want, at his own Expences.

SOME were for fortifying *Rocheſter*, and retiring thither with the whole Army, in order to defend it as long as they could: But that Advice was justly rejected. For besides that the Place was not capable of Defence, though the River serv'd for a Rampart on one Side, it concern'd the Honour of the whole Party to undertake something more considerable, than to shut themselves up in a paltry Place, the keeping of which was of no Consequence. Others were for making a Counter-March, and having rally'd their Troops towards *Canterbury*, to fight the Enemy, or, at least, to hinder them from ruining the County. But though they were strong enough in Foot to venture a Battle, they had not Horse enough; for they had not above two hundred Horses that were in a Condition to fight. Besides, if they had march'd back, the Enemy would have been able to bring more Troops into the County, and then fall upon them. And as they would not have been in a Condition to oppose them, they would have been forc'd to get into a Corner of the County, without any Hopes of Assistance from those of *Surrey* and *Essex*, who had engag'd to join them; therefore it was resolv'd to pursue their first Design, and to march towards *London*; that, in drawing near these two Counties, they might be again invited and encourag'd to declare themselves, and to make so considerable a Body of an Army, that all their Forces being join'd, it might frighten the Enemy.

THEREFORE, having sent back Colonel *Willis*, with his Regiment of Foot, of twelve hundred Men, into the Eastern Part of the County, and sent Word to *Hatton* to get into *Canterbury*, they march'd for *Dartford*. Being come there at Midnight, *Norwich* dispatch'd immediately an Express to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, to give them an Account of this March; and as they were as much concern'd in the Petition as any County of the Kingdom, they were in a civil manner desir'd to countenance the Design of *Kent*, or, at least, not to hinder their Troops to march through the City to *Westminster*; all the Nobility and Gentry engaging their Honour and Faith, that the Citizens should not suffer the least Prejudice. Their Letter had no Effect; for as soon as the Magistrates had receiv'd it, they sent it, seal'd as it was, to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

THE Royalists knowing nothing of the Matter 'till the next Day, still continu'd their March, without halting, 'till they came to *Greenwich*, where *Norwich* encamp'd with the Army, in Expectation of some good News from *Southwark*, *Surrey*, and *Essex*; but he receiv'd none, but very bad from the City of *London*, which had declar'd against them, and posted Guards at their Gates. There appear'd not so much as
one

1648. one Man from *Surrey*, and from *Southwark* but one single Man, who having address'd himself to *Carter*, assur'd him, That if the General would be pleas'd to send some considerable Party into the Borough of *Southwark*, the People there would rise up in Arms, and join his Army. *Carter* having spoken of it to *Norwich*, he gave this very judicious Answer; " That as he who had made the Proposal, was a Stranger, and unknown to the Army, he could not expect, that they would venture a Party of the Army upon his bare Word: But if the leading Men of the Borough, by whom he pretended to be sent, would come and make that Demand, they should receive all manner of Satisfaction from them." This Man being gone with this Answer, was never seen again; which made it to be believ'd that he was rather a Spy, than a Deputy from *Southwark*.

AT the same Time, there came likewise a Gentleman from *Essex*, who assur'd the General, That the County was already up in Arms, in order to join him: That there were 2000 of them at *Bow*, and more at *Chelmsford*. Whereupon *Norwich*, who was wholly bent on being able to make the best Use of their Arms for the Liberty of the King and Kingdom, having left the Command of the Army to Sir *William Compton*, who did the Duty therein of Major General, went over privately all alone into *Essex*, in order to learn in what Posture this County was. His Design was, that in case he should find that what had been told him was true, he would return in all Haste, to make Provision of Boats for transporting the Army into *Essex*; and if the Intelligence should be found false, that he would undertake whatever should be resolv'd by the Council of War. He could not return that Day, what Haste soever he made. For having found nothing at *Bow*, without halting he put on to *Chelmsford*, in order to know for certain the State of the County, before he should return to the Army, which, whatever should happen, he design'd to join the next Day betimes in the Morning. But Night coming on, the Troops began to discover that their Courage had fail'd them, and that they despair'd of Safety. They saw no Assistance like to appear; and they look'd upon it as certain, that if the Enemy should follow them, their Defeat was inevitable. The City had refus'd them Passage; and it being Night, it was impossible to find a sufficient Number of Boats for carrying them over the River, which, however, was the only Shift that was left them. *Norwich* with his Associates were declar'd Traitors by the two Houses, which had renew'd the Ordinance, whereby it was forbid, upon Pain of Death, to take up Arms, without having the Parliament's Commission for so doing. As the Soldiers were imagining these Difficulties, some having taken the Alarm, stole away from their Camarades, and fled; and by that Means, put the whole Army into such a Confusion, that no Body minded any Thing but how to make their Escape. The Disorder grew yet much greater, that during the Darknes of the Night, a Man who was riding thro' the Park, fell a telling the Soldiers, that they were in great Danger; and that their Officers wish'd, that they would go home the best Way they could. This Speech completed the Ruin of all. For the Soldiers, without knowing what this Man was, and without examining farther, if there was any Probability in what he had said, there being nothing stirring round about them, all in Confusion ran in a Crowd to get into a Passage-Boat; and crossing the River, they landed in *the Isle of Dogs*, as a Place of Safety. The Boat having been brought back, and a great Number of other Soldiers having likewise a mind to pass over to the Isle, those who had got thither first, cry'd to the others not to stir; and that if they should offer to pass, they would fire upon them, and not suffer them to land. Thus did this
great

great Undertaking miscarry, which had been so well concerted, and so successful in the Beginning. Such is the ordinary Vicissitude of human Affairs, that it ought to teach Men to be always on their Guard, especially when Fortune smiles upon them, and to have a great deal of Constancy, when she frowns. For too much Security in good Fortune makes them fall into bad; and too much Dejection in Adversity throws them into Despair, which is the greatest of all Misfortunes.

THE panick Fear had so great an Ascendent over the Minds of the Soldiers, that instead of keeping in their Camp, where they were in Safety, they threw themselves into the Hands of their Enemies; and had it not been a Providence altogether extraordinary, they had all infallibly been undone. The greatest Part of the Foot, with a Part of the Horse, pass'd the *Thames*, not knowing why, nor whither they were going: They only shifted their Quarters, because they thought themselves safe no where. Having pass'd the River confusedly at different Parts, and believing they had landed in *Essex*, whither probably their General would not have led them, in the Situation he had found that County, they were very much surpriz'd to find, that they were in *Middlesex*, below the *Tower-Hamlets*, and upon the Brink of their Ruin, whither they seem'd to be running head-long. For, by Order of the House of Commons, there was a Regiment of that Militia under Arms, ready to receive them, and cut them in Pieces in coming out of the Boats; which would have been no difficult Matter to do, because every one march'd according to his own Fancy, and without observing any Order, getting up from the River by different Ways, tho', by a mysterious Sympathy, they all design'd to go to the same Place.

SIR *William Compton*, who had the Conduct of them, and who perform'd his Duty handsomely, being the first that observ'd the Snare, was likewise the first that advanc'd; and there being no Help for it, he capitulated for all his Party with the Officers of the Regiment: "That all the Foot laying down their Arms, might freely return to their own Houses; and that all the Officers and Gentlemen might, in like manner, go whithersoever they should think fit, with their Arms and Horses." But these Conditions were no sooner granted than broke; for before the Foot had advanc'd, some Gentlemen were disarm'd and dismounted, in passing by the Guard-houses; and, what was very strange, this Violence was offer'd them by the Major of the Regiment, who had sign'd the Articles. The Foot and the rest of the Gentlemen being told after what manner they had begun to execute the Conditions, which without Doubt would have been much worse observ'd, after the Troops had been disarm'd, advanc'd in closer Order, and more resolute, not able to bear being bubbled by this Rascality, who did not so much as know what it was to treat, or sign Articles. So that the Gentry, who bore impatiently that their Friends should be so insulted in their Presence, having founded the Inclination of the Soldiers, saw, by their colouring, that they had come to themselves again, that they had recover'd their Courage, and that they had rather die in defending themselves Sword in Hand, than to out-live so grievous a Disgrace, seeing themselves upon the Brink of being treated as Slaves.

HAVING taken this firm Resolution, they put themselves in a Posture to obtain better Conditions for their retiring Home, and to share the Fear with those Train-bands, who seeing their whole Body march in good Order, the Gentry with Pistol in Hand, and the Soldiers with

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Match lighted at both Ends, they durst no longer oppose their Passage, nor make Faces at them, as they had done at their Landing. They still march'd on from Guard-house to Guard-house, 'till they came to *Bow-bridge*, where they expected to find some considerable Party to force them to lay down their Arms, and disband them: And having discover'd a Body of Musketeers, who were guarding the Barrier beyond the Bridge, they made some Officers advance, in order to learn and discover whether they were Friends or Enemies. The *Essex* Men having cry'd, That they were Friends, and open'd the Barrier, the Royalists pass'd the Bridge, carrying with them the Major, and another Officer of the *Tower-Hamlets* Regiment, whom they let go, upon their Paroles, but they saw them no more. From *Bow* they march'd on to *Stratford*, where they met the Earl of *Norwich*, their General, who was returning to them, thinking to find them in the Place he left them. He was very much surpriz'd to hear what had pass'd in his Absence, and could not enough admire this so unexpected and strange Adventure; but before he took any Resolution thereupon, considering the great Fatigue the Soldiers had undergone, he order'd all the Provisions that could be got in the Place, to be brought them, before they went any farther.

THEY could never have got so far, had the Regiment of the *Hamlets* had the Courage to oppose them in the least on their March; for they had scarce pass'd the Bridge, when they saw Colonel *Whaley's* Regiment of Horse appear, which was pursuing them at the great Trot, and did not expect to find them in so good a Posture. The Enemy having left some Dragoons in Ambuscade behind the Hedges, advanc'd, in order to force the Bridge: But *Norwich* having caus'd the Guards to be doubled, and form'd two Squadrons of Horse, they repass'd the Bridge, and, without waiting 'till the Enemy should come to them, they charg'd them so vigorously, that they made them give Ground, and some of them were left dead on the Spot. The Royalists pursuing them, fell into the Ambuscade of Dragoons, who having given one Fire, fled with the rest, and not halting 'till they had got to *Whitechapel*, they alarm'd the City of *London* as far as *Temple-Bar*. The Royalists, in this Action, lost but one *Grecian* Gentleman; and as they were returning from the Pursuit of the Enemy, and falling in again with the Regiment of the *Hamlets*, they drove it into the Church of *Bow*, and, in its Turn, forc'd it to capitulate for Liberty to return. Thus did the Fortune of War, in less than two Hours, oblige both Parties to take Laws from one another.

BEING return'd to *Stratford*, *Norwich* caus'd Guards to be plac'd at the Bridge, and at the Places where the River was fordable; and having given Orders for quartering the Troops in that Town 'till further Orders, he rode with all Speed to *Chelmsford*, where the Gentry of the County were met. At the same time, *Carter* sent for the Bailiff, and having shewn him the General's Orders, he made as if he would obey them; but having taken a Turn through the Town, he quickly return'd with three or four Gentlemen, who having ask'd *Carter*, By what Authority he quarter'd Troops there? telling him that their County was peaceable, and in a good Understanding with the two Houses, who had sent them a Pardon, and granted them all their Demands; so that if they should suffer any other Troops to quarter amongst them, but those of the Parliament, they should very soon draw their Army upon their Backs, and then see their County become the Seat of War. *Carter* was pleas'd to
answer

answer them, That he was acting by the General's Orders, and that he was surpriz'd at the cold Reception they gave those, who having left their Country, had gone through so many Dangers, in order to join with them against the common Enemy, who had retaken all the Towns in the County of *Kent*, and pillag'd the Houses of the Gentry. But because he and *Compton*, who had hasten'd to this Dispute, did not regard these Men but as private Persons, who spoke by Order of no Body, they did not think it worth the while to stand disputing with them, but resolv'd to let them grumble, and to quarter their Troops in *Stratford*, where they lay three Days, during which time, *Norwich* did what he could to get the Gentry to declare for the King. Not long before, the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County had, pursuant to a Petition they had presented to the two Houses, engag'd, " That they should not pay the
" Excise, or other Taxes, until they had obtain'd the Contents of their
" Petition : That they should lodge no Soldiers, but such as would join
" with them in the Pursuit of the said Petition : That they would, with
" all their Might, defend the King's Person, the Kingly Government,
" and the Establish'd Laws : That they should suffer no other, and
" far less submit to an Arbitrary Government : That they should protect
" all such as would take Part with them in this Design : And that they
" should look upon all such of the County as should refuse to join with
" them, as Persons disaffected to the Publick Good. "

THEY had had a much greater Meeting in *Colchester*, where they caus'd to be publish'd a Declaration, which contain'd their Grievances, and the Resolution they had taken to employ their Power, in order to oppose the Authors of all the Calamities of the Kingdom. Their Grievances were : I. That the Protestant Religion was going to Ruin in *England*, where formerly it had been more flourishing than in any other Part of *Europe* ; and that the famous Universities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford* were made desolate by the ignorant Sectarians, who carry'd it like supreme Governors both in Church and State, being supported by a rebellious Army, and authorized by a Meeting of Parliament, where there was no more Freedom of Voting. II. That, contrary to the Oath of Fidelity, from which no Person could exempt them, the King, by the Factions in the Army, had been forc'd to leave his Palace of *Hampton-Court*, and retire into the Isle of *Wight*, where they kept him Prisoner ; and that the Queen his Consort, with the Prince, being shamefully and cruelly separated from his Majesty, were forc'd to seek for Liberty and Subsistence out of the Kingdom, which they could no longer find therein. III. That the Council of War, taking upon them whatever fell under the Cognizance of the Courts of Justice, and having no Regard to the Laws, were introducing an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government. IV. That the Affairs of the Kingdom were debated in a private Committee, which, for the most Part, being compos'd of Officers of the Army, over-rul'd all the Deliberations of the two Houses ; inso-much that the Overtures that had been made to the Parliament for the King's Return, had been either rejected, or eluded ; because Peace, which was a Consequence of that happy Return, would set Bounds both to their Avarice and Ambition. V. That the Forfeitures, and other Goods, which, by the Ordinances of the two Houses, had been appointed for Payment of the publick Debts, had been divided amongst the leading Men of the Faction. Lastly, That in a secret Council held at *Windsor*, *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had mov'd three Things ; to wit, If they should join with the Levellers, and give a new Form both to Religion and the
State ?

1648. State? Or, If they should treat with the most moderate of the Royal Party, and receive the King with a limited Power? Or otherwise, If it would be more for their Advantage, after having depos'd the King, and declar'd the Prince incapable of succeeding to the Crown, to set the Duke of *York* upon the Throne, and to chuse a Protector? Their first Project gave them Hopes of more Liberty, and greater Gain, than the other two; but they saw that the establishing of it, would be attended with great Difficulties, and that it was almost impossible it could long subsist. The second did not appear very difficult, either in the Establishing, or Duration; because it was something like the present, but could not bring them great Advantage, and would very much lessen their Power. The last, which had been the first in the Intention of those who propos'd it, did not seem to be hard to bring about, but very difficult to maintain; for it would have exhausted vast Treasures, cost the Kingdom much Blood, and reviv'd the bloody Quarrels between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, under the Names of those of *Wales* and *York*. *Cromwell*, who was aiming at the Protectorship of the State, made Answer to this Difficulty, "That this Civil War would very much forward their Affairs; because, in that Case, the Army must necessarily be continued; and by that Means their Persons would be secure, their Reasons more convincing, and their Demands would appear more just, and likewise be more easily granted: That as to the Blood that would be spilt, it would be drawn from the Veins of the common Soldiers only, with which the Kingdom abounded; and that as to the Treasure, *London* was their Bank, from whence they could not want Money." *Ireton* added, "That the Business was half done; because the two Houses had already voted, that no more Addresses should be made to the King, whom they had charg'd with Crimes enough for deposing him: besides, that his Imprisonment dispos'd him, by degrees, to lead a private Life; to which may be added, that it let the People see, that he was subjected to the two Houses, whose Ordinances deriv'd all their Authority from their Swords, which likewise entirely authorized all their Actions: That as for the Prince, as he was an Accomplice of his Father's Crime, so he had incurr'd the same Punishment; because, having given Commissions to those who had taken up Arms in the Principality of *Wales*, as his Father deserv'd to be depos'd, for having made War against the Parliament, by the same Reason, he ought to be declar'd incapable of succeeding him: And that the Crown may not serve to cloke his Crimes, under Pretence that the Crown absolves from all Charge of Treason, as after the Death of *Richard III.* *Henry VII.* who had been declar'd guilty of High Treason, was crown'd, without being otherwise acquitted from it; it behov'd them to crown the Duke of *York*, whom the two Houses had then in their Keeping, and who, because of his tender Age, was, as yet, in the Innocency of his Life: besides, that his Youth render'd him the more fit for Protection, and their Affairs." That having been resolv'd, *Cromwell*, in a short time after, told the Speaker of the House of Commons, "That it was time to bring their grand Design to Light; and that all those who should oppose it, ought to be expell'd the House." But having made a little too much Haste, and taken a Time when all his Party had not met, the Design miscarry'd, and went no further. The Scene having been afterwards remov'd from *Westminster* to *Carisbrook-Castle*, the King, who could not be dethron'd by the Majority of Voices in the two Houses, was to be carry'd off by Poison from the Hands of the Officers of the Army. Nevertheless, his Majesty's

Majesty's Subjects must be so cruelly abus'd, that by the Excise, which insensibly ruin'd the Poor, and, by the monthly Contributions, which likewise impoverish'd the Rich, they themselves maintain'd this Army, which, for all that, made it their whole Business to ruin the King, their lawful Sovereign, Religion, and all the Laws. 'Twas for these Reasons that they declar'd to all the World, that they would undertake to defeat this Army, at the Peril of their Lives and Fortunes; and, to that End, they conjur'd all their faithful Country-men, not to contribute any thing towards its Subsistence, and to assist them in this important Design to the utmost of their Power, as they were bound to do by the Fidelity they ow'd their Prince, and by the Love they bore their native Country. That if the Fortune of War should be favourable to them, their Success would be crown'd with Peace: And as his Majesty's faithful and loyal Subjects, assembled at *Colchester*, would most earnestly beg it of God, so, with much Resolution, they would fight the Enemies of that Daughter of Heaven.

FOR all that, *Norwich* found this Meeting at *Chelmsford* very irresolute, and much divided, because the Committee of the County had taken so much Pains to disunite them, that the most Part left it, in order to espouse some other Interest. So that Sir *Charles Lucas* having spoke boldly for the King's Liberty, upon which that of the whole Kingdom depended, and seeing that the Members of the Committee were absolutely Masters in the Meeting, he resolv'd to withdraw, with some Gentlemen who had seconded him; fearing, as Matters were then carrying on, that they might be arrested if they staid longer: As he was going out of the Town, he was met by many of the Gentry, who begg'd of him to stay; and having taken him aside to a Place without the Town, they forthwith declar'd to him, that they could no longer bear that the Committee should impose upon them any more; and his Presence having, at the first Meeting, inspir'd them with more noble Sentiments, they engag'd to live and die with him in the Defence of so just and glorious a Cause. Being thus engag'd, they all went into the Town again, and seiz'd upon all the Members of the Committee: but as in all Changes, that, all of a sudden, go from one Extreme to another, the Motions are always violent, they were all like to have had their Throats cut upon the Spot, if some Gentlemen of their Acquaintance had not dexterously secur'd them from the Storm that was hanging over their Heads.

THE Face of Affairs having so luckily altered, *Norwich* sent Orders to Sir *William Compton* to advance with the Troops, which had been reinforc'd as well with a good Number of their Fellow-Soldiers, (who having rally'd, after their Flight from *Greenwich*, had come and join'd them) as with Recruits that had been made of *London* Apprentices. The General put himself at their Head at *Romford*; and the next Day, the 8th of *June*, Sir *Charles Lucas* having join'd them at *Brentwood* with a considerable Body both of Horse and Foot, they march'd from thence to *Chelmsford*, where they were met by the Lords *Capel* and *Loughborough*, accompany'd by a great many Gentlemen that came from the County of *Hertford*, *London*, and some other Parts, to increase this Body of an Army, which so favourable a Juncture very much encourag'd.

THE General having drawn up the Army in *Newhall-Park*, held a Council of War with the Nobility and Gentry of the two Counties, wherein many were for marching against Sir *Thomas Honywood*, who

1648. having rais'd some Troops, and put a Garison in his House of *Coxwell*, was discouraging the whole County, into which the Enemy was enter'd. But others having represented, That *Honywood's* Party was not so considerable, as to oblige the Army to go out of its Way, the March was continu'd to *Leez*, a strong House belonging to the Earl of *Warwick*: Into which, after some Resistance, the General having enter'd, caus'd to be taken out of it two Brass Field-pieces, a great Number of Saddles, Pikes, and Musquets, with other warlike Stores, with which the Castle was very well provided. From thence the General march'd to *Braintry*; and on the Road met about six Score of the Earl of *Bedford's* Horse, which join'd him. The next Day, all the Gentlemen having divided themselves into Troops of light Horse, under the Command of the Lords that were in the Army, march'd the whole Night towards *Colchester*, where Sir *Charles Lucas* undertook to raise some good Troops. But being told, That the Town would not receive the Army, a Detachment was sent before, in order to know what it had resolv'd to do. Sir *Charles*, with some Gentlemen, having follow'd the Detachment, had an Account, That the Town was standing upon its Guard, and had refus'd Entrance to the Detachment, which was not strong enough to attack 60 Troopers, well arm'd, who had come out of the Town. Whereupon he advanc'd at a Gallop; and finding that the Gates of the Town were shut, and that the Centries on Horseback were appearing towards the Hospital, he halted, and sent Word to hasten the March of the Army. As soon as it had appear'd, and that Sir *Charles* had caus'd to be drawn up in Order of Battle some Troops of Horse against the Town, they sent out to treat with the General; who having assur'd them, That the Inhabitants should receive no Damage, they submitted, and offer'd to deliver up their Arms and Horses. At the same Time, the Gates were open'd, and the Royalists march'd in, with a Design not to stay there above two or three Days.

THE next Day about Noon, they had a very hot Alarm. For the Enemy, who had frequently skirmish'd with their Rear-guard, was advanc'd within a Mile and an half of the Town; and before the Royalists had Time to give the necessary Orders for giving them a warm Reception, their Scouts were engag'd with the Enemy's advanc'd Guard in the Suburbs. The Fight was very sharp: For *Norwich* having order'd out some Horse and Foot to sustain the Scouts, the Enemy charg'd them with great Vigour, and was as vigorously repuls'd; insomuch that it was hard to judge, which of the two Parties would at last get the better. But the Royalists beginning to fall short of Powder in the Heat of the Action, the Enemy, who fir'd upon them continually quite open, drove them both towards the Hospital, and the Shire Gate: So that having carry'd these Posts, they forc'd them to retire into the Town, and had very near rush'd in with them pell-mell. However, having made an orderly Retreat, and the Gentlemen, who had perform'd the Duty both of Officers and Soldiers, having dismounted, took Pikes in their Hands; and did not quit the Gates, till all the Troops had enter'd.

THE Enemy, who did not in the least doubt but they should break them open, and take the Town, still pursu'd their Point, and fir'd close under the great Gate, which was not as yet shut but with Sir *Charles Lucas's* Pike. But the Musquetiers still making a great Fire from the Walls, the Enemy's Ranks were so thinn'd, that finding they were not able to stand their Ground any longer, they retir'd in so great Disorder, that, had the Royalists made a Sally, they would have defeated them. But the Night coming

coming on, favour'd their Retreat, and likewise gave them Time to throw many of their Dead into Wells, and to bury others in Ditches ; and not able to bury or hide them all, they still left so great a Number upon the Place, that without Doubt their Loss was very great. Some of their Soldiers, who surrender'd voluntarily to *Norwich*, told, That they had lost in this Action Colonel *Nedham*, with a great many other Officers ; that at least 700 Men had been kill'd, besides 130 that were taken Prisoners, with a Battering-piece they had brought to break open the Gate, and 500 Stand of Arms, which the Royalists found in the Suburbs, which the Enemy had set on Fire, thinking that the Wind, which was blowing from that Side, would have carry'd it into the Town : But by the great Care which *Norwich* took, it was sav'd from Fire, as it had been from Pillage.

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IN this Action the Royalists lost Sir *William Campion*, and Colonel *Cooke*, two Officers praise-worthy both for their Valour and Fidelity, with a Lieutenant, and about 40 Soldiers. There were a great many more wounded, among the rest Sir *William Layton*, who had put himself at the Head of an advanc'd Guard, receiv'd a Musquet-shot in the Foot in making his Retreat ; and the Gate having been shut before he could reach it, he fell into the Enemy's Hands. A Soldier, who knew him, and had serv'd under him, being there by chance, had a great mind to have got him out of the Engagement ; but the Shower of Musquet-shot, which fell so thick from the Town, forc'd him to quit him. For 'tis to be believ'd, that the good Office he wanted to do him, went not so far, as to venture his own Life to preserve that of his Captain ; who having already lost so much Blood, was become so weak, that he could not walk. Shortly after, the same Soldier return'd ; and leaving his Party altogether, he conducted Sir *William* to his House, and took a very great Care of him. Lieutenant Colonel *Rawlins*, who had the Command of a Guard of 40 Foot, was taken Prisoner, with all his Men, the Enemy having cut off his Retreat. They made about 80 Prisoners in this Engagement ; but as they were oblig'd to retreat in Confusion, a great many of the Prisoners return'd to the Town.

THE next Morning, the Enemy began to break Ground at the Village of *Lexden*, which is within a Mile of the Town ; where they made a Redoubt, and making the Approaches in the Night-time, they made another on the same Road, and a third afterwards in the Warren. So continuing their Works, they rais'd several other Forts in the most convenient Places ; and having put them in a State of Defence, they made Lines of Communication between their Redoubts for their own Safety. Whereby they made it plainly appear, that they design'd to block up the Town. Wherefore *Norwich*, and the Gentlemen that had got into it, prepar'd to make a stout Defence ; for they had no other Course to take then. They could not retire but by getting into a great open Plain, where the Enemy, who was strong in Horse, would have cut them in Pieces : And if they had sally'd out to give them Battle, their Ruin was no less certain ; for, besides that the Match was not equal, the Royalists had no considerable Body of Horse ; and their Foot being for the most part made up of new-raisd Militia, they could not have fought experienc'd Soldiers in a pitch'd Battle, but with great Disadvantages. They resolv'd then to stand out the Siege, and harass the Enemy by frequent Sallies, in order to oblige them either to raise the Siege, or, if they should be obstinate in continuing it, by this Diversion, to give the *Scots* an Opportunity to advance into the

The Siege of Colchester.

1648. the Heart of the Kingdom without Resistance, and the other Parties, as well such as were already form'd, as those that might be form'd, to bring about their Designs. In short, as they hop'd to hold out at least for a Month, they did not doubt but they might be reliev'd in that Time.

THEY forthwith began to set Men to work on the Fortifications of the Town, and to cause Provisions to be brought into it : It had no other Outworks but a pitiful Half-Moon, call'd the *Old Fort*, which was at one of the Gates. The Walls were good for nothing, and did not so much as inclose the whole Town : but the Soldiers, encourag'd by the Gentry, who set them a good Example, wrought Night and Day in strengthening them, and making Ramparts where the Town was open ; others at the same time took care to have the necessary Provisions brought in ; and, by good Luck, having found, in a Place very near the Town call'd *Heth*, on which the Enemy had not at all thought, great Store of Wheat, Wine, and Salt, with some Barrels of Salt Fish, and a good Number of Barrels of Powder, all these Provisions being then there in greater Plenty than ever had been seen before, they caus'd them to be brought into the Town, and deliver'd into the Hands of the Commissaries of Provisions. They likewise sent out small Parties every Night, who went to forage the adjacent Parts of the Town, from whence they always brought some Flocks of Sheep and Cattle, 'till the Enemy, having finish'd their Lines of Circumvallation, hemm'd them closer in.

ABOUT the 20th of *June*, *Norwich* gave Commissions to some Gentlemen to raise Soldiers in the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridge* : But the Enemy having broken down the Bridges, guarded the Passages, and likewise taken *Mersey* Block-house, they were forc'd to turn back, and pass through the Enemy's Quarters, however, without losing one Man. All the Passages being thus shut up, in the Beginning of *July*, an Order of the Council of War was publish'd, whereby all the Inhabitants, who were able to carry Arms, were commanded to list themselves for the Defence of the Town, under such Officers as Sir *Charles Lucas* should appoint ; and such as should not list themselves, were order'd, upon Pain of Death, to carry all their Arms into the Town Magazine.

THE Enemy beginning then to attack the Town by Storm, and having got into the great Street of the Suburbs, call'd *East-Street*, they made themselves Masters of a Mill, which is upon the River *Colne*, from which the Town takes its Name, and having rais'd there a Battery of two small Cannon, they very much annoy'd the Besieged, who had Parties lodg'd in the Suburbs. Whereupon, having held a Council of War, it was therein resolv'd to make a great Sally of 500 Foot, and 200 Horse on that Side. This Detachment being drawn out, Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was to command it, put himself at the Head of the Horse, and Sir *George Lisle* headed the Foot : The Forlorn Hope marching down along the River Side, saw that there was only one Plank for the Foot ; and that the End of the Street, which came close to the Banks of the River, was intrenched, and barricado'd. The Besiegers having discover'd them, fir'd their Cannon ; and the Musketeers, who had lodg'd themselves in the Houses on both Sides of the Street, fir'd briskly upon them. But the Besieged, not in the least dishearten'd, did not forbear to file off along the Plank ; nay, some of them threw themselves into the River, that they might not be the hindmost ; and having made
a desperate

a desperate Attack upon the Barricado, they forc'd it; and drove the Enemy from it: They likewise made themselves Masters of their Cannon, which they pointed against them; and having clear'd the Street, they got to the upper End of it, towards the Town; and the whole Detachment being advanc'd, they hemm'd the Enemy in upon all Sides; who seeing that they could not be reliev'd, nor make their Retreat, begg'd Quarter. The Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign, with eighty Soldiers, surrender'd themselves Prisoners; a great many were kill'd, the Street being almost cover'd over with dead Bodies: The two Pieces of Cannon were also dismounted, and thrown into the River. This having alarm'd the whole Camp, they drew together their Troops on that Side of the River, and march'd down in Order of Battle from one rising Ground to another, having left a Body of Reserve behind a Wind-mill. But the Besieged having got first up the second rising Ground, they charg'd them so vigorously, that they put them into Disorder, and drove them back to their Body of Reserve: Then rallying behind the Wind-mill, they drew up their Horse into three Squadrons, whereof one was to make Head against the Besieged, who also halted, in order to draw up in Order of Battle; and the two others were to sustain, and rally their Foot, who were running on every Side: At last, being drawn up behind a strong Hedge, they stood their Ground; and some Companies of the Besieged, who had advanc'd too far, having got to another Hedge, but not so strong as the other, they fir'd smartly upon one another, a Party of the Enemy's Horse still riding about between the two: These Troopers having, by Misfortune, heard a Soldier of the Besieged complaining, that he had no more Powder, judging that all the rest were as ill provided with it as he, they charg'd them through the Hedge, so that they defeated them, killing some, and making the rest Prisoners. The Enemy having got this Advantage, and thinking to get as good a Bargain of the rest of the Detachment, they charg'd them sharply: But Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle*, who were making the Retreat, receiv'd them with so much Resolution, and the Enemy was so much dishearten'd, that the Royalists retir'd in good Order into the Town.

THE Enemy, in order to be reveng'd, got again into the Suburbs, where having recover'd their former Post, they left there a stronger Detachment to defend it, than they had done the first time. They set some Wind-mills on Fire which were in the adjacent Parts of the Town; and not thinking that the Besieged had any Mills upon the River but one, which was in the middle of the Town, they fir'd a great many Cannon-shot upon it, from some Horn-works which they had rais'd upon the other Side of the River, in order to render it useles to the Town. They hop'd, when the Besieged should begin to want Bread, that the Inhabitants and Soldiers would certainly mutiny, and force the Governor to surrender: But the Besieged having caus'd to be carry'd into the Town some Mill-stones that were lying on the Side of the River, they set up Mills there, which they made to turn round with Horses, and which serv'd them to the End of the Siege: They likewise order'd the Mayor to provide for the Relief of the Tradesmen, who began to complain, and got together in a tumultuous manner in the Streets: But the Mayor, whether through Inability, or Malice, not endeavouring to do any thing, Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was born in the Town, having Compassion of those that were in Distress, got from the Governor some Measures of Corn, which were distributed amongst the most Indigent.

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IT was not till the 23d of the Month, that the Enemy attack'd *Heth*, of which we have already spoken, where the Besieg'd had left a Guard in the Church; but Captain *Horsmander*, who commanded it, surrender'd without striking a Stroke. And as it was the Place from whence they had got the greatest Part of their Provisions, the Besiegers found the Error they had committed, in not having taken it at the Beginning of the Siege, which would not have lasted ten Days, if they had bethought themselves sooner of being Masters of it. The next Day, they fir'd above 60 Cannon-shot against the Steeple of *S. Mary's Church*, where the Besieg'd had plac'd Centries, who saw whatever the Enemy did in their Trenches; and where having likewise pointed a Demi-Culverin upon a Platform they made in the Steeple, they very much retarded the Enemy's Works. The Besieg'd did yet more; for having rais'd a Battery upon the Courtain, opposite to that which was battering the Steeple, and kill'd the Enemy's chief Gunner, with some Officers of the Artillery, the Besiegers gave over battering the Steeple, which was but very little damag'd by all the Cannon-shot they had fir'd against it.

THE Besiegers had better Success, after they had advanc'd the Trenches near the Lord *Lucas's House*: For, by the Favour of some Houses, and an old Wall, they brought two Demi-Cannon; with which having batter'd down the Porch, where the Besieg'd had lodg'd 100 Musquetiers, a Pane of the Wall fell into a little Half-Moon, that had been made before the Gate; into which the Enemy, at the same Time, having thrown some Granado's, a great many Soldiers were bury'd under the Ruins. Such as escap'd that Misfortune, fought their Way so boldly, that the Officers, tho' they were all wounded, got into the Town. The Besiegers, who in this Action lost some of their old Soldiers, having enter'd the House, after their usual Manner, began to pillage it; but not having found therein so valuable Furniture as they had imagin'd, they broke down the Arch of the Vault where that Lord's Ancestors were bury'd, expecting to find some Treasure there; but seeing that they found not wherewithal to fill their sacrilegious Hands, they open'd some Leaden Coffins, wherein were the Bodies of two noble Ladies, which, like wild Beasts, they pull'd in Pieces; and having pluck'd off their Hair, they had the Impudence to make Cockades thereof, which they wore upon their Hats.

THE Store-houses of the Town were then almost quite empty, inso-much that having taken an Account of what was in the Houses, it was found that the Provisions of the best Families were almost all consum'd: So that a Council of War was held, wherein it was resolv'd, That all the Horse, except 200, should sally out, in order to endeavour to force the Enemy's Lines; and if they should succeed, to march towards the *North*, to meet a Relief, which Duke *Hamilton* was sending, under the Command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, as the Besieg'd had been promis'd by many Letters that had been sent them. This Resolution being taken, and the Horse drawn up in the Castle-Yard after Sun-set, they march'd out, with some Foot, and a great Number of Pioneers. Having pass'd the River upon a Mill-dam, they advanc'd within Musquet-shot of the Enemy's Centries, without being discover'd. But the Guides and Pioneers being for the most part Inhabitants of the Town, who long'd for nothing so much as to shift Masters, ran all away; which oblig'd the whole Party to return without doing any Thing, and also without losing a Man, because the Enemy was not then in the least alarm'd. But being inform'd of the Condition the Town was in, and of this Sally, whereof the De-

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serters gave them a particular Account, they stood better upon their Guard, and took such Care for the future, that the Besieg'd durst not attempt a second. However, the Besieg'd were not at all discourag'd, nor did they think of capitulating; on the contrary, being more resolv'd than ever, rather to stand it out to the last Man, than fall into the Hands of their Enemies, they caus'd almost all their Horses to be kill'd and salted, of which the General and Officers, as well as the Soldiers, eat lustily, because there was nothing better left, and all the Avenues to the Town were shut up. 'Tis true, the Ships which had declar'd for the King, continu'd still in the Interest of the Party; but, besides that they had no more Provisions than were necessary for themselves, the Enemy being Master of *Mersey* Blockhouse, which commanded the Mouth of the River, which in many Places was not above twelve Foot broad, and the Town being about six Miles from the Sea, it was impossible that any Relief could come to them from that Side.

Now the Enemy having erected a Battery of their largest Cannon in the Lord *Lucas's* House, and batter'd down a great Part of the Steeple of *St. Mary's* Church, resolv'd to storm the Town the Night of the 25th. *Rainsborough*, who commanded the Attack towards *Ryegate*, having forded the River, drove the Guard back into the Town; but a Party, consisting for the most part of Gentlemen, having sally'd out with Halberds and Scythes, receiv'd him so briskly, that he was oblig'd to retire in Disorder. He lost some of his Men, who were either kill'd or taken, besides those, who not having found the Ford, were drown'd in the River. Among those of the Besieg'd who were wounded in this Sally, there was an Ensign of Colonel *Til's* Regiment, who receiv'd a Shot of a Cannon-Bullet, of five Pounds Weight, thro' the Body; and without falling down under that mortal Wound, supporting himself only upon a Soldier's Shoulder, he walk'd, with the Bullet hanging in the Skin of his Side, to his Quarters in the Town; where having been laid upon a Bed, he expir'd after having said, *That it had been an extreme Satisfaction to him, to have been wounded in holding his Colours; that dying wrapp'd up in them, it might be seen, that he truly lov'd his King, for whose Service he dy'd with Pleasure in the Defence of his Country.*

THE Sunday after, they made an Exchange of some Prisoners, and among others of *John Ashburnham*, whom they gave for Sir *William Masbam*, one of the Committee of the County, all the Members whereof were very civilly treated by the Royalists, who allow'd all Sorts of Provisions to be sent to them from the Camp, at a Time when Horse-flesh was the most dainty Meat that was serv'd up to the Table of the Lords who were then in the Town. On the other Side, General *Fairfax* allow'd the Daughter of the Earl of *Norwich*, who lost his Wife during the Siege, to speak to her Father at one of the Gates of the Town, where they discours'd together, but with a loud Voice. In order to favour this Conference, there was a Cessation of Arms; during which the Besieg'd treated, the best Way they could, the Guards that accompany'd this Lady, with some Bottles of Wine, and Pieces of salted Horse-flesh. At length this Meat, bad as it was, in a short Time became so scarce, that they were forc'd to eat both Cats and Dogs, the Soldiers making Use of Pieces of their Ammunition-Bread to catch them; so that, before the Town was surrender'd, there were so few left in the Place, that half a Dog was sold at a Crown.

It

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IT was now the Month of *August*, and the Besieged being in great Want of Powder, recommended to the Soldiers to manage well the little that remain'd, and forbid the Gunners to fire any Cannon without Orders from a General Officer. And instead of Fire-Arms, the Soldiers made use of Scythes, and the Gentlemen of Halberds, the Lord *Capel*, in order to set an Example to others, was the first that mounted Guard with a Halberd in his Hand. In the mean time, the Besiegers having made themselves Masters of the Suburbs, reduc'd the Town to the utmost Straits; and, without doubt, had they made a general Attack, as they could then have done, they had carry'd it; for there were Houses at the upper End of the Suburbs which were of an equal Height with the Walls; and there were Stairs so broad, that three Men could march up a Breast: But the Besieged having warn'd the Inhabitants to remove their Goods, they demolish'd those Houses, and at the same time made a Sally upon the Enemy, who did not attempt again to burn the Suburbs, as they formerly design'd to have done, in order to carry the Fire into the Town, though they might have undertaken it then with much better Success than they had done the first time.

AT last, the Enemy, eking out the Lion's Skin with the Fox's Case, sent Letters into the Town by Women, in order to sow Dissention between the Soldiers and the Officers, whom they charg'd with being Disturbers of the publick Peace: They likewise shot into the Town Arrows with Letters tied to them, whereby they promis'd good Quarters and Passports from the General to the Soldiers that had a mind to retire to their own Houses; giving them likewise to understand by the same Letters, that if they did not come out in four Days, they were to expect no Quarter, but to be treated as Rebels. The Soldiers, however, far from being prevail'd upon by these Promises, or discourag'd by the Threats of their Enemies, became thereby more affectionately attach'd to the King's Service, sending back their Arrows with smart Answers, which retorted their Reproaches, with as much Boldness, as if they had been sure of some powerful Relief.

HAVING thus stood out the Siege to the 17th of *August*, and made a strict Search over all the Town, and finding therein but very little Corn, *Norwich*, *Capel*, and *Lucas* wrote to General *Fairfax*, desiring that he would be pleas'd to send them Passports, and a Guard, that they might dispatch some of their Men to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; and that in case the Town should not be reliev'd in twenty Days, they should deliver it into his Hands, for the Service of the two Houses. But *Fairfax* having given them a flat Denial, the Besieged resolv'd to stand it to the last; and having sent out Spies, in order to bring them News of Sir *Marmaduke*, in the mean time they endeavour'd to get some Match and Powder made, because they had not so much as to bear one Attack, if the Enemy had assaulted them. In the mean while, the meaner sort of People being ready to famish, and whose Wants they were no longer able to supply with what remain'd in the Store-houses, the Mayor and Aldermen were desired to send to *Fairfax*, to beg of him, that he would be pleas'd to allow the poor Inhabitants of the Town to retire into the Country to seek their Bread. It was not to be expected that he would grant them that Favour: For besides that 'tis not to be practis'd on the like Occasions, he was inform'd, by the Means of a Correspondence he had in the Town, that an Order of the Council of War had been publish'd, enjoining all such as had not Provisions for twenty Days, of what Condition

Condition soever they might be, to go out of the Town. Having then had this Advice, and willing to make Advantage of the Disorders that commonly attend such severe Necessities, he gave Orders, in all the Quarters, not to suffer any Person to come out of the Town; and if any should offer to come out of the Gates, without any more ado, to fire upon them. Few Days after, the Soldiers in the Town fell as short of Provisions as the Inhabitants; for, after a very diligent Search of the Store-houses, there was not found Bread in them for two Days, and not so much Powder as to fill the Musketeers Bandaliers. Thus were they forc'd to yield to Necessity, and to resolve to capitulate: To that End, on the 21st of *August*, they sent out one of the chief Inhabitants of the Town, who carry'd Letters to *Fairfax*. The General having read them, answer'd, "That *Norwich* had so obstinately stood the Siege, and that the whole Body of the Army had so much slighted the Offers that had been made them, that the best Conditions the Officers, above Lieutenants, could then expect from him, were to be receiv'd at Discretion; and that the Soldiers should be allow'd to retire to their own Houses, except such as had deserted the Parliament's Service since the 10th of *May*." He caus'd Arrows to be shot again into the Town, with Letters tied to them, which contain'd, "That General *Fairfax* having caus'd the Town to be summon'd, and offer'd the Soldiers, and all the Officers, under Captains, Liberty to retire to their own Houses in all Safety, he had Reason to believe that his Letters had not fallen into their Hands; he still offer'd them the same Conditions, if in two Days they should come out of the Town in a Body: That if the Inhabitants would likewise join them, they should receive the same Favour; but if the Soldiers should turn out the Inhabitants, and suffer them to perish without their Walls, they must expect no Mercy." All these Artifices made no Impression upon the Minds of the Soldiers; but, on the contrary, it seems that these Offers made them more firm in their Resolutions; for they all, with one Accord, engag'd, not to accept of any Conditions, wherein all the Officers should not be comprehended. At last, the Besieged having sent again, desiring to treat about surrendering the Town: They were answer'd, "That the General had let them know all the Conditions they could expect from him, and that he had given Orders to tell them that he would stand to them, and that they were mistaken, if they expected to have any more favourable."

THIS last Answer made the Besieged think that it was time to take a final Resolution. There was no more Corn in the Town, neither Dog nor Cat were to be found, and nothing was left but a few Horses; for the Commissaries of Provisions had kept an Account of near eight hundred, which they had caus'd to be kill'd, and distributed amongst the Soldiers, besides a great Number that the Soldiers had stolen out of the Stables, and others likewise which Gentlemen had caus'd to be kill'd and salted in their own Houses. This being the Case, and the Officers seeing as much Resolution and Obedience in the Soldiers, as if they had had Plenty of every Thing, they resolv'd rather to die with Honour, in a general Sally, than to yield at Discretion. This Resolution being taken, the Officers and Gentlemen, before they attempted any thing, on the 23d of *August* sign'd this Engagement: "We the Subscribers hereof protest before the Almighty God, that we shall not accept of any Conditions from the Enemy, that may be contrary to our Honour and Liberty. We likewise bind ourselves, upon Honour, not to desert

1648. " one another, nor our Foot, but either to force our Way through the
 " Enemy, or die in the Attempt."

THE next Day, the Enemy let fly a Paper-Kite, at which hung a great many Letters, which contain'd the same thing with the first, with an Account of the Victory which the two Houses had got over the *Scots*, and having let it hover a long time over the Town, that it might be seen by every Body, they let it fall into the middle thereof. Two Hours after, they express'd their Joy for that Victory, by a Discharge of all their Cannon, and great Volleys of Musket-shot, which they sent into the Town; insomuch that the Besieged expected a general Attack, especially seeing that the Enemy being lodg'd upon the Counterscarp, and so near them, that they could speak from their Trenches to the Besieged upon the Walls, and throw Stones at one another, as they very frequently did: And as *Fairfax* had threaten'd to spring a Mine; they sent him Word, " That since he had refus'd them honourable Conditions, such
 " as Soldiers, who had still defended their Town like Men of Honour, if
 " he had a mind to try to take them by Force, it was needless to make use
 " of a Mine; being resolv'd to open to him what Gate of the Town he
 " should be pleas'd to make choice of, in order to dispute the Entry
 " with him." But the General well knew that he should have them much cheaper, and that he should not have Occasion to venture an Attack, whereby his Soldiers were too much discourag'd, standing in Awe both of the Scythes and Fire-works of the Besieged.

AT last, it was resolv'd in a Council of War, that the Night between the 25th and 26th the whole Garison should sally forth by two Gates, about Midnight, without any Baggage, and that, if possible, they should break through the Enemy's Lines, or die Sword in Hand: And that the Foot might have no Reason to be afraid that the Officers, who should be on Horseback at the Head of the Attacks, should leave them in the Fight, they all promis'd, except the General and Major-General, at the first Alarm, to shoot their Horses through the Head. As they were all making ready to put this Design in Execution, which, truly, border'd very near upon Despair, though it was very noble, some Officers having made it appear, that if they would delay the Attempt 'till the next Day at the same Hour, they would, probably, be then in a fairer way to succeed; every Body having yielded to that Advice, it was put off 'till the next Day. But that very Night some malicious Persons had put it into the Heads of the Soldiers, that the Design of the Gentry and Officers was, to make the best of their Way through the Camp, and leave them engag'd. The Soldiers were so far convinc'd of the Truth thereof, that they mutiny'd to that Degree, and were so much enrag'd, that they threaten'd to throw their Officers over the Walls, into the Ditch. This Tumult would have prov'd fatal to the whole Party, if Sir *William Compton* and Sir *Charles Lucas*, in whom the Soldiers had a great deal of Confidence, had not taken great Pains to pacify them, as they very wisely did: However, for all what they could do, the Soldiers dismounted the Guard in a tumultuous manner, and sent thirty of their Number to *Norwich*, who was holding a Council of War in his Lodgings, in order to consider what Course they had best to take, in this truly most troublesome Juncture. The Soldiers, who spoke for their Comrades, having enter'd, said, " That if the Officers would not capitulate for them, they
 " would capitulate for themselves the best way they could, and leave
 " them there to shift for themselves, since they had design'd to have dealt
 " so

“ so by the Soldiers. ” *Norwich* answer’d them, “ That the Officers
“ were so far from having such Thoughts, or designing to accept of any
“ Conditions, which should not include the very meanest Soldier with
“ them, that, on the contrary, they were resolv’d to commit themselves
“ to Fortune, and to sacrifice their Lives and Liberties, in order to save
“ both the one and the other to the Soldiers ; and that they were met only
“ about that, and sending a Message to General *Fairfax*. ” The Sol-
diers, mov’d with this so obliging a Resolution, thank’d them, and said,
“ That their Liberty would be too dear bought at that Price ; and that
“ they were not so mean-spirited, as to get out of Danger to their Officers
“ Cost, with whom they were resolv’d to live and die. ”

THE Soldiers having gone out satisfy’d, Colonel *Samuel Tuke* was sent with full Power to treat with *Fairfax* ; but that General, knowing already what had pass’d amongst the Soldiers, would not stand to the Conditions he had offer’d them before. And as the Besieg’d were no longer in a Condition to demand any Thing, *Fairfax* told the Colonel, “ That he
“ was fully resolv’d, that the Soldiers and subaltern Officers should all
“ remain Prisoners of War : That the chief Officers and Lords should
“ surrender at Discretion : And lastly, That if they had a mind to have
“ quarter, they must send out the Committee of the County the next
“ Morning. ” The Soldiers, who till then had done and suffer’d much more, than could have been expected from the best disciplin’d Troops, upon Colonel *Tuke*’s Return, were very sensible of the Folly they had committed so unseasonably, and that it must cost them their Liberty : But there was no Help for it. On *Sunday*, the 27th of *August*, the Committee went out ; and Colonel *Tuke*, with other five Officers, having gone along with them, they sign’d the following Articles with *Fairfax*.
“ That all the Regiments should lay down their Arms, and keep at their
“ Posts, with their Officers under the Rank of Captains, till they should
“ be dispos’d of : That the Lords and chief Officers should be, by 8 o’
“ Clock in the Morning, at the Sign of the King, and that their Horses
“ and Arms should be put into *S. Mary’s Church-yard* : That all the
“ Cannon should continue mounted upon the Platforms, as they had been
“ before, and that what Ammunition was remaining, should be carry’d
“ to the Town-house. ” It was no difficult Matter to execute this last Article, there being only one Barrel of Powder remaining ; but the Enemy being already pell-mell upon the Walls with the Besieg’d, and in great Numbers getting into the Town, before the Gates had been open’d, pillag’d whatever they could find, and carry’d away the Horses that remain’d in the Stables.

EVERY Thing being executed according to Agreement, about 2 o’ Clock in the Afternoon, General *Fairfax* made his Entry on Horse-back into the Town ; where having ridden about for some Time in Triumph, he held a Council of War, in which Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle* were condemn’d to be shot to Death. This cruel Sentence being pass’d upon two Men of Quality, whom they could charge with nothing, but with having faithfully serv’d their Prince, Colonel *Ewre* went to them in their Lodgings ; where having saluted them very coldly, he told them, That the General desir’d to speak with them. They presently took leave of the Company, and follow’d the Colonel to the General’s Quarters ; where they were acquainted with the Sentence which had been just now pass’d upon them. *Norwich*, and the other Lords, waiting with much Uneasiness the Return of these Gentlemen, Sir *Charles Lucas* sent to them
to

1648. to desire a Chaplain quickly, and to bid them farewell for ever. Being all sensibly affected with such strange News, they sent for Captain *Carmon*, one of *Fairfax's* Officers, and desir'd him to go to the General from them, to beg of him not to deal otherwise with those two Gentlemen, than he design'd to do with them all ; because, as they were engag'd in the same Cause, they should not only look upon it as an Honour, but likewise passionately wish to run the same Hazard, whatever it might be.

BUT the Council of War having taken no Notice of their Request, the two Gentlemen were carry'd into the Castle ; whither *Ireton* went to tell them, That they must prepare themselves for Death. Sir *Charles Lucas* having ask'd him, " By Virtue of what Law they were condemn'd to die ; and whether it was by an Ordinance of the two Houses, or by Virtue of a Sentence pass'd in the Council of War ? " *Ireton* answer'd, " That they had been condemn'd in the Council of War, who had express Orders, and Power from the two Houses, to treat as Traitors all such as were in Arms against their Service. " Then Sir *Charles* having told him with a bold, and at the same Time a chearful Countenance, " That they had been vanquish'd ; and that being the Case, they must receive Laws from the Vanquisher ; but that he begg'd this Favour, that the Execution of their Sentence might be put off till the next Day, in order to have that little Time for settling his Conscience, and some worldly Affairs ; " *Ireton* having answer'd him, " That he must not expect that ; " he said, " He would not have him fancy, that he ask'd that Delay by any Impulse of Fear to die, or of Desire to prolong his Life, which he would not hold of him ; but that it was only in order to address his Prayers to Heaven with a little more Leisure, and to settle some Affairs here below ; but not being able to obtain that from his Charity, he committed all to the Mercy of God : That now he should be very soon ready to suffer the most cruel Death that his Enemies may have prepar'd for him. "

IN like manner, Sir *George Lisle* being refus'd as much Time as to write to his Father and Mother, *Ireton* bad them adieu. They presently began to pray, and having both receiv'd the Communion from *Norwich's* Chaplain, they were conducted to the Castle-yard ; whither *Ireton*, Colonel *Rainsborough*, and Colonel *Whaley* being come to see the End of this Tragedy, these Gentlemen look'd Death in the Face with the same Resolution and Courage, as they had many Times look'd for it in the Field of Battle. Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was to die first, told them, " That he had often star'd Death in the Face in Battles ; and that they should now see, that he did not as yet fear it. " Having pray'd for some Time kneeling, he got up with a good Grace ; and, without discovering the least Alteration in his Countenance, he unbutton'd his Doublet ; and setting his Arms a kembow, he said, or rather gave the Word of Command, to the Soldiers that were to shoot him, speaking to them with a Voice which shew'd the Steadiness of his Resolution, *I am ready ; fire.* At the same Time, four Musquet-shot laid him dead upon the Ground. Sir *George Lisle*, who had been taken aside, coming to the same Place, where his Friend was lying dead, stoop'd several Times to embrace him, and mingle his Tears with his Blood : Then standing up all of a sudden, and without appearing to be in the least discompos'd, said, " That he had, in the Heat of Battle, sav'd the Lives of many of those who were then putting him to Death in cold Blood ; but that he could not expect better Treatment, from those who had no less a Design than to murder the King himself, whom

“ whom they were keeping Prisoner ; and that it was for his Majesty’s Liberty, as well as for the Peace of his unhappy Country, that he was offering up his last Prayers to God. ” Then he said, *Traitors, do your worst*, still looking upon them preparing to fire upon him, without shewing the least Terror ; and after having many times repeated the holy Name of *Jesus*, he fell down dead.

THE Chaplain being return’d to *Norwich*, where the Lords *Loughborough* and *Capel* likewise were, gave them a full Account of all that had pass’d ; and told them, that he had done his last Duty to their Friends. This Account struck them in such a manner, considering the Loss they had just sustain’d, that they were inconsolable. And as they were expecting very soon to follow their dear Friends, *Ireton*, accompany’d by the Colonels *Ewre* and *Whaley*, came and told them, That he came from the General, to give them Assurance of a Thing, of which he believ’d they were very doubtful ; which was, that he gave them Quarter, and that they should be treated as Prisoners of War. *Capel* answering for all, told him, “ That they would have been much more oblig’d to their General, “ if he had sav’d the Lives of those two gallant Gentlemen, whom he had “ but just now caus’d to be depriv’d of them, and which they had so gloriously finish’d, than to save theirs, which were less dear to them : That “ as for the Engagement in the King’s Service, those who were dead, “ and they who had surviv’d them, were in the same Party, and that they “ had all wish’d to have had the same Fate too. ” Some Days after, they were all three sent to three different Prisons ; and the General having laid a Tax of 12500 *l.* upon the Town for the Payment of the Army, who expected to have plunder’d it, gave to the Officers of each of his Regiments a certain Number of the Gentlemen Prisoners, in order to get Ransoms from them. At length, having caus’d all the Foot to be put into a Church, he allow’d his Soldiers to strip them to the very Shirts ; after which he caus’d them all to be turn’d out of the Town, tho’ it then rain’d very hard. Those whom Weakness prevented from being able to follow their Fellow-Soldiers, were knock’d on the Head on the High-ways, others died of Hunger, and some were sold like Slaves to be sent to the *West-Indies*.

SOME Time after, the two Houses having sent an Order for impeaching of Treason the three Lords that had been imprison’d, these Lords wrote to them, That such a Procedure would be unjust, General *Fairfax* having given them Quarter after the surrendering of the Town. The two Houses having written to the General, to get him to explain what he meant by giving Quarter, he answer’d them : “ That he meant nothing else but “ only to exempt them from dying by the Sword of the Soldiers, and not “ by that of Justice, which might still proceed against them, as against “ Rebels and Traitors. ” The House of Commons having deliberated thereupon, ordain’d, That the aforesaid three Lords, with the Earl of *Holland*, should all four be banish’d out of the Kingdom.

NOW, when *Fairfax* was in *Kent*, he wrote very civilly to the Captains of the Men of War who had declar’d for the King, and begg’d of them to return to the Service of the two Houses, who offer’d them a general Pardon, and presently to pay them all their Arrears. All those Captains, except one, who commanded the *Lion*, which he carry’d back into the *Thames*, made no Account of his Promises, but having set Sail, steer’d their Course for *Holland*, and arriv’d at *Helvoet-Sluis*. The two Houses having had an Account thereof, wrote like Sovereigns to the States of the

1648. *United Provinces*, to cause the revolted Ships to be arrested, without regarding the Sovereignty of those Provinces. At the same time the Earl of *Warwick* was made Admiral of *England*, who, having been acknowledg'd by the Ships that were in the *Thames*, and by the Fleet that was at *Portsmouth*, made ready to bring back the revolted Ships to the Obedience of the two Houses.

The Prince of
Wales's Ma-
nifesto.

IN the Beginning of *July*, the Prince of *Wales*, highly resenting the Injuries done the King his Father, left *St. Germain's*, accompany'd by Prince *Rupert*, and several *Scots* and *English* Lords, and having embark'd at *Calais*, landed in *Holland*; where having caus'd the Ships that had declar'd for the King, to be refitted, he went on Board the Admiral Ship, and thus appear'd upon the Coast of *England*. In order to let the faithful Subjects of all the three Kingdoms see what the Design of his Embarkation was, he caus'd a Manifesto to be spread therein, whereby he declared, " That he took up Arms, in order to establish Religion, " according to the Treaty which had been concluded between the King " and the *Scots* Commissioners the 26th of *December* 1647: That his " Majesty may be restor'd to his Liberty, and the Enjoyment of all his " royal Prerogatives: and that, in order to bring these Things to a " happy Issue, he may with all Freedom treat with the two Houses in " Person: That they likewise may return to their just Privileges; and " that all the Subjects may be deliver'd from the Oppressions they were " suffering, and particularly the Excise, quartering of Soldiers to live " at Discretion, and from all the other Impositions contrary to the Laws: " That they may carry on their Trade with Safety; and, in short, that " after his Majesty shall have granted a general Pardon, and the Armies " shall be disbanded, the People may enjoy a profound Peace, which " was the only Thing he had always aim'd at.

" His Highness invited all those who had any Regard for their " Prince, or Zeal for Religion, and who desir'd to see the Laws ob- " serv'd, to join with him in this noble Design; engaging both his " Honour and Faith, not only to get all his Majesty's faithful Subjects " indemnify'd of all the Losses they may thereby sustain, but likewise " to get them reimburs'd, with Interest, all the Sums they may furnish, " as soon as it shall please God to restore the King, his Father, to his " Throne. And as for such as should be willing to serve therein in " Person, that he promis'd, upon the Word of a Prince, to recompense " their Services honourably, nay, even those who may have formerly " carry'd Arms against the King, if they should return to their Duty. " In a Word, That he should not spare his own Blood, and that he " would still expose his Life, for delivering from Confinement those " Royal Persons from whom he had receiv'd it.

THE Prince having cast Anchor in *Yarmouth-Roads*, sent on Shore a Trumpet, who summon'd the Town to open the Gates to his Highness; or else, that he was resolv'd to sink some old Ships in its Harbour, which would render it useless to them. But the Magistrates having sent some Refreshments on Board of the Admiral Ship by two of their Aldermen, excus'd, the best way they could, their refusing to allow the Prince to enter the Town, and likewise cunningly suppress'd a Tumult which one Captain *Johnson* had stirr'd up therein; for a great Number of People had got together about this Captain, who were crying out, throwing their Hats up in the Air, *God bless the Prince, and Captain Johnson.*
Major

Major *Jermy*, who was in that Neighbourhood with some of the Parliament's Troops, not able to make himself Master of the Ferry-Boat, swam over the River with a Troop of Horse, in order to secure the Town, 'till he should be join'd by Colonel *Scroop*'s Regiment, which *Fairfax* had detach'd from the Army when he was before *Colchester*. The Prince seeing that, weigh'd Anchor, and made Sail towards the *Downs*, however, without doing any Damage to that fine Harbour, from whence he expected some Assistance at another time.

WHILE the Prince lay in *Yarmouth Roads*, he wrote two Letters, one very kind, to the Common-Council of the City of *London*, agreeable to the Terms of his *Manifesto*, which he inclos'd in the Letter: The other, to the Merchant-Adventurers, wherein he gave them an Account, that he had caus'd three of their Ships to be seiz'd, without Design, however, of declaring them Prize; and he desir'd them to lend him two hundred thousand Pounds, which should be repaid them out of the Revenues arising from the *Custom-house*. But neither of them return'd him any Answer. Both the Letters were carry'd to the House of Commons, where some were for declaring the Prince Traitor, because he had appear'd in Arms against the Parliament, as his Father had done; that he had invited the *Scots* to come into *England*; and that he was a Subject like the other Natives of the Kingdom: They added, that the Merchants must be forbidden to make him any Answer; and that they had no Reason to be afraid of losing their Ships, because the Prince had promis'd to the States of *Holland*, not to do the least Prejudice to the Freedom of Commerce. There were others more considerate, who represented, That if they should declare the Prince Traitor, at a time that they were sending Commissioners to treat with the King his Father, about Peace, all the World would believe that they were not earnest in it: That such an Action would be directly contrary to the Covenant, which, above all Things, oblig'd them to defend the King's Person, his Crown, and Royal Authority, whereof the Prince was the chief Support, and lawful Heir: That they would be guilty of traiterous Acts, if they should deal after that manner with his Highness; because, according to all the Laws, it was Treason to attempt to ruin the King's eldest Son; and whoever should declare him Traitor, would, without doubt, ruin him: In short, That the People being already sufficiently alarm'd with the Rumour that was spreading every-where, that they had a mind to destroy the King, cut off his Children, and change the Government; the Truth of that Rumour would be fully confirm'd, if, after the rigorous Ordinances which the two Houses had made against the King, they should add thereto any such Thing against the Prince, and the Duke of *York*. The House, after these Reasons, was satisfy'd then to declare Traitors and Rebels such as should give Relief and Assistance to the Prince. It had before order'd *Warwick* to fight him: To which all the Lords had likewise consented, except the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Suffolk*, and the Lord *North*.

WHILE the Prince was in the *Downs*, he had a mind to attempt to cause the Siege, which the two Houses had order'd to be laid before *Sandown-Castle*, to be rais'd, which was still holding out for the Royal Party. Having, for that End, caus'd about five hundred good Men to be landed, they march'd with great Resolution against the Colonels *Rich* and *Hudson*, who were carrying on the Siege, forc'd the Trenches, and rush'd Sword in Hand among the Besiegers. The Ground through which

1648. which they march'd to them being very marshy, the Enemy's Horse could not attack them in the Front; but having wheel'd about, they fell upon them in the Flank, took some Prisoners, and drove the rest back to their Ships: And his Highness having had it from good Hands, that the two Houses design'd to try Colonel *Langhorn*, Colonel *Powel*, and Colonel *Poyer*, and that, to all Appearance, they would shew them no Mercy, he wrote in a very civil manner in their Behalf to General *Fairfax*, giving him to understand, "That they had not taken up Arms but by Virtue of his Commissions, so that it concern'd his Honour to countenance them; besides, that their singular Merit mov'd him not to let them die in that manner. In short, he desir'd *Fairfax* to use his Interest, that they might not be treated otherwise than Soldiers ought to be; or else he would be oblig'd to act contrary to his Nature and Inclination, in treating after the same manner such as should fall into his Hands." *Fairfax* answer'd him, "That he had caus'd his Highness's Letter to be communicated to the two Houses, and that he could do nothing more in the Matter, because they had given Orders after what manner those Prisoners were to be treated: And that he thought, that their being so severely dealt with, was not owing to the Hostilities they had committed against the two Houses; but, to their having betray'd the Trust which the Parliament had repos'd in them, being engag'd in their Service, as they were."

Now, his Highness having no Answer from *London*, and *Yarmouth* having submitted to *Fairfax*, who march'd to take Possession of it after the Surrender of *Colchester*, on the 26th of *August* he set Sail towards the Mouth of the *Thames*, where *Warwick* was, about five or six Leagues from the *Downs*. The Prince having cast Anchor, held a Council of War, wherein it having been represented to him, that there were some of his Ships that had not Provisions for two Days, it was resolv'd, that before they should offer to fight the Enemy, to set sail for *Holland*, where they would find Abundance of Provisions ready for them, and where they might refresh themselves for some Time. This Resolution being taken, the Admiral Ship steer'd that Course: But though, according to the Method practis'd at Sea, all the Fleet ought to follow their Admiral; yet two of the Ships, one call'd the *Convertine*, and the other the *Swallow*, standing off from the rest, let the Prince know, that they would rather die, than steer any other Course but what would lead them to the Enemy: Twelve or thirteen other Ships follow'd their Example, so that the Prince was forc'd to return and join them with the whole Fleet.

THEREFORE it having been resolv'd that they should go and meet the Enemy, the Prince having dispatch'd the Earl of *Lauderdale*, whom the Committee of the *Scots* Parliament had sent to his Highness, with a Letter full of Respect, inviting him to come into that Kingdom, he made all the Captains and the other Officers of the Ships take the Oath of Fidelity, which they did very chearfully: And about Noon the same Day, which was the 29th, they discover'd *Warwick* with sixteen or eighteen large Men of War in the King's Channel, which is but seven or eight Fathom deep, there being Banks of Sand of a great Length on both Sides, which are discover'd by the great Number of Masts of sunk Ships, that still appear there. The Prince having order'd eight or ten Merchant Ships to be sent back, which would have rather incumber'd the Men of War than assisted them in the Fight, they advanc'd with full

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full Sail against *Warwick*, who was flying before them. Having given him Chase till Night, they cast Anchor over against *Queenborough* Castle. *Warwick* likewise dropp'd Anchor a League nearer the Mouth of the *Thames*. About 9 o' Clock at Night, the Prince sent to him *Harry Seymour*, one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, who are always Gentlemen of good Quality, with a Letter, which was not sign'd, the Contents whereof were: " That having a little while ago discover'd a Fleet at Sea
 " carrying a Flag, he had a mind to let the Commander thereof know,
 " that he was in Person aboard of the Ship call'd *The Constant Reforma-*
 " *tion* ; therefore he commanded him to strike his Flag, and come and
 " join him for the King's Service. " This Letter contain'd besides,
 " That if the commanding Officer obey'd these Orders, he promis'd, not
 " only to get him his Pardon from the King his Father, but likewise to
 " get him, and all the Officers of his Fleet, continu'd in the same Offices
 " they now bear therein ; besides, that he should always value them,
 " as Men who, by their Obedience, had given Proofs of their Affection
 " to his Majesty, and had contributed towards the Peace of the Kingdom. "

WARWICK answer'd, " That the two Houses having made him
 " Admiral of *England*, he had Authority to hoist the Flag ; and that
 " no Opposition whatsoever should hinder him to carry it, whenever he
 " thought fit : That as for the Peace of the Kingdom, the two Houses
 " were in a Condition to restore it very soon, if the Obstacles, that some
 " People had a mind to throw in the Way, did not prevent its taking Ef-
 " fect. " This insolent Letter, which ended with *being his Highness's*
humble Servant, having been brought him about Midnight, the next
 Morning the two Fleets put themselves in a Posture of fighting ; but as
 they were striving which should get the Wind of the other, a Storm,
 which arose, and continu'd the whole Day, separated them far without
 the Reach of Cannon-shot. The Prince's Seamen, who expected, that
 at the Sight of his Fleet, the greatest Part of *Warwick's* would come and
 join them, were very much surpriz'd to see, not only that not so much as
 one of them came ; but on the contrary, they saw them all prepar'd to
 make a stout Defence, if they were attack'd. And because the Place was
 both very inconvenient and dangerous, and that they had no Provisions,
 they begg'd of the Prince to give Orders to steer the Course again for *Hol-*
land ; which he did, being afraid of a second Revolt, tho' he had a great
 Desire to fight the Enemy. On the last Day of *August*, the Fleet arriv'd
 at *Helvoet-sluyts* ; and *Warwick*, who was following it at a Distance,
 having join'd that which was coming from *Portsmouth*, compos'd of ten
 large Men of War, stood in for the *Downs*.

HE sent immediately an Account of what had pass'd to the two Houses ;
 and having got new Orders, to bring back, if possible, the revolted Ships,
 as they call'd them, he set Sail with a Squadron of his Fleet ; and having
 cast Anchor pretty near that of the Prince, Admiral *Van Trump* went
 and posted himself betwixt the two, in order to oblige them to observe the
 Neutrality. As *Warwick* was endeavouring to practise upon the Officers
 of the Ships that had left him, he receiv'd the Copy of a Libel that had
 been publish'd against him, wherein he was accus'd of having a Design to
 join with the Prince, in case the Treaty between the King and the two
 Houses should not take Effect. He, thinking that he was oblig'd to justify
 himself, made a long Apology ; wherein having at large represented his
 Conduct, since he had had the Command at Sea, he ended it with saying,
 " That he would bely that Calumny by his Actions, and good Conduct ;

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“ and that he should never be wanting in what the Parliament, his Masters, ought to expect from the Faithfulness of his Services.” At length, having given Money, and a Pardon to some of the Captains of the Prince’s Ships, they yielded to them; the rest, who had no mind to leave the Prince, shelter’d themselves in the Harbour. So *Warwick* return’d to the *Downs*, where he receiv’d Letters of Thanks from the two Houses, who at the same time gave Orders to the Committee of Navigation, to issue out Money for the Payment of those who had submitted, and for refitting the Fleet. Afterwards Prince *Rupert*, who has given so many Proofs of his Valour in the Land Service, having taken upon himself the Command of the Ships that had continu’d faithful to the Prince, has fill’d with the Terror of his Name both the *Streights* and the *Atlantick* Sea, where he has taken a great many rich Prizes, particularly belonging to the City of *London*, which truly well deserv’d to be punish’d in so sensible a Part: And as well in those Seas as in long Voyages, this Prince has acquir’d so great Skill in that so admirable Art of Navigation, that it may be said to be one of the most bold and noble Inventions of the Wit of Man, and that no Person in *Europe* knows the Secrets of it more thoroughly than he. But now the Noise of Arms both upon Sea and Land must give Way to a Treaty of Peace, of which we shall discourse in the following Book.

The END of the TENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
TROUBLES
OF
GREAT-BRITAIN.

BOOK XI.

ALTHOUGH the two Houses had nothing more to fear from the *Scots*, and that all the Parties that had risen in *England* for the King had been defeated; nevertheless, they still had a Design to treat with his Majesty in Person at *London*, or elsewhere, according as it should be agreed upon between them; provided he should consent to the three Propositions, of which we have already spoken, in their Answer to the Demands of the Parliament of *Scotland*. But the Lords, whereof the most Part were more inclin'd to Peace than the Army was, which, properly speaking, was nothing else but a Cabal that domineer'd over the Commons: These Lords, I say, gave the Commons to understand, that they did not think it proper to insist upon those Propositions, and demanded a Conference with them. These are the Reasons upon which the Lords grounded their Opinion; "That, by that Means, they would forward the Treaty, which was so passionately long'd for by every Body: That it was the Sentiment of the Parliament of *Scotland*: That the Treaty would have more Force, and be of greater Weight: That the King having no Army, might consent to Things which he had refus'd at *Uxbridge* and *Oxford*: In a Word, That Treaties were never made in the Manner that the

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" Com-

1648. “ Commons demanded ; and that the King ought not to ratify one
 “ Article of it, ’till after that all the Articles should be adjusted, much
 “ less then those wherein more Difficulties might be found in Treating,
 “ and upon which both Parties might insist more. ”

THE Commons were obstinate in a contrary Opinion, and said,
 “ That the Parliament having so many Enemies every-where, and
 “ particularly in and about *London* ; if the King should enter the City
 “ before his granting them the Command of the Militia, there would
 “ be no Safety for them : That the Treaty would prove of no Effect ;
 “ and that there would be a powerful Party, who would endeavour to
 “ restore his Majesty, without any other Condition but that of ruining
 “ the two Houses : That if the Presbyterian Government were not also
 “ established before, the Affairs of Religion would fall into Confusion,
 “ and the Presbyterian Ministers would undergo great Hardships : That,
 “ in short, if the Declarations, that had been publish’d against the two
 “ Houses, were not absolutely revok’d, they should be incapable of
 “ Treating, being call’d nothing therein but a pretended Parliament,
 “ and all their Members accounted Rebels and Traitors. They granted,
 “ that all these Things might be disputed ; but they likewise said, that
 “ they had been disputed as often as they had been presented to his
 “ Majesty, who had, in a manner, granted the two first ; and that they
 “ did not desire that he should pass them into Acts of Parliament before
 “ the Treaty should be sign’d. ”

To which the Lords answer’d, “ That there was no Probability
 “ that those who had with so much Passion desir’d the Treaty, would
 “ make any Proposals therein that might be prejudicial to the Parliament
 “ of the Kingdom : That they had nothing to fear during the Treaty :
 “ That the King had plainly declar’d, that he would authorize nothing,
 “ ’till after all the Articles should be adjusted : In fine, That if the
 “ Treaty should be broke off, they would still be in the same Condi-
 “ tion they were in before. ” The Commons reply’d, “ That it was not
 “ to be doubted but the Counties in the Neighbourhood of *London* would
 “ do their utmost, in order to get the Treaty brought about to the Pre-
 “ judice of the Parliament, because they had taken up Arms for restoring
 “ the King, without any Conditions ; and that the Revolted had, with
 “ a loud Voice, said in *Colchester*, that the two Houses must be cudgell’d
 “ into better Terms : That the King had not absolutely refus’d to give
 “ them the Command of the Militia ; but, in parting with it to them,
 “ would have it declar’d, that the Power of disposing thereof belong’d
 “ to him alone ; which would utterly disarm and ruin the Parliament :
 “ That, for the rest, as the Treaty, in all Appearance, would either be
 “ near *London*, or in the City itself, all the Royal Party would not fail
 “ to flock thither from all Parts ; so that if the Treaty should not suc-
 “ ceed, they would be so far from being in the same Condition they
 “ were in before, that they should infallibly be involv’d in a new War. ”
 So the Affair continu’d undecided at that time : but shortly after, the
 Lords having press’d the Commons to yield to their Reasons, they sub-
 mitted, and consented that every Thing in general should be referr’d to
 the Treaty.

THEN it was debated, where the Treaty should be held. Many
 were of Opinion, that it could not be held in a solemn manner in any
 other Place but the City of *London*. The City itself, who long’d for it
 above

above all things, offer'd to put every thing in such Order, and to take so great Care, that the King should be there in all Safety, and that the Treaty should be carry'd on peaceably. That if unhappily it should be broke off, the City promis'd still firmly to adhere to the Parliament; and consented, that the two Houses should dispose of his Majesty's Person according to their Prudence. The two Houses rejected this Proposal, shewing, that they had but little Confidence in the City, which they thought the King might prevail with, if it should once come to reflect upon the Error it had committed in having submitted to other Masters.

ON the other hand, the City having conceiv'd Jealousy of Major-General *Skippon's* Behaviour, complain'd of it to the House of Commons, and represented to them, "That that Officer, by raising of Soldiers privately in the City, inticing away Servants from their Masters, and parting Children from their Parents, sow'd the Seed of a Civil War within its own Bowels, weaken'd the regular Militia; and set up a Power against that of the Committee of that very Militia: That the Jealousies, which the whole Body of the City conceiv'd of this Procedure, had made them say openly, that they would make use of their own Militia for defending themselves, without waiting for Orders from the two Houses: That the Law of Nature oblig'd them to act so; and that the Parliament had done the same, in acting against the King; nor had *Fairfax's* Army dealt otherwise by the two Houses." Alderman *Gibbs*, who was Spokesman for the City, having laid before them all these Reasons, at last demanded, "That all the Soldiers that *Skippon* had rais'd, be deliver'd over to the Militia of the City: That he be forbid to raise any more for the future, and that the Militia of *Westminster* be reunited to those of the City." The same Complaint having been made to the Lords, they press'd the Commons to humour the City, lest its Affection should be drawn away from the two Houses: And the Commons, as well for complying with the Opinion of the Upper House, as for shunning that Inconveniency, appointed a Committee for preparing Bills about the Matters that had been propos'd, which might be to the Satisfaction of the City. However, there were a great many People who, under-hand, sollicit'd *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the *Tower Hamlets*, not to consent to the Re-uniting their Militia, unless they had as many Votes in it as the City should have: But the City having seven Parts of nine, their Demand would have been look'd upon as ridiculous.

THIS Affair being adjusted, the two Houses apply'd themselves to such Things as chiefly concern'd the Treaty. The Army let them go on, waiting a proper Time for declaring themselves thereupon; for the Fire, which had been kindled in the Kingdom, was not then so well extinguish'd, but that it still smok'd, and the Ashes were as yet warm. When the two Houses were deliberating upon the Treaty, *Colchester* was not reduced, and *Cromwell* had to do with an Army of *Scots*: At last, after a long Debate, it was resolv'd, that the Treaty should be in the Isle of *Wight*; not in *Carisbrook* Castle, where it would not appear to be free, but that it should be held in any other Part of the Island that his Majesty should be pleas'd to name: That his Majesty should be there in a State of Freedom, and should treat with all manner of Liberty, upon the Propositions that had been presented to him at *Hampton-Court*, and

1648. likewise upon such as he should be pleas'd to make to the Commissioners of the two Houses.

ON the 24th of *August*, the Earl of *Middlesex*, Sir *John Hippestey*, and Mr. *Bulkeley*, were sent by the two Houses to the Isle of *Wight*, in order to communicate to the King the Offers which they made of treating with his Majesty, with Orders to return with an Answer within ten Days. On the 26th at Night they landed in the Island, and the next Day had Audience of the King, who gave them a kind Reception. *Middlesex* having told his Majesty, "That the two Houses had no other Design but to treat about a Peace;" The King answer'd, "That no Man desir'd Peace so much as he, in his several Relations, as a King, a Husband, a Father, and a Master; and that he would give Ear to any Motion or Overture which might conduce to a good Accommodation: That it should not be his Fault if Peace were not happily restor'd; and that he did not believe it could meet with any Obstruction, but from such as found their Account in the War: That, in the mean time, they were very welcome to him with so agreeable News, and that he would dispatch them within the Time limited." As the King had written to the two Houses with his own Hand, he express'd to the Commissioners, at delivering his Letter to them, "with how much Passion he desir'd a good Peace, and intreated each of them in particular to contribute thereto all that lay in their Power: That he entrusted them with his Answer unseal'd, not doubting of their Fidelity, though there had been a bad Use made of his last Answer he had sent open, and that some private Persons had run it down before it was presented to the two Houses."

The King's Answer to the two Houses.

THE Commissioners being return'd to *London*, on the 14th of *August* the Earl of *Middlesex* presented to the House of Lords his Majesty's Letter, dated the 10th, and address'd to the Speaker of that House, to be communicated to both Houses; the Contents of which were, "That if the Peace of his Kingdoms was not much dearer to him then any other Interest he could have, he would have had great Reason to insist upon some Votes they had pass'd against him, and to exaggerate the sad Condition to which he had been reduc'd for seven Months last past; but since they were making an Overture of Peace to him in a handsome manner, he would forget all that had pass'd, and apply himself to it with all his Heart: That, in order to attain thereto, he would lay before them such Things as he judg'd necessary to that great Work, to the End that they might jointly endeavour to remove the Obstacles that might delay the happy Conclusion of the Treaty, which he embrac'd with a great deal of Pleasure: That they themselves had laid very solid Foundations for it, and that he could not reasonably desire more, but to treat with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, upon the Propositions that should be offer'd to him, and upon such as he himself should offer: That there was nothing to be added, provided that, at the same time, they would consider, that it was not the Names of Things, but the Things themselves, that were the effectual Means for attaining to some End: And as the Condition he was in, render'd him as incapable of Treating, as a Man put in Fetters wou'd be of Running; first, he demanded, that they would revoke their Votes, by which all his Subjects were prohibited to see him, or speak to him of any Affair: In the second Place, he demanded, that
"all

“ all such Persons might have Liberty to repair to him, whose Advice
“ and Assistance he should stand in Need of in the Treaty ; in a Word,
“ that he may be in the same State of Freedom he was in, when he was
“ last at *Hampton-Court* : That he desir’d that, because otherwise he could
“ not treat with Honour, having none of his Servants about his Person,
“ nor even with Security, if he were not allow’d to call for those, whose
“ Assistance would be necessary to him in so important an Affair as that
“ was : After all, That by the Word *Security* he did not mean that of
“ his Person, for which he was in no Fear ; but truly the Security of
“ the Peace, if, before concluding it, they did not inform themselves
“ about the true State of his Kingdoms. Which, in the third Place,
“ oblig’d him to demand, That he alone, or jointly with the two Houses,
“ might invite the *Scots* to send some Persons on their Part, with Power
“ to treat upon the Propositions they may have to make ; for the Interest
“ which the *Scots* had in this Treaty, was so evident, that his Majesty
“ did not believe, that any Man could doubt, but it was altogether ne-
“ cessary that their Commissioners should be there : That as he was King
“ of both Nations, so he would always carry himself with a great deal
“ of Affection and Zeal for the Good and Honour of both, without
“ shewing himself partial to the one, to the Prejudice of the other. Lastly,
“ for the Place, as it was not an essential Part of the Treaty, but only a
“ Circumstance, he nam’d *Newport* in the Island : However, having a
“ very great Desire quickly to see the End of the cruel Divisions of the
“ State, he earnestly begg’d of them to consider, how much Time would
“ be lost, if they must treat in a Place at so great a Distance from the Body
“ of the two Houses, since the least Difficulty that may occur, must be
“ carry’d to them for their Determination : Besides, That he assuredly
“ believ’d, that the Minds of the People would be more easily quieted,
“ if they saw him treating in *London*, or in any other Place near the City,
“ than if they saw him treating in the Island ; for as long as he is there,
“ they will hardly believe, that he is so much at Liberty, as he himself
“ expects to be, before the Treaty be begun. So, referring himself to
“ them as to that Particular, he conjur’d them, by all that was dear to
“ Christians, and good Men who lov’d their Country, to hasten the
“ Treaty, and to send their Commissioners with ample Instructions, and
“ full Power to decide every Thing that shall be debated therein ; to the
“ End that, by the Blessing which God may give to their Designs, all
“ his Subjects may soon enjoy the Happiness that attends Peace.”

THIS Letter being read in the House of Lords, they resolv’d, That the Vote of no more Addresses to the King should be revok’d : That all those whom he should judge necessary to be about his Person, during the Treaty, should have Liberty to repair to him ; and that he should be in the same State of Freedom he was in, when he was last at *Hampton-Court* : That such Officers of his Majesty’s Household as he should desire, should be sent to him : That the Treaty should be held in the Town of *Newport*, in the Isle of *Wight* : That his Majesty should be allow’d to invite the *Scots* to treat with him upon the Propositions of the two Kingdoms, which were presented to him at *Hampton-Court* : That Colonel *Hammond*, Governor of the Island, should have new Orders concerning the King’s Person : That five of their House, and ten of that of the Commons, should be deputed for treating with his Majesty ; and that the Committee of Peace should in all Haste prepare every Thing for the opening of the Treaty. The Votes were immediately carry’d to the House of

1648. of Commons for their Consent, together with the King's Letter, which was sent them at the same Time.

BUT before the Letter had been carry'd thither the Commissioners of that House having already made a faithful Report, after what manner the King had receiv'd them, and of all he had said to them both in publick and private, some of the Faction, quite enrag'd and provok'd at the Sincerity and Passion which his Majesty had express'd for Peace, turning towards the Speaker, said to him, "That the Commissioners had reported
 " every Thing to the House, except that alone which they were oblig'd
 " to report, viz. the King's Letter, which they had suffer'd to be carry'd
 " first to the House of Lords; and that at least they ought to have brought
 " a Copy of it to their House." These Gentlemen did not consider what they said, so much were they transported; for the House never take Copies under their Consideration, whatever they are, or about what Affair soever they may be. They added, "That it appear'd to them, that
 " seeing the Commissioners had discours'd with the King in private, they
 " had exceeded their Commission; for which Cause, if they are to be
 " rewarded, it ought to be with a Pardon in Recompence of their good
 " Service." As all this Faction were still making a great Noise in the House, his Majesty's Letter was carry'd in, with the Votes of the House of Lords. After that the Letter had been read, the Faction being thereby touch'd to the quick, began to make an Uproar. But they were put to Silence, by being told, "That it would perhaps have been agreeable
 " News to some, and which would have deserv'd Thanks instead of a
 " Pardon, if the Commissioners had reported, That the King had an
 " Averfion to Peace; and if they had put some malicious Interpretations
 " upon his Words, as others had done, and of which his Majesty seem'd
 " to have complain'd, in the Conversation he had with the Commis-
 " sioners," who, however, were approv'd of, and thank'd by the soundest Part of the House.

THE Commons concurr'd with the Lords in taking off the Civil Excommunication, which they had fulminated against the King, and consented to all that their Lordships had resolv'd concerning the Treaty; but with these Restrictions however: "That the Attendants, whom the
 " King demanded, should be none of those who had been excluded from
 " Pardon, nor of such as were still in Arms against the two Houses, or
 " were Prisoners by their Orders: That his Majesty should be allow'd
 " to invite the Scots to send Commissioners to treat; but upon the Pro-
 " positions which they should make for the Interest of their Kingdom
 " only." By that the Commons tacitly renounc'd the common Interest of the two Kingdoms, which was expressly contain'd in the Covenant. They indeed reckon'd, that the Scots had broke it by their having invaded *England*; and it was on that Account, that they would not invite them to the Treaty, tho' they offer'd Passports to such as the King should name, provided, however, that they were not Men whom they had Reason to suspect. They would not consent, that the King should send Blanks into *Scotland*, because they had a mind to know those whom the Scots were to send. They likewise had a mind to explain the Vote concerning the Liberty which the King was to have, *such as he had at Hampton-Court*, in order to know, whether it was to be understood of the Liberty which the Parliament granted him, or of that which the Army gave him for their own private Ends. But as this might have carry'd Things much farther,

farther, they left the Vote in the Terms in which the Lords had conceiv'd it. Nothing more remain'd but to give *Hammond* new Orders ; but before taking that under Consideration, they dispatch'd Sir *Peter Killegrew* to the King, to tell him what had been resolv'd. His Majesty's Answer was, " That he could have wish'd that Things had been as he demanded " them ; but as he long'd for nothing so much, as to begin so good a " Work as the Treaty of Peace was, he hop'd that what was wanting " should be quickly added ; and that he impatiently waited their Com- " missioners, with the Number of his Servants he had desir'd, of whom " he sent them a List. "

AMONGST those of his Servants, whom he had desir'd to have about him, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Lindsey* and *Southampton*, who were all Lords of his Bed-chamber, were allow'd to go and perform their Offices. They were follow'd by some of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, of the Wardrobe, and some Equerries ; and some Footmen carry'd Horses into the Island for the King's Diversion. He had likewise the most Part of the Chaplains and Lawyers, whom he had demanded, and of whom we have already spoken. The five Commissioners for the Treaty, sent by the House of Lords, were the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Middlesex*, and *Salisbury*, with the Viscount of *Say* : And the ten of the House of Commons were Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, Sir *John Potts*, Mr. *Sam. Brown*, Mr. *Hollis*, the Lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Glyn*, Mr. *Pierrepoint*, and Mr. *Bulkeley*. Their Instructions limited the Treaty to 40 Days ; but the Independents, who were seeking for a Pretence to have it broke off sooner, desir'd that they might begin with the Propositions that concern'd the Interest of the two Houses ; and in case the King should offer to have them restricted, that the Treaty should be broke off. But as that was a Procedure altogether unreasonable, it was resolv'd, That they should begin with the Propositions, according as they were plac'd in the Instructions of the two Houses, or according as it should please his Majesty ; and that there should be nothing that might oblige either of the Parties not to agree to whatever they were to treat about.

AT last Colonel *Hammond* receiv'd his Orders, which contain'd, " That during the Treaty, the King be in the same Condition and Free- " dom, as he was in at *Hampton-Court* : That none of those whom the " two Houses had excepted out of Mercy, nor who were actually in " Arms against them, or were in Prison by their Authority, be admitted " to the King : That no Ministers of foreign Princes have any Access to " his Majesty, without Leave from both Houses of Parliament. " But this Order seeming to clash with the Honour and Liberty which they had promis'd the King, and also to be contrary to the first Order they had given ; since that, while he was at *Hampton-Court*, the Embassadors and Residents of the Princes, his Allies, had free Access to him ; and that it was stripping him of them altogether, not to allow it any more ; those who spoke loudest in the House, answer'd, " That that was true, with " respect to a Prince who was in Possession of all his Authority ; but that " was not the King's Case, nor ought it to be, until he had given Satis- " faction to the two Houses : That as for the rest, they had had a great " deal of Condescension, and had very much undervalu'd their Dignity, " when they repeal'd the Vote of no more Addresses to the King, and " granted him so many Things for the Treaty ; since, if he should not " accept of the Treaty upon these Conditions, at the worst, Affairs would

1648. " be but in the same State they are in. " The Defeat of the *Scots* Army, the News of which had come to the House, had made the Faction so haughty, that the moderate Men durst not push Things farther, for fear of spoiling all. To these Orders was also added, " That the King must " pass his royal Word not to go out of the Island, during the Treaty, nor " even 20 Days after, without the Consent of both Houses of Parlia- " ment. " Which his Majesty had the Goodness to promise.

ON the 6th of *September* in the Afternoon the King left *Carisbrook-Castle*, and went to *Newport*, where he lodg'd in Sir *William Hodges's* House, in which the Treaty was to be held: His Majesty went thither on Horseback, accompany'd by a great many Noblemen and Gentlemen, with whom he discours'd by the Way: Among others, his Majesty seeing a Gentleman in Mourning, and having ask'd him, for whom he wore it? the Gentleman having told him, that it was for Sir *Charles Lucas*; the King, by his Tears, express'd the great Grief he had for the Loss of that excellent Officer.

THE King having entertain'd his Servants with a great many Marks of Kindness, and a great Affection, dispatch'd into *Scotland* Mr. *Parsons*, who was to take a Pass from the two Houses for the Lord *Carnegy*, Sir *Alexander Gibson*, and *James Carmichael*, whom his Majesty desir'd to be sent to him, for treating about the Affairs of that Kingdom: But the two Houses refus'd to give a Pass for the two first; and, on the other hand, the Affairs of *Scotland* could not allow the third, nor even the other two, to be sent. At last, every thing being ready for opening the Treaty, on *Saturday* the 16th of *September* the King caus'd a Fast to be kept in his House, for imploring the Blessing of God: And after he had assisted at Sermon, the Litanies, and all the Service of the Liturgy, with his wonted Devotion, the Commissioners of the two Houses kiss'd his Majesty's Hand; and having said something to him upon the Subject of their coming, the King made Answer, " That he pray'd God to bless " them; that he was in Charity with all the World, not bearing any " Person the least Grudge, nor having any Desire of Revenge; that he " wish'd, without farther Delay, they wou'd begin the Treaty on " *Monday* next, and that he recommended that great Work to God, " by this Prayer, which he himself had dictated, and which he caus'd " to be added to those of the Liturgy:

" O GOD of Truth and Peace, and most merciful Father, have " Compassion upon us, whom thou hast afflicted with the Scourge " of a cruel War, which may well be call'd unnatural. We most " earnestly beseech thee, O Lord, that thou wouldst be pleased to pour " down from Heaven thy Blessing upon this Treaty of Peace; soften " the Hearts, if it be thy Will, and inspire them with Desires of Ten- " derness and Compassion, in order to spare the Blood of their Brethren, " for whom JESUS CHRIST has shed his: That if our Sins are the " Cause that we labour in vain, and without any Success, be pleased, " O Lord, to discover those Men, who, under Pretence of the publick " Good, seek nothing but their own private Advantage; to the End " that the People of this Kingdom may no longer continue in this " miserable Blindness, at least, in this their Day, they may see the things " which belong unto their Peace. Hear us, we beseech thee, thou who " art our God, for the sake of JESUS CHRIST our Lord, who himself " is our true Peace.

THE

THE first Proposition upon which they treated, was the Demand of the two Houses, "That the King would revoke all Declarations made by him against them." To which his Majesty readily consented: But they afterwards added thereto a very hard Clause, and of dangerous Consequence, to wit, "That it should be inserted in the Preamble of the Revocation, That the two Houses of Parliament had been necessitated to enter into a War, in their just and lawful Defence." That seem'd absolutely to justify them, and laid the Cause of the War upon the King's Person: Nevertheless, the Love of Peace, and the Compassion he had of the Miseries of the poor People, oblig'd him to consent to it: In which his Majesty's Charity run out even into Excess, in order to save the Guilty, who were obstinately bent on their own Ruin, without having the least Sense of their Crime. And it may truly be said, that the Pilot offer'd, on this Occasion, to throw himself into the Sea, in order to calm the Storm which the Sailors themselves had rais'd.

THE King let that pass, as well for removing the Obstacles that might prevent the opening of the Treaty, as for the Security of the two Houses, whose Jealousies and Fears carry'd them to Despair, and made them averse from all Thoughts of Peace; so his Majesty agreed to it, upon Condition, that the two Houses should not make use of this Favour, 'till after the Conclusion and Confirmation of the Treaty: Besides, the Words, of which it could be imagin'd that they had a mind to take Advantage, were not in the Propositions of the Treaty, but in the Preamble only, which never concludes any thing: For no Arguments are drawn from the Preambles of Laws; because the Laws command, and, most commonly, contain not lofty Words nor Reasons for persuading. 'Tis very common with Princes to shew such Indulgence at the End of Civil Wars, to the End that their Subjects may be render'd the more capable of Pardon, that they may be shelter'd from the Laws, that their Reputation may be sav'd as much as possible, and that a general Pardon may blot out the Remembrance of whatever may have been done during the War. And though they should not always be so dealt with, 'tis certain, that, according to all Laws, a Necessity which a Man draws upon himself, does not excuse him, and it was an easy thing to see, that that which the Parliament had to make War in their Defence, they had brought it upon themselves; as it often happens, that the Aggressors are forc'd to defend themselves.

THEN the Militia was mov'd; and after a long Debate, the King at last consented, "That all Forces by Sea and Land should remain in the Power of the two Houses only, for twenty Years; after which, neither the King, nor his Successors, could dispose of them, without the Consent of the two Houses of Parliament; and that they should have the Power of raising them, and of levying Money for maintaining them, whenever they should judge it necessary for the Security of the Kingdom, though the King should not consent thereto." By this Article, the Parliament made themselves absolute Masters of all the Forces of the Kingdom for a great many Years; at the End of which, the King could never dispose of them, without their Consent: whereas they were to have the entire Disposal of them, whenever they should think fit, though his Majesty should not give his Consent. The King, when he was crown'd, took the Sword from the Altar, to shew that he held it of Heaven alone, and that he deriv'd his Authority from God, who put it into his Hand: Now he puts it into the

1648. the Hands of the Parliament, for the sake of Peace, and for stopping the Blood of his Subjects, which the devouring Sword of a Civil War was shedding on every Side.

FOR the same End, he thereto added the Scepter, when he gave the two Houses the naming of all the Officers of the Crown, of all the Governors of Towns and Forts, and of all the great Offices of *England* and *Ireland*, for the same Number of Years: So that as they had obtain'd an absolute Power over the Forces, they had likewise acquir'd it for disposing of the Justice and Polity of these Kingdoms; and that so much the more absolutely, because the King consented, that not only whatever they had pass'd under their Great Seal should be valid, but that that Seal should from thenceforth be the Great Seal of the Kingdom. On the contrary, that whatever had been pass'd in *England* under the King's Seal since the 21st of *May*, that the Lord *Littleton* carry'd it to the King, when his Majesty was at *York*, should be void; as also, whatever had been pass'd under the Great Seal of *Ireland* since the 15th of *September* of the same Year, that the Cessation of Arms was concluded in that Kingdom. The King also consented to what the two Houses demanded, that even the Titles of Honour, with which he had gratify'd a great many Persons of both Kingdoms, should likewise be void; and that the Peers, which the King should be pleas'd to create hereafter, should not sit or vote in the House of Lords, without the Consent of both Houses: Which rais'd the House of Commons a Step higher than it ever had been, or could have lawfully pretended to.

HIS Majesty, at last, consented to the Suppression of the Court of Wards, of which, truly, a wrong Use had been made: But because that was a considerable Part of the King's Patrimony, the Parliament oblig'd themselves to pay yearly, as a Recompence, to the King, and his Successors, a hundred thousand Pounds. And as the King still took more Care of the publick Concerns than of his own, he oblig'd himself to give his royal Consent to all Bills which the two Houses should tender to him for raising Money, that the publick Debts might be paid, and that such Bills should have the Force of Acts of Parliament, without his Consent, provided they were offer'd to him within two Years after the Treaty should be concluded. Thus did his Majesty contribute of his Authority, for indemnifying the City of *London*, and for the Payment of the Army, though both the one and the other had done their utmost Endeavours to ruin him.

The seven Persons excepted from Pardon.

THOSE whom the two Houses reckon'd Delinquents, which comprehended all the leading Men of the Royal Party, had either been condemn'd to die, or had had their Estates confiscated. The first, who were thirty seven, they reduc'd to seven, to whom they would grant no Pardon: These seven were, the Marquis of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Richard Greenvil*, Sir *Francis Doddington*, Sir *John Winter*, and Judge *Jenkins*, who was the only one that was in the Hands of the Parliament, and who still defended himself by the Force of the Laws. The King then, for the sake of Peace, consented, that they should be banish'd, which is a Civil Death: But as that did not at all satisfy the two Houses, who had a mind to sacrifice so many Heads to their private Rage, which they call'd publick Justice, though it was with great Difficulty that they agreed upon the Choice; the King still consented that they should be try'd according to the establish'd

lish'd Laws of the Kingdom ; and if they should be found Guilty by a Judicial Procedure, that he should not protect them ; but that he could not, in Honour or Conscience, consent that they should lose their Lives by Virtue of a Law made, as that, whereby they pretended to try them, had been, and which may be said to have been made *ex post facto*. And, truly, that would have been an Action altogether unworthy of a great Prince. The King having given out Commissions for raising Soldiers for his Service, at a time when it did not seem to be contrary to the usual Custom of the Kingdom ; if, after his Orders had been obey'd, he had consented to the making of another Act contrary to that, which should declare to be criminal what had been done by Virtue of his Orders. And besides, it was a Shame for the two Houses to make Propositions of that Kind to the King, and to press him, as they did, to commit so base and unworthy an Action. As for those whose Estates only had been forfeited, the King consented that they should pay something, by way of Composition ; but, however, his Majesty desir'd that the two Houses would not deal by them with such Rigour, as might shew that their Design was not so much upon themselves, as upon their Estates.

OF all the Propositions that were sent to *Newport*, there was not one which mention'd the Power that the King had given to the Marquis of *Ormond*, for treating with the Rebels of *Ireland*, and bringing their Troops under his Obedience : But, upon an Information which Colonel *Jones* gave the Committee of Safety, about the End of *October*, that all the Parties of *Ireland* were joining, and declaring for the King, the two Houses sent an Article concerning that, to their Commissioners in the Island. And the King, in order to satisfy them as to that Point, to his great Prejudice, consented, immediately to order the Execution of that Commission to be suspended, and promis'd to recall it as soon as the Treaty should be concluded. Nothing more remain'd, as to all that concern'd the State, but the particular Interests of the City of *London*, in whose Favour the King consented that its Privileges should be confirm'd, with the Enjoyment of all its Rights, such as to name the Lieutenant of the Tower, and to have the Command of its own Militia, to be employ'd according as the two Houses should order ; but, however, in such a manner, that not so much as one Company of that Militia, or even one Man of the City, should be oblig'd to go out of it to bear Arms. Such was the King's Goodness to this City, which had been so ungrateful to him, and which had exhausted its Treasure, and suffer'd all its Privileges to be infring'd, in Favour of those who were seeking its Ruin, as well as that of his Majesty ; though the Freedom of the Commerce of this powerful City, its Riches and Splendor, had been greater under the happy Reign of this Prince, than ever they had been under the Reigns of all his Predecessors.

THEN the Propositions concerning Religion were debated ; and the King offer'd to consent to such Bills as should be tender'd to him by the two Houses, as well for the better discovering of the Recusants, as for preventing the Designs they might hatch for disturbing the State, and for severely putting in Execution the penal Statutes against them. He likewise consented that Acts of Parliament should be made for bringing up their Children in the Protestant Religion, and for preventing Masses to be said either at Court, or in any other Part of the Kingdom. Besides, his Majesty consented that Acts should be made against the Prophanation of *Sunday*, against Non-Residence, and the Plurality of Benefices, and

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against the Use of such Ceremonies as the Presbyterians could not relish in the Communion of the Church of *England*, of which we have already spoken elsewhere. The King was likewise willing that the Presbyterian Government should be establish'd for three Years ; after which it should be left to his Majesty, and the two Houses, by the Advice of Divines, to determine what Sort of Ecclesiastical Government should be settled in Place thereof.

THIS was not all ; for the King, for the sake of Peace, went so far as to consent to the abolishing of Archbishops and Chapters, and the alienating of their Lands. As for the Bishops, whose Institution his Majesty prov'd to be Apostolical, by many Texts of Scripture, and by Tradition, which the ablest Divines could have quoted in their Defence ; he consented, " That they should no more exercise their Authority, either of Jurisdiction or Ordination, but by the Advice and Assistance of Priests ; " and that those, who had got their Lands made over to them, should " hold them by Lease for 99 Years, for a small Rent, which they should " be oblig'd to pay yearly for the Maintenance of the Clergy ; and after " that Time should be expir'd, those Lands should return to the Crown." He concludes this Point of the Episcopacy with these excellent Words : " That if the two Houses were resolv'd not to abate any Thing of the " Rigour of their Demands, in relation to this Apostolical Institution, " he would chuse rather to cast himself into the Arms of his Saviour, who " would vouchsafe to support him in the midst of all the greatest Afflictions " that could happen to him, than to lose the Peace of his Conscience out " of any Consideration of State, that might flatter him with the Hopes " of remounting the Throne."

THE Presbyterians still press'd the King to take the Covenant, being persuaded that he would make no Scruple of it, and so would join their Party. And on the other hand, the Independents, who well knew that his Majesty never would do it, join'd with them, in order to break off the Treaty. But in the main, it was the Height of Absurdity to require that the King should swear the Preservation of his own Person, which is one of the Articles of the Covenant ; and also this other, to maintain his Authority in the Defence of Religion and the Laws ; for he could not perform that, if both the Disposal of the Militia, and his negative Voice were taken from him. Now the two Houses were putting the Militia absolutely in their own Power for 20 Years, and were taking away his Majesty's negative Voice, in what concern'd it, after the 20 Years should be expir'd, at the very Time that they were requiring the King to take the Covenant. The Oath of abolishing Episcopacy would have been contrary to that of his Coronation ; and if he had been willing to swear to extirpate all Sects, in the Sense that the Presbyterians meant they ought to be extirpated, the Independents would have oppos'd that. In short, how could the King swear to maintain the Union betwixt the two Nations, which the two Houses had declar'd to be broken ? And how could they, keeping within the Bounds of Reason and Modesty, propose to the King to take the Covenant, since many of their own Members, and even some Officers of the Army, had been excus'd from taking it ?

ALL the Propositions which were to be the Subject of the Treaty, were after this manner a long time debated at *Newport* ; where the Commissioners, in all the Conferences they had, always stood on Trifles, and carp'd at the least Thing, in order still to spin out the Time, and in the mean

mean while to give *Cromwell* Means to return from the *North* in Time enough, to communicate to the Army, and the Partizans he had in the two Houses, what God had inspir'd him with, about the Subject-matter of the Treaty. And then *Ireton* had already prepar'd them all for receiving his wholesome Instructions; besides that *Cromwell* himself had, on several Occasions, given General *Fairfax* some Hints of them, particularly by his Letter of the 20th of *November*. As the 40 Days which the Commissioners were to stay in the Island, were expir'd, the King sent for them, and told them, "That tho' the Time, which had been prescrib'd to them for treating, was ended, yet he did not think that the Treaty was; and that he expected the Answer which the two Houses would make to his Demands: That they had seen, by what he had granted them, how much he desir'd Peace; since nothing could be so dear to him, next to the Peace of his Conscience, but what he would willingly part with, in order to obtain it: That as for the rest, if he had sometimes express'd himself with a little Heat, they ought not to judge by that, that he had any Grudge remaining in his Mind; that on the contrary, he would harbour nothing there but Indulgence and Friendship to all the World; and as he had not been offended, that they had freely told their Thoughts, so they ought not to take it ill, that he had let them know his: That they had acted like ingenuous Men; and that they had oblig'd him, in many Things, to alter the Resolutions he had taken before: That he likewise believ'd, that his Reasons had perswaded them to yield to many other Things; but because he well knew that they could not follow their own private Opinions, he begg'd of them to get the two Houses to approve of them, and to represent to them, with Sincerity and Candor, how every Thing had pass'd during the Treaty; and likewise to make it known to them, how his Majesty had labour'd with all his Might to bring it to an happy Issue."

THE Demands which the King made at the Beginning of the Treaty, were: "That he might go to *London*, and that he might remain there with Honour and Safety; and that the two Houses might pass their Word for the Assurance of these two Things: That his Revenues might be restor'd to him: And, That an Act of Oblivion might pass, after it should be concerted betwixt him and the two Houses." The two Houses agreed to all that; and sent Word to their Commissioners, "That his Majesty should be satisfy'd as to all these Things after the Conclusion of the Treaty." And truly they were but necessary Consequences of it; and the King having made no other Propositions concerning his own Interests, at the most he demanded nothing of them, but his Liberty and Life, sacrificing all the rest to the Safety of his People, which he truly believ'd to be the supreme Law of the State.

'Tis true, that in the unhappy Juncture of his Majesty's Affairs, there was no other Way but that, for putting an End to the War, and restoring Peace in the Kingdom. The King was still afraid, that his People had as yet a great many Things to undergo; because the two Houses, if they had a mind, might make an ill Use of that absolute Power, which he had put into their Hands. Therefore, in all the Sequel of the Treaty, his Majesty still maintain'd his Rights with a wonderful Strength of Mind, as he did those of the Clergy, and the Liberty of his People. But his Enemies not suffering themselves to be perswaded by his Reasons, tho' they were convinc'd, the Desire of Peace, which is among the temporal Blessings, what Justice is among the moral Virtues, and Humility among the Christian

1648. Christian Virtues; the Desire, I say, that he had to make his People enjoy this excellent Gift of Heaven, and to stop the Blood of his Subjects, which was shedding every-where, made him at last yield to all the Demands that he thought he could in Conscience grant.

Now, though there was but little Ground to believe that the two Houses would give way to better and more reasonable Thoughts, because the prevailing Party run into all manner of Extremes, and being Enemies to Peace, found always some Reason for making new Demands to the King, as often as they met; well knowing, that both Reason and Honour would oblige him to refuse them, that they might have a Pretence to reject all such as had been granted: however, there was Reason to hope that the first free Meeting of Parliament would find their Privileges, and the Liberties of the People, better establish'd upon the fundamental Laws of the State, and upon those which the Nobility and People had acknowledged for so many Ages, which had made *England* so flourishing a Kingdom, than upon new Acts pass'd by the King, who, under what Appearance soever of Liberty he had, was truly a Prisoner; and by a Parliament, who, in like manner, had but very little or no Liberty of Voting, being daily expos'd to the Violence of a rebellious and insolent Army. In a Word, it was very probable that, as the Apostle, speaking of the natural Body, says, *That if it were all Hands, or all Feet, it would be monstrous*; the Nobility and People in the first free Parliament would have the same Opinion of the Body Politick, and that they would never suffer that the Head should appear there no otherwise than debas'd under the other Members.

AFTER the Commissioners were return'd to *Westminster*, and, on the first of *December*, had presented a Duplicate of the Treaty to the Parliament, the House of Commons began to take it under their Deliberation. But the Debate was so great, that it lasted four Days, upon the Question, "Whether it was true, that the King had given a satisfactory Answer to the Propositions of the two Houses?" The Partizans of the Army were for the Negative, saying, "That the King had not granted every Thing in the same manner that the two Houses had propos'd them." But that Reason was ridiculous, and suppos'd Conditions which destroy'd all Manner of Treaties; because it was never seen that all the Pretensions were granted to those that treat, who always make general and large Demands, in order to obtain their Ends. This Faction made this important Debate last as long as they could; because the Army being upon its March towards *London*, in order to break off the Treaty, they expected that all the moderate Members would be terrify'd, and leave the House: but they still stood their Ground, notwithstanding *Fairfax's* Arrival with six Regiments of Horse, and four of Foot, the General himself being lodg'd in *Whitehall*; as if, in Spite of the Treaty, he had a mind to shut the King out of it.

At last, on the 4th of *December*, *William Pryn* having made a long Speech, in order to let all the Members see the Advantages that accru'd to the two Houses, from the Things which the King had granted them, the Particulars whereof he laid before them, running over each of the Articles, he wrought so upon the Minds of a great many, who had not been satisfy'd with them before, and whom the Fear of the Army had blinded, that they acquiesced to them: For unless some Passion had prevented them from considering their own Interests, they could not but see

see that the two Houses had it then in their Power to manage as they should think fit both Religion and the State : And if they had but consider'd in general, that the King had granted them, in this Treaty, more than they had ever demanded in all the former Treaties, they could not have refus'd the Offers which the King made them ; because they were much more advantageous to them, than those which had fully satisfy'd them in the former Treaties, if his Majesty had been pleas'd to grant them then. There was not one of the other Party in the House, that durst so much as open his Mouth, to make the least Reply to *Pryn's* Reasons, who very boldly and justly upbraided them " with having impos'd upon the World, by a Self-denying Ordinance, whereby all the Members of the House were declar'd incapable of having any Office, either in the State, or in the Army, that was at the Disposal of the two Houses ; and, for all that, almost every Day some of them were gratify'd with Employments : But that it was the King alone, who, without being bound thereby, put that Ordinance into Practice, when he had renounc'd many Privileges of his Crown, though they had never been disputed with his Predecessors. " All these Things were so well consider'd, that the next Day, the Matter being taken into Deliberation, it was carry'd by a hundred and forty-four Votes, against a hundred and forty, " That the two Houses being satisfy'd with what the King had been pleas'd to grant them, they would endeavour, upon that Foundation, to settle the Peace of the Kingdom. " This so bold and reasonable a Resolution deserv'd so much the more Praise, as it had been taken in Spite of the Threatenings of the Army ; as the Antients so much the more admir'd that excellent Draught of *Rhodes*, as it had been finish'd while the Enemy kept the City so close besieg'd.

WHILE the King, with an unparelled Goodness, was thinking of labouring to pacify his Kingdoms, the Army, on the other hand, was devising to put them into Confusion, and plotting the most execrable Parricide that ever came from Hell. The Officers of the Army had met very often at *St. Albans*, which was the head Quarters, and had very privately held there their Council of War : At last the Mystery of Iniquity comes out, and the Monster, which the Furies of the Army had for a long time been hatching, is brought forth : On the 20th of *November* they presented to the House of Commons a very long and very extravagant Remonstrance, wherein, after having, with the most insolent Expressions imaginable, found Fault with the King's Conduct, and that of the two Houses, in all their Treaties, particularly in this last, wherein they said, " That the two Houses had unseasonably repeal'd their first

*The Army's
Remonstrance
to the House
of Commons.*

" Vote of no more Addresses to the King, whom they now had a mind to bring to *London* : They complain'd of their having capitulated with his Majesty for the Delinquents, who ought to be brought to their Trials ; and demanded, that the King, who was the chief Cause of all the Misfortunes of the Kingdom, should be arraign'd : That the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York* be summon'd to appear within a certain Time at *Westminster* ; and if they should not appear, that they might be declared Traitors, and incapable of ever having any Government in *England* : That if they should appear, they should be proceeded against, according to the Satisfaction they should give to Justice : That all the Revenues of the Crown be employ'd for the Publick Necessities : That an exemplary Punishment be inflicted upon the most noted Men of the Royal Party : and that others, upon Submission to the present Government, be pardon'd : That the Soldiers,

1648. “ and all such as have lent Money upon the publick Faith, be paid ;
 “ and that the Money arising from the Sale of the Delinquents Estates,
 “ be taken for that : That these Things being done, a Period be set
 “ to this Parliament ; after which, Provision may be made for the
 “ Government, in the following manner ; That, without confining the
 “ Votes in Elections to Burgeſſes and Freeholders, as was done before,
 “ all the People may freely and equally chuſe the Members of the
 “ Houſe of Commons : That this Houſe be the Representative Body of
 “ the whole Kingdom : That all thoſe who had carry’d Arms for the
 “ King in the laſt War, or who ſhould oppoſe this new Eſtabliſhment, be
 “ declared incapable of giving their Votes, or of being elected : That this
 “ Houſe may have the ſupreme Power of eſtabliſhing and repealing
 “ Laws, of making Peace and War, and, in ſhort, of managing the
 “ whole State ; for which End, this Houſe alone ſhould appoint the
 “ Miniſters, to which only they ſhould be accountable for their Admi-
 “ niſtration : That, however, it ſhould not be in the Power of this
 “ Houſe to moleſt any Perſon for any Action done in the late War,
 “ nor to alter this Form of Government, that Power being lodg’d in
 “ the People : That the People ſhould ſtill have Liberty to make
 “ Exceptions againſt the Proceedings of the Houſe, whenever they ſhould
 “ diſcover either Corruption or Abufe, and alſo to expel out of it thoſe
 “ who ſhould have abuſ’d their Confidence : That from henceforth the
 “ Kings ſhould be elected by the Representative Body of the People,
 “ and, by Oath, ſhould renounce their Negative Voice : That this
 “ Form of Government ſhould be eſtabliſh’d by this preſent Parliament,
 “ and afterwards be confirm’d by a general Contract and Agreement of
 “ the People ſubſcribing thereunto ; and that no Perſon be admitted to the
 “ Crown, nor to any Office of the State, without having ſign’d this new
 “ Eſtabliſhment. ” They concluded, with ſaying, “ That theſe Pro-
 “ poſals were ſo important, that they ought not to be ſlighted by the
 “ Lords and Commons, becauſe they came from the Officers of the Army,
 “ who were their Servants, becauſe they themſelves, as Members of
 “ Parliament, were alſo the Servants of the Kingdom ; And they deſir’d
 “ the two Houſes to remember, that it often happens, that By-ſtanders
 “ ſee more than the Gameſters. ”

THIS deteſtable Remonſtrance having been read in the Houſe, it
 fill’d with Aſtoniſhment and Terror the Minds of all ſuch as Deſpair
 had not made Accomplices of the blackeſt of all Crimes : They ſaw that
 it tended to the Violation of all Laws both divine and human, as well
 as of all thoſe which were the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom ; that
 it overturn’d the Monarchy to all Intents and Purpoſes, and aim’d at the
 Diſſolution of every thing, which they were putting into a terrible Con-
 fuſion and Diſorder. Could it be ſaid, that thoſe who ſpeak in this
 Remonſtrance, were the ſame Perſons who, in their former Remon-
 ſtrances, confuting the Calumny of thoſe who had given out, that the
 King was inhumanly treated in the Army, made it appear, that that was
 directly contrary to their Principles ? and that they did not ſee how Peace
 could be reſtor’d in the Kingdom, unleſs the Royal Family were reſtor’d
 to their Authority, and entirely re-eſtabliſh’d in their Rights. Beſides,
 they then added, that, above all things, they deſir’d, that abundance of Cha-
 rity might be ſhewn towards all the Royal Party ; and having drawn up
 Propoſitions, which they then preſented to his Majeſty, and were much
 more advantageous to the King, than thoſe of the two Houſes, as may
 be eaſily ſeen, in many important Matters, when compar’d with one
 another,

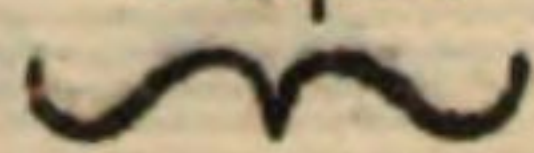
another, they did their utmost Endeavours to oblige the two Houses to treat with his Majesty upon those very Propositions. In a Word, they seem'd to long for the Time, that the King, being agreed with the two Houses, might go with Honour and Safety to *London*, expressing, that they should be very sorry, if any others but themselves should have the Glory and Honour to carry him back thither again.

THESE Hypocrites indeed confess'd all that in their last Remonstrance; but pretending to give Glory to God, they acknowledg'd, that it was their Weakness, their Unbelief, the Deceit of human Counsels, which gave them so many Occasions to humble themselves before God; that they had great Reason to render Thanks unto him, that he had kept them from going any farther. Now they assert new Inspirations, which could not have been reveal'd to them, but by the Father of Lies, who having been a Murderer from the Beginning, has brought Disorder and Confusion into the World. The new Lights were, That now there was no Possibility of pacifying the Kingdom, unless the two Houses should cause the King to be put to Death, all the royal Offspring to be disinherited, and a popular Government to be establish'd; but such, however, as not one of themselves would suffer in his own Family.

THE Order establish'd by God is, that all Men, in order to lead a quiet and peaceable Life, ought to pray for Kings: 'Tis the only Means that he hath recommended to them for attaining that End; for 'tis not his Intention, that the People should dethrone, or murder them; that's no less contrary to his Precepts, than 'tis to the Peace of the Earth. Revolts have always been destructive, and fatal to the People; they have never produc'd Remedies for their Grievances, let them be real or imaginary; and all States, that have ever given Way to such wicked Attempts, have become Theatres of publick Robberies and Slaughter: The People, very far from leading a quiet Life in such deplorable Times, have, on the contrary, been the Prey and Victims of the Ambition of the Great; they have been sacrific'd to their Madness, they have seen the Bowels of their Country cruelly torn in Pieces. There has been nothing but Rapes and Broils, Towns reduc'd to Ashes, Churches prophan'd, Provinces laid waste, Rivers of Blood, Murders and Slaughters, Heaps of dead Bodies in the publick Streets; in a Word, every Place has been always fill'd with hideous Spectacles, and Objects of Indignation and Horror. The Sanhedrim never made an Attempt upon any King either of *Judah* or *Israel*, tho' some of them had been Idolaters, and had put the Abomination of the Gentiles in the holy Place. Never, I say, among that People, was any *Zambri* peaceable in the Throne, which he had polluted with the Blood of his Master; and never, in any Part of the World, could any Man stretch out his sacrilegious Hand upon their sacred Persons without Sin. Kings are neither subject, nor accountable for their Actions, but to the King of Kings: *Satis habent ad Pœnam, quod Deum expectant Ultorem*: 'Tis by him they reign: 'Tis he who hath their Hearts in his Hand: He hath forbidden to touch his Anointed, and to speak Evil of them, not even in the Secret of the Thought. *David* repented for having only cut off a Bit of *Saul's* Garment, tho' he was rejected by God, and had pursu'd him to the utmost: And *S. Paul* was griev'd, for not having spoken with Respect enough to *Ananias*, when he understood that he was the High-Priest.

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THE Authors of the Remonstrance were not better enlighten'd in the Plan of their *Babel*, and chimerical Government, that the People ought to be the sovereign Disposers of every Thing. That was an Illusion, in order to render themselves absolute Masters ; like *Henry Martin*, one of the principal Incendiaries of the Faction, who would not allow the Country-men, in the County of *Berks*, to speak to him bare-headed, when he was picking their Pockets, and ruining the County. The Experience of all Ages has shewn, that there has been nothing but Tumults and Confusion in the Meetings where all the People were present, in order to elect Magistrates. If any Man propos'd something that was founded upon Reason, it was presently stifled by Clamours ; and Things did not pass there but by an Impetuosity of violent Passions, every one according to his own ; which made wise Men say, That neither the Sea, nor even *Euripus* had so many Ebbings and Flowings, nor were ever so much toss'd with the Winds and Tides, as popular Assemblies were with a Contrariety of Opinions, which, from passionate Transports, and contrary and extravagant Sentiments, clash'd one with another. 'Tis true, that the People never know well what they would be at ; they can stand to nothing ; they are weary'd of every Thing ; they like nothing but Changes. And those whom they had lov'd and ador'd, when they were private Men, become the Object of their Hatred, when they are rais'd to Authority, tho' they themselves had contributed towards their Advancement. The Speech of *Titus Quintius* to the People of antient *Rome* is very remarkable to this Purpose : " Would to God, said he, that you would make us once
 " understand what it is you desire : You have demanded Tribunes of the
 " People ; and for the sake of Peace we have granted you them : You
 " have desir'd to be govern'd by ten Men ; they have been created : You
 " were tir'd of them ; and they have been laid aside : You have again de-
 " manded Tribunes ; they were given you : You had a mind that one
 " of the Consuls should be of your Order ; your Desire was gratify'd :
 " We have borne with the Appeal of our Decrees to the People, and
 " the Corruption of the Laws, under Pretence of mitigating them, fol-
 " lowing in that your weak Opinions, which have been as Laws to the
 " Senate : And yet for all that, there's no End of Discord, nor are you
 " satisfy'd. "

'Tis therefore the Way to destroy all manner of Government, to subject it to the People, or to make them Arbiters of it. Their Liberty consists not in having Power to find Fault with it, nor in changing it according to their Caprice : The very Thoughts of which would be an immoderate License ; and, as the Prince of Apostles has very well said, 'tis covering their Maliciousness with a Cloke of Liberty. But their true Liberties consist in peaceably and safely enjoying the Fruits of their Labours, of their Goods and Estates, according to the Laws. Those deceive them, who let them see any other, under Pretence that their Safety is the supreme Law of the State ; that Maxim having been the fruitful Mother of so many Rebellions, when ambitious Men made a wrong Use of it, in order to fish in troubled Waters, and to attain their own Ends, which they never should have compass'd, if the State had continu'd peaceable.

THE Officers of the Army did not wait for an Answer from the two Houses to their Remonstrance, having taken their Measures for keeping them in Order ; and in the mean time, on the 27th of *November*, the General wrote to Colonel *Hammond*, and order'd him to come to him,
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and to commit the King to the Charge of Colonel *Ewre*. *Hammond* 1648.
 having acquainted the House of Commons therewith, they order'd him to stay in the Island, and attend his Charge there, 'till further Orders; and that, in the mean time, the General should be inform'd of it. However, *Hammond* thought fit to obey the Orders of his Masters that were in the Army, who took not the least Notice of the Request which the House had sent them, not to make any Innovations in the Island, while the Treaty was in hand; the Honour, and the publick Faith of the two Houses, being engag'd for the Liberty and Security of his Majesty. They went yet further, and, on the last Day of *November*, they sent Lieutenant-Colonel *Cobbet*, with Orders to carry back the King's Person to *Carisbrook-Castle*, until the two Houses should give an Answer to the Remonstrance of the Army. As the Officers, whom *Hammond* had left in the Island, were considering what they were to do, another Officer arriv'd, that same Evening, with a Troop of Horse, and a Company of Foot, who presented a second Order from the General, for carrying the King immediately to *Hurst-Castle*: So that the next Morning very early, these Officers having enter'd his Majesty's Chamber, and shewn him their Orders, they carry'd him to *Hurst-Castle*. *Hurst* is a pitiful Fort, situate upon a Point of Land on the Coast of the County of *Southampton*, which extends itself a great way into the Sea, where, at Low Water, there's nothing but stinking Mud, and the Air is so thick and unwholsome, that the Garison must be chang'd every three Months, otherwise the Soldiers would all die.

THE King, before he left the Island, order'd one of his Servants, for the Satisfaction of his Subjects, to cause to be publish'd this Declaration, which he had made upon the Treaty, and the insolent Behaviour of the Army: "As this unhappy Kingdom has, these seven Years, been involv'd in Confusion and Blood, with which some People have the Boldness to charge me, though I have suffer'd more thereby than any Body else, and am the least guilty of them; it seem'd that the best and most infallible Remedy, for putting a Stop to the Course of these Evils, could proceed from nothing else, but from the Desires which the two Houses had to treat with me in Person. And, indeed, the Medicine, without doubt, would have been excellent, if the Working of it had not been prevented by the Opposition of the Army, who, in their impudent Remonstrance, call me their mortal Enemy. But let all the World judge, if I have not done my utmost Endeavours for bringing the Treaty to a happy Issue, and if I have not been as ready to grant the Things which the two Houses required of me, as they had been to make the Demand of them. And yet all the Complaisance that I have had, has not been able to satisfy these ambitious Men, who prefer their own private Interest to the general Tranquillity of their unhappy Country. My poor People were beginning to take Courage, and their Spirits, languishing under the Oppressions with which they were crush'd, were recovering some Vigour, upon the Hopes of Peace; which were no sooner conceiv'd, than they prov'd abortive. I have sometimes been blam'd, that I had not granted enough to my two Houses of Parliament; and now I am found fault with for having been too complaisant. I have been imprison'd, because, it was said, I had made War; I am now once more a Prisoner, for having had a mind to make Peace: How shall I know hereafter what I ought to grant you, since you no longer know what you should demand of me? I call your own Consciences to witness, if I have not satisfy'd you in all

The King's Declaration.

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“ the Articles of the Treaty. If that be, you are bound to defend me
 “ from the Fury of those Men who thirst after my Blood, and who,
 “ pretending to shew themselves full of Zeal, are real Wolves in Sheep’s
 “ Cloathing. It is not to be doubted but the greatest Obstacle of the
 “ Peace, proceeds from the criminal Designs of those, who, from
 “ Servants, as they are, have a mind to become Masters, and who are
 “ endeavouring to erect a Popular Confusion upon the Ruins of the
 “ Monarchy : But, sooner or later, they will find, to their sad Expe-
 “ rience, that the Subversion of the fundamental Laws of the State, will
 “ be the Ruin of those very Men that do it ; for those who will not be
 “ govern’d but by the Sword, shall, at last, also perish by the Sword. Fac-
 “ tion is the Mother of Desolation : So ’tis the Temper of Men who love
 “ nothing but Changes, soon to be weary of the same Thing, and still to
 “ hate one Folly, for the sake of another Folly. There’s nothing but
 “ Time that can cure that Disease, because it will spread itself like a
 “ Leprosy over the whole Body of the Kingdom ; which it will render
 “ so odious, that they will hate themselves because of their Mischief,
 “ and will be like the Fish, which, in order to take the Bait, suffers
 “ itself to be catch’d by the Hook. I once more declare to all my
 “ faithful Subjects, and, perhaps, this will be the last time that I shall
 “ be able to make this Declaration to them, that I have done all that I
 “ could do with a safe Conscience, for easing them of all their Troubles,
 “ by the Means of a Peace ; and I believe that nothing but the Interpo-
 “ sition of the Mischievousness of the Army could have eclips’d the
 “ Glory of that amiable Blessing, which was beginning to appear in the
 “ State. There is not a Man, let him be never so little impartial, but
 “ sees how unbecoming, and of bad Example it is, that the Orders of
 “ the Parliament of the Kingdom should be contradicted by an Army,
 “ who, under Pretence of acting for its Laws and Liberties, overturn
 “ both, and open a Door to all manner of Calamities and Mischiefs.
 “ If it had been I that had demanded the Treaty, the Bouteuse of the
 “ Army would have had a specious Pretence for breaking it off : but I
 “ having been solicited by my two Houses of Parliament, and they, by
 “ the greatest Part of the Kingdom, I offer’d my self, I own it, to co-
 “ operate with them in so good and holy a Work, as that of establishing
 “ a Peace is ; and I hope that the People will now open their Eyes, in
 “ order clearly to discern those who are the sworn Enemies of it, and
 “ the Disturbers of their Quiet. I protest before God, that my own
 “ Afflictions, though very great, and most grievous, go not so near my
 “ Heart, as those of my People ; because I well know to whom I am
 “ to have Recourse, but they know not. God grant both them and me
 “ Comfort, and give us Patience proportionable to our Sufferings : And
 “ when the Malice of our Enemies shall be arriv’d at the highest Pitch,
 “ I would have them to know, that, by the Grace of God, I shall be
 “ as well pleas’d to suffer, as they shall be industrious to increase my
 “ Afflictions : But I foresee that the Time will come, that Vengeance
 “ will be pour’d down from Heaven upon their guilty Heads : For since
 “ God himself hath pronounc’d the Peace-makers blessed ; of Conse-
 “ quence, those who put a Stop to it, must be in a most wretched State.
 “ To conclude : I thank God I am armed Proof against their Fury :
 “ God being my Rock and Buckler, I ought not to be afraid of any
 “ thing that Men can do unto me : I will then expect the worst ; and
 “ if it does not happen, I shall give the Glory of it to God, for Man is
 “ nothing but Vanity.”

THE two Houses having had Advice of this Violence, so injurious to the King, and done expressly in Contempt of the Treaty, and their Orders, they voted, That that insolent Action had been done without their Advice, or Consent. But their Consent was then no more taken notice of; for their Reign was at an End that very Moment, that the Authority of their Master, which they had usurp'd, was wholly transferr'd to their Servants. Their Remonstrance was follow'd, eight Days after it was sent to the House of Commons, by a Declaration full of Threatnings, and which spoke of nothing but Fire, Blood, and Slaughter. The Occasion of it was this: The two Houses having had Advice, that the Army was marching towards *London*, order'd a Letter to be written to the General, to entreat him (for they had for a long Time before made use of Entreaties) not to approach with the Army nearer to *London*. But as soon as he had seen and communicated this Letter to the General Officers, they gave Orders for openly daring the Parliament to print their Declaration, wherein they accus'd them of Fickleness, Indiscretion, and Backsliding. They reproach'd them with having fail'd in the Confidence which the People had repos'd in them; and for that Reason they would appeal from them to the People, and in all Haste advance to *Westminster*, there to do what God should inspire them with, for the Advancement of the great Work that was to be done in the Kingdom. So did they call the Works of Darkeness, and the Seduction of the Spirit of Error.

IN order then to advance this Work, which they call'd the Work of God, as they were enrag'd, that their Remonstrance and Declaration had been slighted, and that the House of Commons had voted for the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, on the 6th of *December*, they sent to the House to demand, "That the Members who had been charg'd with Treason, upon the Return of the Speaker of the House the 6th of *August* 1647, might be secur'd, and brought to their Trials, as also Major General *Brown*, whom they look'd upon to have been one of those who had invited the Duke of *Hamilton* into *England*: That all the Members, who had not voted for declaring Traitors all the *Scots* that enter'd *England* under the Command of that Lord, may be immediately expell'd the House; and that all those, who had consented to the repealing the Vote of no more Addresses to the King, be likewise expell'd; as also those, who had propos'd the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, and who had voted, that the King's Concessions to the Propositions of the Parliament, upon the Treaty, were sufficient Grounds for settling the Peace of the Kingdom: Lastly, That all such faithful Members, who are innocent of these Things, in order to distinguish themselves from the others, may publickly protest against their Proceedings." Those others were very near two Thirds of the House. These Demands destroy'd the Practice of all Courts of Justice, and of all manner of publick Assemblies; wherein Things having pass'd by the Majority of Votes, the Judgment given is equally supported and maintain'd by the whole Society, as well by those who voted against it, as by those who were for it. So that the Majority of either of the Houses being the whole House, according to all the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom, the Army made War directly upon both the Houses, tho' it was upon that very Account, that the Army demanded, that these very Houses should cause the King to be put to Death.

BUT as they long'd to be at it, and had not Patience to wait for the Answer, they sent four Regiments to *Westminster*; which having dismiss'd the

*The Demands
of the Army to
the House of
Commons.*

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the City Train'd-Bands that were there upon Duty, took Possession of the Gates, plac'd Soldiers upon the Stairs, and in the great Hall; and suffer'd none to enter but the Members and Officers of the two Houses. Then Colonel *Pride*, Colonel *Hewson*, and Sir *Hardress Waller*, having a List in their Hands of the Names of those who were to be seiz'd upon, immediately caus'd forty one Members of the House of Commons to be arrested. Some of them were stopp'd in the Court of Requests, others in the Hall; and they were all very rudely push'd into the Court of Wards. And as some, whom they were looking for, were already in the House, they caus'd them to be call'd for with sham Notes, pull'd them out of the Door, and shewing no other Warrant to those that demanded it, but their Soldiers, they sent them all Prisoners to the Queen's Court. The House being inform'd of this Violence, sent their Sergeant at Arms twice to the Captain that guarded the Members seiz'd upon, to demand that they might be releas'd; but the Sergeant was sent back, without being able to get near the Place where they were. The House resolv'd to complain of it to the General, and not to go upon any Business, till the Members should be set at Liberty; but that was a Feint, as what follow'd plainly demonstrated. As Night was drawing on, *Hugh Peters* went with a Sword at his Side, by Order of the General, to release some of the Prisoners; who having ask'd him, "By what Authority they had been arrested," he answer'd, "That it was by that of the Sword." So that, when Major *White* was expell'd the Council of War, for having said, "That there was no other visible Authority in the Kingdom," that Disgrace befel him, only because he had, before the Time, discover'd the secret Conspiracy of the Army.

THE Prisoners were carry'd into a Place call'd *Hell*, where they pass'd the Night upon Benches and the Floor, and where without Doubt they reflected upon the Time, when the King, in a regular Way, having caus'd five of their Members to be accus'd of high Treason, came himself to demand them, in a peaceable manner, without offering the least Violence to any Person; that at that Time, I say, the House was highly offended thereat, made a great Noise, cry'd out, that all was undone, all their Privileges were violated, that it was an Attempt of dangerous Consequence, and at length encourag'd those Tumults in the City, which forc'd the King to leave it, and which afterwards expos'd both the two Houses and the City to all the Outrages they have suffer'd since that Time.

THE next Day, they were all carry'd to the Council of War at *Whitehall*; where having waited six or seven Hours, they were told, That the General was so taken up with other important Affairs, that he could not speak to them; but that he had given Orders to carry them to two Inns in the *Strand*, and that he would send thither some of his Officers to speak with them. They were conducted thither on Foot by a Detachment of Musquetiers, who frequently halted, in order to expose those poor Men in the middle of the Streets, in the Dirt, to the Derision of the People. Besides these, who were soon sent away to other Places, the Officers who guarded the Parliament, the Day following, kept above 160 Members from entering the House of Commons; many others retir'd, in order to shelter themselves from the Storm; so that there were but about forty or fifty Members, all devoted to the Army, and three or four Peers, who had prostituted the Dignity of their Character, which together compos'd the pretended Parliament.

ON the 11th of *December*, the secluded Members caus'd a Declaration to be publish'd, in the Name of the Counties and Towns whereof they were Representatives; in which having signify'd the Violence and insolent Treatment that had been offer'd to them, and, in their Persons, to all the Commons of the Kingdom, they protested "Against all the Proceedings of the House during their Absence, and as long as it should be under the Power of the Army: That they declar'd them all void, and all those who had kept above 100 Members from entering the House, Enemies of the State, and Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity." They had much stronger Reasons to ground this Declaration upon, than the House had the 20th of *August*, 1647, to declare, "That all that had pass'd from the 26th of *July* to the 6th of *August*, was void and null." For then the House was full, and there were only forty Members, who of their own Accord fled to the Army, without the least Appearance of any reasonable Cause that could induce them thereto; the Tumults, of which they complain'd, being at an End the same Day that they began, and the City having taken such a Course about them, that there was no Reason to be afraid of any bad Consequence.

THIS Declaration having made a great Noise in the City, the two pretended Houses caus'd a contrary Declaration to be publish'd; wherein having call'd it seditious, and tending to the Subversion of the fundamental Government of the Kingdom, they ordain'd, That it should be suppress'd, and that all the Members of both Houses should disown it. And that as for those who were the Authors of it, they should be incapable of ever holding any Office, or of having any publick Employment in the Kingdom. Such was the Language of those good People, who were undermining the true Foundations of the State, and were conspiring with cruel Parricides, in order to ruin the true Father of the Country.

THE General, in order more and more to keep the City under, sent into it some more Regiments, which he quarter'd in *Black-friars*, where formerly stood the Convent of the *Dominicans*, and round about *St. Paul's*, where that vast and venerable Cathedral of *London* serv'd the Soldiers for Lodgings, and their Horses for Stables; and, by the General's Order, they took away by Force great Sums of Money out of the Halls of the City-Companies. As the Polity of this City was exceeding fine, all the Companies of Merchants, and those of the Tradesmen had, besides *Guild-Hall*, each a particular Place where they met, and where they laid up a common Stock for the Necessities of their Companies, when any of their Society became indigent, or left poor Widows and Orphans.

AFTER that the House of Commons, which ought to represent all the Commons of the Kingdom, had been deserted, and that there were only remaining in it 50 or 60 Agents of the Army, this pretended House began to repeal many Votes, which had been enter'd in the Journals, and to revive others, which by a full House had been made void. So they resolv'd, That the Vote of the 7th of *September*, 1647, whereby Commissary General *Copeley*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, *Denzil Hollis*, Major General *Massey*, and Mr. *Long* were expell'd the House, should remain in Force; and that that which re-admitted them, should be void: That that of the 3d of *January*, 1648, which forbid any more Addresses to the King, should be in Force; and that that of the two Houses of the 30th of *June*, 1648, which had repeal'd it, tended to the Dishonour of the

1648. Parliament, and the Ruin of the Kingdom : That the Vote of the two Houses, for opening the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*, blemish'd their Honour, and put the Kingdom into evident Danger : That the Sentence pass'd the 10th of *November*, for banishing the Earls of *Holland* and *Norwich*, the Lords *Capel* and *Loughborough*, was notoriously unjust : That the Vote, which set a Ransom of a hundred thousand Pounds upon the Earl of *Cambridge* (Duke of *Hamilton*), was no less unjust, and that they all ought to have been sentenc'd to die : Lastly, That the Commons having voted, that the King's Concessions to the Propositions of the Parliament, upon the Treaty, were sufficient for settling the Peace of the Kingdom ; had violated the publick Faith, and dishonoured the Parliament of the Kingdom. And that these Sticklers for the Army might give it all the Satisfaction it desir'd, they caus'd a Protestation to be drawn up, which they all sign'd, for expressing their Aversion to the Votes that had been repeal'd : Though that manner of Proceeding, in the Condition their Fellow-Members were in, by the Violence of the Army, ought to have made them be expell'd the House, and brought to condign Punishment.

IN order to justify this Violence, the Officers of the Council of War sent to their trusty Friends an Answer, which they call'd an humble Answer, wherein they laid down two destructive Principles : The first was, the Sincerity of their Intentions for the Publick Good. Now, there is no Sincerity of Intention that can rectify an Action that is not just in itself, though it should be hurtful to no Body, and even be apparently pious ; therefore it can much less justify criminal and shameful Actions : And as the good Intention cannot be discover'd but by that of Actions ; Could any be seen more wicked, and more contrary to all Laws both divine and human, than those who were resolv'd upon by the Officers of the Army ? Their second Principle was, Necessity : For, said they, as the greatest Part of the Members of the House were corrupted ; if they had not seiz'd upon some, and expell'd others, they would have concluded a Peace with the King, and restor'd him to the Throne. This Pretence, as well as the first, open'd a Door to all manner of Disorders ; for every Man might say, that there was a Necessity to do what he did ; or maintain, that his Intention was good and advantageous to the Publick : Let us add to that, That since there is no Necessity to do Evil, so there can be none to prevent Good. But that which the Officers of the Army were opposing, was the greatest of all the Blessings that could be wish'd for, and which all good Men had been so long aiming at. They themselves had formerly labour'd to bring it about, by a Spirit quite contrary to that whereby they were actuated at this time ; for they then plainly said, that it was absolutely necessary, for the Good of Peace, to enter into a Treaty with the King himself, and to exclude but very few of the Royal Party. But who had made them Judges of the Publick Necessity ? The Members of the House of Commons are answerable to no Man for their Conduct, but to the House itself : For though they be elected by the People, yet they take their Authority from the King's Writ, which gives them Leave to elect ; and all the Power of the People, after that, is made over to them, in order to deliberate upon the Things propos'd, and to consent thereto, according to their Judgment, and not as those who have deputed them may have a mind to : Because, otherwise, if there should happen a Difference of Opinions between the Deputies and those who depute them, the latter might protest against what the former had done, and so make void all the

the Acts of Parliament. But though they should be oblig'd to be accountable for their Actions to their Electors, they ought not to be so to others who have no Vote in the Elections; and much less to the Army, which ought to depend upon them, because it was rais'd by Virtue only of a Vote of the two Houses, for the Defence of the King, the Parliament, the Protestant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and, in short, to act according to the Orders it should receive from the same two Houses.

1648.

THIS pretended Necessity was alledg'd by *Cromwell*, the first time that they had the Impudence to speak of putting the King to Death, in the pretended House of Commons: For having got up in the midst of the Cabal, he told them, according to his wonted way, "That if any Man had made that Motion on set Purpose, he would have look'd upon him as the greatest Traitor in the World; but since the Providence of God, and Necessity, had induc'd them thereto, he beseech'd his Divine Majesty to bless their Counsels; and that, as for him, he would give them none at that time, not having had Leisure to consider of what he should say in an Affair of that Importance." But 'tis a manifest Impiety, in any Affair whatsoever, to appeal to the secret Providence of God, and to pretend that there is a Necessity to comply therewith in any thing, when all the Oracles, which God hath reveal'd to Men, teach us the contrary; and then 'tis not the Decrees of God that ought to be the Rule of our Lives, but his Precepts.

THIS humble, or rather insolent Answer, contain'd also a great many Calumnies, wherewith they blemish'd the persecuted Members; but it was easy to see, that all this Malice proceeded only from their having approv'd of the Articles of the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*: And yet their false Brethren, who remain'd in the House, having at first pretended to take them into Protection, and interest themselves for their Liberty, receiv'd this humble Answer, and approv'd of it, with as much Baseness as Injustice. But these Members, who had not been heard in their own Defence, found Means to publish it, notwithstanding that the Spies of the pretended House run up and down through all the Printing Houses, in order to find it out: And in their Reply, they boldly retorted all the Calumnies, which these Enemies both of God and Men had belch'd out against them.

IN this Time of Confusion, a Libel came out, intitled, *The Agreement of the People*, whereof the last Remonstrance of the Army was a perfect Abridgment: It was the same Piece which, under the Name of *The Rights of the People*, having been sign'd by nine Regiments of Horse, and seven of Foot, on the 9th of November 1647, had been presented, by the Agitators, to the House of Commons; where it was no sooner read, than the House voted, "That it contain'd Principles destructive of the Authority of Parliament, and the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom." The House repeated the same Vote some Days after, and caus'd five or six Men of the City, who had been bold enough to own it, to be imprison'd. At the same time the House order'd a Letter to be written to the General, desiring him to cause diligent Search to be made for the Authors of it in the Army, and to give an Account thereof to the House. Whereupon the Court-Martial caus'd a Soldier, who own'd the Thing, to be shot, and a great many more to be imprison'd and very ill us'd, on the same Account. But, as we have already said,

Cromwell

1648. *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, finding that the Torrent of the Army run that way, and that all the Agitators were wedded to those Opinions, they resolv'd to change their Note, and join with them : It was then that they fram'd the fatal Design, which they put in Execution, when the Business was found to be ripe, and that their Hour, which was that of the Powers of Darkness, was come.

IN the mean time, their trusty Friends in the House thought fit to sanctify themselves by a Fast, which they kept on the 22d of *December*, in *St. Margaret's Church, Westminster*, with four Peers, who having paid their Respects to the General, offer'd to renounce their Titles and Dignities, if ever they should be against the Liberties of the People : It was no wonder then, that, being in so good an Humour, they put in to be of the Company. *Hugh Peters*, the Merry *Andrew* of the Pulpit, preach'd there ; and having taken for his Text, *Moses* leading the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, apply'd that Passage to the Leaders of the Army, whose Design (said he) was to draw the People out of the Captivity of *Egypt* : But it was not reveal'd to him, by what Means that was to be done : Then covering his Face with both Hands, in so ridiculous a Posture, that none of the Hearers could forbear laughing, then leaning on his Elbows upon the Pulpit, he started up all of sudden, and cry'd out, " That God had reveal'd it to him : And it was, that the
" Army must overturn the Monarchical Government, not only in *Eng-*
" *land*, but likewise in all other Kingdoms : That that Stone was the
" Corner Stone, cut out of the Mountain, which was to beat in Pieces
" all the Powers of the Earth : That if it should be objected, that this
" was not a beaten Road, and that no Man had as yet pass'd it ; what
" will you say of the *Virgin Mary*, (answer'd this prophane Mouth)
" was there ever an Instance of a Woman that had conceiv'd without
" the Company of a Man ? So this Age sets, but does not follow Exam-
" ples. " This was the Substance of this false Prophet's Sermon, who impudently made an ill Use of the holy Scripture ; as *John Goodwin*, his Colleague, prophan'd it after a terrible manner, in a Pamphlet which he publish'd at the same time, in order to justify the Rapines, Oppressions, Murders, and the Parricide of the Army.

ON the 25th of *December*, the Army, in a Council of War, resolv'd to tolerate all Kinds of Religions, and entertain'd with Ceremony, as the true Representatives of Counties, a great Number of shabby Fellows, with Sticks in their Hands, from some Counties, with Petitions, which the Deputies of the Army, in the Committees of the Counties, had drawn up, and wherein they demanded, in Name of those Counties, that Justice might be done upon the principal Offenders, particularly upon the King, the greatest Delinquent. For which the Council of War had the Impudence to thank those Counties ; which, on the contrary, demanded that Justice might be done upon these Parricides, and which detested their execrable Attempt. It was not after this manner that the Treaty was demanded : Every Body approv'd of it with their Wishes ; and the City of *London* had so generally demanded it, that when the pretended House, prescribing Rules for the Election of the Magistrates of the City, had, at *Skippon's* Desire, voted, that such as had been for the Treaty, should not have any Office ; the Common-Council of the City went and remonstrated to the House, that, by that Vote, all the Citizens must be excluded from the Magistracy ; there being no Person of any Note in the City, who did not wish, with all his Heart, that the

two

two Houses would treat with the King ; and who, on the contrary, 1648.
was not very sorry that the Treaty had not come to a good Issue, accord-
ing to the Expectation of all honest Men.

AT last, on the 28th, the Ordinance was drawn up for Trying the King, wherein the Names of all the Commissioners were inserted : And because all manner of Laws, both divine and human, condemn'd such execrable Proceedings, and that the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom were expressly against them, the Traitors, who then compos'd the House of Commons, bethought themselves of grounding them upon this ridiculous Declaration, " That the Lords and Commons in Parliament
" assembled, do declare, That it is Treason in the King of *England* for
" the Time to come, to levy War against the Parliament of the
" Kingdom." They had a mind to speak as Legislators, who make Laws only for the Time to come ; and so being fallen into a reprobate Sense, they did not comprehend, in this Decree, the only Thing for which they had made it.

ON the 2d of *January*, the Ordinance and Declaration were carry'd 1649.
up to the House of Lords, where there were sixteen that Day : They began with the Declaration. Whereupon the Earl of *Manchester* told them, " That, by the fundamental Laws of *England*, the three Estates
" were compos'd of the King, the Lords, and Commons : That the
" King was the first and principal Estate ; that it belong'd to him to
" assemble and dismiss the Parliament ; he confirm'd all their Acts, and,
" without him, there could be no Meeting of Parliament ; so that it was
" an absurd and ridiculous thing, to say that the King could be a Traitor
" against the Parliament." The Earl of *Northumberland* added, " That
" the greatest Part of the People was still in Doubt, whether it was the
" King, who had first made War upon the two Houses, or if it was
" they, who had made it first upon the King : That if the King had
" begun it first, there was no Law that call'd that Action of his Majesty
" Treason ; and that it would be contrary both to Justice and Reason,
" to declare it Treason by an Ordinance, when the Fact was not prov'd,
" and that there had been no Law hitherto that had decided thereupon." These Things were so convincing, that those who were of contrary Sentiments, durst not open their Mouths, insomuch that the Ordinance and Declaration were both rejected.

IT was not this House only, but the House of Commons likewise, where these Conspirators were present with the other Members ; which, in more than a hundred Declarations, and as many Petitions, whereof we have already spoken in the preceding Part of this History, have declar'd, by the Consent of all their Members, " That they never
" intended to do the least Injury either to the Person, or the Crown,
" or the Posterity of his Majesty ; that, on the contrary, they design'd
" to make him more glorious than ever any of his Predecessors had been :
" That they would preserve, at the Peril of their Lives, the Fidelity
" which they ow'd him : That all the Loans and Contributions should
" be employ'd for the Maintenance of the Protestant Religion, the Person
" and Authority of the King, the Laws, and Privileges of Parliament :
" That the Troops they had levy'd, were only for the Service of his
" Majesty, and the two Houses : That they should always take a most
" particular Care to prevent the Danger that might happen to his
" Person : That they never had the least Thought of Deposing him,

1649.

“ much less of making an Attempt upon his Life ; and that they should
 “ never depart from the Sentiments of Respect and Fidelity they ow’d
 “ his Majesty.

THE pretended Commons having had an Account of what had pass’d in the House of Peers, resolv’d to rid themselves both of the King and Lords all at once, and voted, “ That all their Members, and others
 “ appointed by them to act in any Ordinance, wherein the Lords are
 “ join’d with them, shall be impower’d and enjoin’d to sit, act, and
 “ execute in the several Committees of themselves, notwithstanding the
 “ House of Peers join not with them. ” Besides, they declar’d, “ That
 “ the People, under God, are the Original of all just Power : That the
 “ Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, being chosen by, and
 “ representing the People, have the supreme Authority of this Nation :
 “ That whatsoever is enacted and declar’d for Law, by the Commons in
 “ Parliament, hath the Force of Law ; and all the People of this Nation
 “ are included thereby, although the Consent and Concurrence of the
 “ King, and House of Peers, be not had thereunto. ” The lawful
 Government and the Laws being by this Means abolish’d, the Lives,
 Liberties, and Fortunes of all the People were at the Discretion of a
 Handful of Confidants of the Army, who were the Dregs and Refuse of
 the House of Commons, which, when it was entire, had never pretended
 to be a Court of Justice.

WHEN the King calls a Parliament, the Commons are summon’d thereto, in order to agree to what is ordain’d by common Consent, and to put it in Execution afterwards. The Writs which are issued out for the Election of Members, are worded thus ; *Ad consentiendum & faciendum quæ ibidem de communi consilio ordinari contigerit.* The King never adviseth with the House of Commons, but with the Peers, the Judges of the Kingdom, and with his Privy-Counsellors, who, for the most part, are in the House of Lords, where the King presides, and never goes into the House of Commons. The Commons may send up Grievances, consent or not consent to the Establishment of Laws, grant or refuse the laying on of Taxes : But they are not a Court, nor Judges ; they cannot examine Witnesses upon Oath, which a Court of Judicature can : They cannot try any Person ; and ’tis only since *Edward VI*’s time that they have Records ; besides, these are nothing but Journals of what passeth in the House. Appeals are only made to the House of Lords, without the Commons having any Share therein : ’tis very plain, by their Posture, when they are conferring with the Lords upon any Affair, that they do not pretend to be their Equals, nor Judges, as the Lords are ; for the Lords sit, and are cover’d, and the Commons stand, with their Hats off.

IF the Hearts of these Men, who were the Reproach and Disgrace of that House, had not been harden’d, and if they had not had Faces of Brass, it would have seem’d, that they themselves were asham’d of their Ordinance for Trying the King ; for they order’d the Clerk of the House not to give any Copy of it to any Person whatsoever : But it was rather the Stings of a bad Conscience that were tormenting them, and which will torment them to Eternity. And, indeed, some, who have had Business with them, have observ’d, that they were like so many *Cains*, who were afraid that every one that met them would fall upon them : They led them from Room to Room, locking up all
 the

the Doors ; and they even thought that God had set a Mark upon these Parricides, and that something extraordinary and frightful was seen in their Countenances. 1649.

THIS detestable Ordinance was in Words to this Effect ; “ That *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, not content with the Usurpations which his Predecessors had made upon the Rights and Liberties of the People, had had, over-and-above, a wicked Design to overturn the ancient and fundamental Laws of the Nation, and to introduce therein an arbitrary and tyrannical Government : And among the other wicked Means which he had made use of for the Accomplishment of his Designs, he had attack’d it with Fire and Sword, had levy’d War against the Parliament thereof, which had laid Waste all the Country, drain’d the publick Treasures, ruin’d Commerce, caus’d a vast Number of the People to be slain, and open’d a Door to a thousand other Calamities, whereof *Charles Stuart* is guilty, and for which he might, long before this time, have been brought to Justice : But the Parliament having forbore doing of it, in hopes, that God having deliver’d him into their Hands, the Imprisonment of his Person would have appeas’d the Troubles of the Kingdom ; and having seen that this Indulgence serv’d only to encourage him the more, with all his Acccomplices, to continue in their cursed Designs : For which Cause, and that no Officer or Magistrate may, for the time to come, presume to take in hand to put the *English* Nation in the Condition of Slaves, the Commons in Parliament assembled have ordain’d, and ordain, That *N. N. N.* shall be appointed Commissioners and Judges for the Trial of *Charles Stuart* : And these Commissioners, or any twenty of them, shall have Power to hold a Court of Justice, in such Place, and at such Time, as they shall think fit to appoint, under their Hands and Seals, by publick Proclamation, in *Westminster-Hall*, in order there to hear read the Charges and Informations given against *Charles Stuart*, with his Defences ; likewise to hear the Witnesses ; and to proceed to the Sentence and Execution, according as the Merit of the Cause shall require. This Court shall also have Power to chuse Officers and Assistants, such as shall be judg’d necessary for that End, by the Majority of the Votes of the Court : And General *Fairfax*, with all the Officers of Justice, and all other well-affected Persons, shall also have Power to assist the Commissioners in the Discharge of their Commission, which shall end within a Month. ”

THEY had nam’d General *Fairfax* amongst these Commissioners, with a great Number of Officers, and others, who did not appear in this pretended Court. Not that they were better-affected to the King, than the other Villains that were present ; but their being nam’d, made it plainly appear that they were all of the same Cabal. I believe General *Fairfax* may be excepted, who may be said to have had an Abhorrence of this horrid Attempt, and who had only lent his Name to all that the Army had done since the Rebellion. But, that the Names and Persons of those, who actually had a Hand in the King’s Murder, may be detested by all Posterity to the End of the World, I have set them down here :

John

1649.

<i>John Bradshaw, President.</i>	<i>Thomas Wyatt.</i>	<i>Thomas Wogan.</i>
<i>Oliver Cromwell.</i>	<i>Lord Grey of Groby.</i>	<i>John Love.</i>
<i>Henry Ireton.</i>	<i>Lord Visc. Lisle.</i>	<i>William Cawley.</i>
<i>Philip Skippon.</i>	<i>Lord Monson.</i>	<i>John Lisle.</i>
<i>Thomas Harrison.</i>	<i>Sir Hardress Waller.</i>	<i>John Corbet.</i>
<i>Edward Whaley.</i>	<i>Sir Henry Mildmay.</i>	<i>Thomas Blunt.</i>
<i>Thomas Pride.</i>	<i>Sir John Danvers.</i>	<i>Thomas Bone.</i>
<i>Isaac Ewre.</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Maleverer.</i>	<i>John Brown.</i>
<i>Richard Ingoldsby.</i>	<i>Sir John Bouchier.</i>	<i>Isaac Kenington, Alderman.</i>
<i>Rowland Wilfon.</i>	<i>Sir James Harrington.</i>	<i>Thomas Atkins, Alderm.</i>
<i>Henry Martin.</i>	<i>Sir William Brereton.</i>	<i>John Foulks, Alderm.</i>
<i>William Purfroy.</i>	<i>Sir Peter Wentworth.</i>	<i>Thomas Andrews, Alderm.</i>
<i>Godfroy Boswell.</i>	<i>Sir William Constable.</i>	<i>Francis Thorp, Serjeant at Law.</i>
<i>John Berkstead.</i>	<i>Sir Gregory Norton.</i>	<i>Isaac Dorislaus, } Counsellors,</i>
<i>Edmond Ludlow.</i>	<i>Sir Peter Temple.</i>	<i>Mr. Aske, } who drew up the Charge, and assisted.</i>
<i>John Hutchinson.</i>	<i>William Hennengham.</i>	<i>John Cook, Sollicitor-General.</i>
<i>Robert Tichbourn.</i>	<i>Cornelius Holland.</i>	<i>Mr. Dandy, Serjeant at Arms, Mace-bearer.</i>
<i>Owen Roe.</i>	<i>Miles Corbet.</i>	<i>Mr. King, Crier.</i>
<i>Adrian Scroop</i>	<i>Francis Allen.</i>	<i>Mr. Walford, } Tipstaves, and Messengers.</i>
<i>John Okey</i>	<i>Peregrine Pelham</i>	<i>Mr. Radley, }</i>
<i>John Harrison</i>	<i>John Gourdon.</i>	<i>Mr. Payn, }</i>
<i>John Desborough.</i>	<i>Denis Bond.</i>	<i>Mr. Powell, }</i>
<i>John Moore.</i>	<i>Humphrey Edwards.</i>	<i>Mr. Hull, }</i>
<i>Francis Lassels.</i>	<i>Henry Smith.</i>	
<i>Edmond Harvey.</i>	<i>James Chaloner.</i>	
<i>John Venn.</i>	<i>Thomas Chaloner.</i>	
<i>Anthony Stapely.</i>	<i>John Allured.</i>	
<i>George Fleetwood.</i>	<i>Gregory Clement.</i>	
<i>James Temple.</i>	<i>John Fray.</i>	

THE Commission of this Gang of Desperado's was not seal'd with the Great Seal, which the two Houses had caus'd to be made, after that the Lord Keeper had retir'd to the King: That Seal frighten'd these Conspirators then; because the King's Effigies and Arms were upon it, and the Inscription was, *Charles*, by the Grace of God; which would have confounded their diabolical Enterprize. They had order'd it to be broken: but not being as yet resolv'd upon what sort of Seal they should cause to be engrav'd, these Commissioners were to act under their own particular Hands and Seals, with which a great many of their Crew were not very well provided. As the Seal is the King's Seal, so all the Courts are Royal; all Judges, the Kings Counsellors; and all Ordinances and Laws, Royal Statutes: Letters Patent, are Royal Patents; the Peace of the State, is the King's Peace; and all just War, is the War made by the King: He is the Fountain from whence all Authority springs; and it belongs to him to confer Titles and Marks of Honour. So that their Proceeding against the sacred Person of the King, may be compar'd to that of a Gang of Highway-Men, who having seiz'd a Traveller, should lead him into their lurking Hole, where, in order to pass away their Time merrily, they should appoint some of their Number to be Sham-Judges, who having interrogated him in the Terms and Forms of Justice, should condemn him to die, because they would not take away his Life, but with that insolent Ceremony.

WHAT

WHAT is very remarkable in this, is, that the *Jews*, who crucify'd the Son of God, by whom Kings Reign, took then Occasion of the Conjunction, which seem'd favourable to them: They presented a Petition to the Council of War, who crucify'd him again, in the Person of the King, his Vicegerent in the Kingdoms, over which God had set him. By their Petition, they requested, that the Act of their Banishment might be repeal'd, and that they might have *St. Paul's Church* for their Synagogue; for which, and the Library of *Oxford*, wherewith they desir'd to begin their Traffick again, they offer'd five hundred thousand Pounds; but the Council of War would have eight. The Brokers employ'd by the *Jews* in the Affair, were *Peters* and *Martin*. The Proposal was made to the pretended Commons, with another Demand of the Council of War, which agreed very well with this, to wit, That no more Tithes be paid to the Ministers. They were persecuted for having pray'd for the King; though the Directory, establish'd by the two Houses, in Place of the Liturgy, ordain'd, that the King should be pray'd for over all the Kingdom; as was done in *London*, where the Officers of the Army had often propos'd to have the Doors of all the Churches shut up; and where the Mayor and principal Aldermen, in Common-Council, having refus'd to declare, that the supreme Authority was in the pretended House of Commons; that House ordain'd, that forty Members of that Council might hold it, though the Mayor and Aldermen should not be present; any Privilege, Charter, or other Usage of the City to the contrary notwithstanding.

POSTERITY will hardly believe, that the Nobility, which is very illustrious in *England*; that the People, who are brave and warlike; that the powerful City of *London*, which can raise forty thousand good regular Militia, had fallen into so deep a Lethargy, as to suffer that the eighth Part of the Members of the House of Commons, who scarcely represented the eighth Part of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of the Kingdom, all the other Members being either secluded or imprison'd by the Army, should suppress the House of Peers, abrogate the Privileges of *London*, overturn the fundamental Laws of the Monarchy, and erect a Court of Justice for Trying their King: And that they had been so blinded, that they did not reflect upon the Reproach that that would draw upon the whole Nation; and that they did not conspire together, in order bravely to oppose the Erection of this Butchery, to which they all expos'd themselves. If a handful of profligate Men have had the Impudence, in the Horror of their Crimes, to trample upon all Laws, both divine and human, and even that which was the most sacred and inviolable of the State, and to usurp an Authority for taking the King's Life; who could be sure of his own? So much the more as any Man was rais'd above the rest, so much the more Reason had he to be afraid: If Men, who were not themselves a Court of Justice, and could not so much as try the meanest Man of the Kingdom, not even though all the Members had been lawfully assembled in their House: If, I say, such Kind of People could constitute themselves Judges of the King, who could have none but God; they, his mortal Enemies, who had declar'd by their Manifesto's, that they had a mind to have his Life; they, whom the meanest Subject could have excepted against in all the Courts of Justice: If that, I say was establish'd, such a Faction, nay, a thousand other Factions; might not they, in
6 E like

1649. like manner, erect themselves into Courts, in all the Corners of the Kingdom? After which, could there be any other Thing expected but Murders and Massacres? Would not all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom destroy one another? And would not the whole Kingdom, at last, become a Slaughter-house, and a frightful Defart?

The END of the ELEVENTH BOOK.

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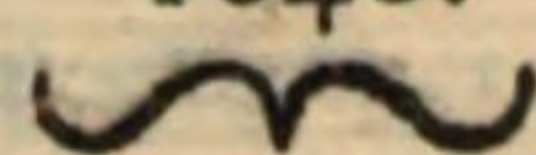
B O O K XII.

AT length we are come to the last Act of the most horrid Tragedy that Men have ever seen upon the Theatre of the World, to wit, to the fatal Catastrophe of the Troubles, whereof we have spoken, and which we look upon as Men commonly do upon old Age, at which every Body desires to arrive; but when a Man is come to it, he would fain be able to draw back from it. However, it is in this Place of our History that the Reader waits us: And as 'tis, chiefly, when the great Luminaries are eclips'd, that Men are most curious to observe them; so, perhaps, the Reader has only run over what we have written hitherto, in order, at last, to take notice of this so tragical a Conclusion. But he can hear of nothing now, but of Blood, and Spectacles of Horror, which ought to astonish Heaven, and make the Earth tremble. And I have so great a Reluctancy to give a Description of it, besides, that my Profession ought to keep me from it, that I could wish to be excus'd from giving it: For how can I represent a great King, nay, one of the best of Kings, the Father of his Country, ending his Life upon a Scaffold, and that this Cruelty has been committed by a People whom he had so much lov'd? There is not a Soul so little sensible, but must be touch'd with Grief, nor a Heart,

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THE Authors of the Remonstrance were not better enlighten'd in the Plan of their *Babel*, and chimerical Government, that the People ought to be the sovereign Disposers of every Thing. That was an Illusion, in order to render themselves absolute Masters ; like *Henry Martin*, one of the principal Incendiaries of the Faction, who would not allow the Country-men, in the County of *Berks*, to speak to him bare-headed, when he was picking their Pockets, and ruining the County. The Experience of all Ages has shewn, that there has been nothing but Tumults and Confusion in the Meetings where all the People were present, in order to elect Magistrates. If any Man propos'd something that was founded upon Reason, it was presently stifled by Clamours ; and Things did not pass there but by an Impetuosity of violent Passions, every one according to his own ; which made wise Men say, That neither the Sea, nor even *Euripus* had so many Ebbings and Flowings, nor were ever so much toss'd with the Winds and Tides, as popular Assemblies were with a Contrariety of Opinions, which, from passionate Transports, and contrary and extravagant Sentiments, clash'd one with another. 'Tis true, that the People never know well what they would be at ; they can stand to nothing ; they are weary'd of every Thing ; they like nothing but Changes. And those whom they had lov'd and ador'd, when they were private Men, become the Object of their Hatred, when they are rais'd to Authority, tho' they themselves had contributed towards their Advancement. The Speech of *Titus Quintius* to the People of antient *Rome* is very remarkable to this Purpose : " Would to God, said he, that you would make us once
 " understand what it is you desire : You have demanded Tribunes of the
 " People ; and for the sake of Peace we have granted you them : You
 " have desir'd to be govern'd by ten Men ; they have been created : You
 " were tir'd of them ; and they have been laid aside : You have again de-
 " manded Tribunes ; they were given you : You had a mind that one
 " of the Consuls should be of your Order ; your Desire was gratify'd :
 " We have borne with the Appeal of our Decrees to the People, and
 " the Corruption of the Laws, under Pretence of mitigating them, fol-
 " lowing in that your weak Opinions, which have been as Laws to the
 " Senate : And yet for all that, there's no End of Discord, nor are you
 " satisfy'd. "

'Tis therefore the Way to destroy all manner of Government, to subject it to the People, or to make them Arbiters of it. Their Liberty consists not in having Power to find Fault with it, nor in changing it according to their Caprice : The very Thoughts of which would be an immoderate License ; and, as the Prince of Apostles has very well said, 'tis covering their Maliciousness with a Cloke of Liberty. But their true Liberties consist in peaceably and safely enjoying the Fruits of their Labours, of their Goods and Estates, according to the Laws. Those deceive them, who let them see any other, under Pretence that their Safety is the supreme Law of the State ; that Maxim having been the fruitful Mother of so many Rebellions, when ambitious Men made a wrong Use of it, in order to fish in troubled Waters, and to attain their own Ends, which they never should have compass'd, if the State had continu'd peaceable.

THE Officers of the Army did not wait for an Answer from the two Houses to their Remonstrance, having taken their Measures for keeping them in Order ; and in the mean time, on the 27th of *November*, the General wrote to Colonel *Hammond*, and order'd him to come to him,
 and

and to commit the King to the Charge of Colonel *Ewre*. *Hammond* 1648.
 having acquainted the House of Commons therewith, they order'd him to stay in the Island, and attend his Charge there, 'till further Orders; and that, in the mean time, the General should be inform'd of it. However, *Hammond* thought fit to obey the Orders of his Masters that were in the Army, who took not the least Notice of the Request which the House had sent them, not to make any Innovations in the Island, while the Treaty was in hand; the Honour, and the publick Faith of the two Houses, being engag'd for the Liberty and Security of his Majesty. They went yet further, and, on the last Day of *November*, they sent Lieutenant-Colonel *Cobbet*, with Orders to carry back the King's Person to *Carisbrook-Castle*, until the two Houses should give an Answer to the Remonstrance of the Army. As the Officers, whom *Hammond* had left in the Island, were considering what they were to do, another Officer arriv'd, that same Evening, with a Troop of Horse, and a Company of Foot, who presented a second Order from the General, for carrying the King immediately to *Hurst-Castle*: So that the next Morning very early, these Officers having enter'd his Majesty's Chamber, and shewn him their Orders, they carry'd him to *Hurst-Castle*. *Hurst* is a pitiful Fort, situate upon a Point of Land on the Coast of the County of *Southampton*, which extends itself a great way into the Sea, where, at Low Water, there's nothing but stinking Mud, and the Air is so thick and unwholsome, that the Garison must be chang'd every three Months, otherwise the Soldiers would all die.

THE King, before he left the Island, order'd one of his Servants, for the Satisfaction of his Subjects, to cause to be publish'd this Declaration, which he had made upon the Treaty, and the insolent Behaviour of the Army: "As this unhappy Kingdom has, these seven Years, been involv'd in Confusion and Blood, with which some People have the Boldness to charge me, though I have suffer'd more thereby than any Body else, and am the least guilty of them; it seem'd that the best and most infallible Remedy, for putting a Stop to the Course of these Evils, could proceed from nothing else, but from the Desires which the two Houses had to treat with me in Person. And, indeed, the Medicine, without doubt, would have been excellent, if the Working of it had not been prevented by the Opposition of the Army, who, in their impudent Remonstrance, call me their mortal Enemy. But let all the World judge, if I have not done my utmost Endeavours for bringing the Treaty to a happy Issue, and if I have not been as ready to grant the Things which the two Houses required of me, as they had been to make the Demand of them. And yet all the Complaisance that I have had, has not been able to satisfy these ambitious Men, who prefer their own private Interest to the general Tranquillity of their unhappy Country. My poor People were beginning to take Courage, and their Spirits, languishing under the Oppressions with which they were crush'd, were recovering some Vigour, upon the Hopes of Peace; which were no sooner conceiv'd, than they prov'd abortive. I have sometimes been blam'd, that I had not granted enough to my two Houses of Parliament; and now I am found fault with for having been too complaisant. I have been imprison'd, because, it was said, I had made War; I am now once more a Prisoner, for having had a mind to make Peace: How shall I know hereafter what I ought to grant you, since you no longer know what you should demand of me? I call your own Consciences to witness, if I have not satisfy'd you in all

The King's Declaration.

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“ the Articles of the Treaty. If that be, you are bound to defend me
 “ from the Fury of those Men who thirst after my Blood, and who,
 “ pretending to shew themselves full of Zeal, are real Wolves in Sheeps
 “ Cloathing. It is not to be doubted but the greatest Obstacle of the
 “ Peace, proceeds from the criminal Designs of those, who, from
 “ Servants, as they are, have a mind to become Masters, and who are
 “ endeavouring to erect a Popular Confusion upon the Ruins of the
 “ Monarchy : But, sooner or later, they will find, to their sad Expe-
 “ rience, that the Subversion of the fundamental Laws of the State, will
 “ be the Ruin of those very Men that do it ; for those who will not be
 “ govern’d but by the Sword, shall, at last, also perish by the Sword. Fac-
 “ tion is the Mother of Desolation : So ’tis the Temper of Men who love
 “ nothing but Changes, soon to be weary of the same Thing, and still to
 “ hate one Folly, for the sake of another Folly. There’s nothing but
 “ Time that can cure that Disease, because it will spread itself like a
 “ Leprosy over the whole Body of the Kingdom ; which it will render
 “ so odious, that they will hate themselves because of their Mischief,
 “ and will be like the Fish, which, in order to take the Bait, suffers
 “ itself to be catch’d by the Hook. I once more declare to all my
 “ faithful Subjects, and, perhaps, this will be the last time that I shall
 “ be able to make this Declaration to them, that I have done all that I
 “ could do with a safe Conscience, for easing them of all their Troubles,
 “ by the Means of a Peace ; and I believe that nothing but the Interpo-
 “ sition of the Mischievousness of the Army could have eclips’d the
 “ Glory of that amiable Blessing, which was beginning to appear in the
 “ State. There is not a Man, let him be never so little impartial, but
 “ sees how unbecoming, and of bad Example it is, that the Orders of
 “ the Parliament of the Kingdom should be contradicted by an Army,
 “ who, under Pretence of acting for its Laws and Liberties, overturn
 “ both, and open a Door to all manner of Calamities and Mischiefs.
 “ If it had been I that had demanded the Treaty, the Boutefeus of the
 “ Army would have had a specious Pretence for breaking it off : but I
 “ having been solicited by my two Houses of Parliament, and they, by
 “ the greatest Part of the Kingdom, I offer’d my self, I own it, to co-
 “ operate with them in so good and holy a Work, as that of establishing
 “ a Peace is ; and I hope that the People will now open their Eyes, in
 “ order clearly to discern those who are the sworn Enemies of it, and
 “ the Disturbers of their Quiet. I protest before God, that my own
 “ Afflictions, though very great, and most grievous, go not so near my
 “ Heart, as those of my People ; because I well know to whom I am
 “ to have Recourse, but they know not. God grant both them and me
 “ Comfort, and give us Patience proportionable to our Sufferings : And
 “ when the Malice of our Enemies shall be arriv’d at the highest Pitch,
 “ I would have them to know, that, by the Grace of God, I shall be
 “ as well pleas’d to suffer, as they shall be industrious to increase my
 “ Afflictions : But I foresee that the Time will come, that Vengeance
 “ will be pour’d down from Heaven upon their guilty Heads : For since
 “ God himself hath pronounc’d the Peace-makers blessed ; of Conse-
 “ quence, those who put a Stop to it, must be in a most wretched State.
 “ To conclude : I thank God I am armed Proof against their Fury :
 “ God being my Rock and Buckler, I ought not to be afraid of any
 “ thing that Men can do unto me : I will then expect the worst ; and
 “ if it does not happen, I shall give the Glory of it to God, for Man is
 “ nothing but Vanity. ”

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THE two Houses having had Advice of this Violence, so injurious to the King, and done expressly in Contempt of the Treaty, and their Orders, they voted, That that insolent Action had been done without their Advice, or Consent. But their Consent was then no more taken notice of; for their Reign was at an End that very Moment, that the Authority of their Master, which they had usurp'd, was wholly transferr'd to their Servants. Their Remonstrance was follow'd, eight Days after it was sent to the House of Commons, by a Declaration full of Threatnings, and which spoke of nothing but Fire, Blood, and Slaughter. The Occasion of it was this: The two Houses having had Advice, that the Army was marching towards *London*, order'd a Letter to be written to the General, to entreat him (for they had for a long Time before made use of Entreaties) not to approach with the Army nearer to *London*. But as soon as he had seen and communicated this Letter to the General Officers, they gave Orders for openly daring the Parliament to print their Declaration, wherein they accus'd them of Fickleness, Indiscretion, and Backsliding. They reproach'd them with having fail'd in the Confidence which the People had repos'd in them; and for that Reason they would appeal from them to the People, and in all Haste advance to *Westminster*, there to do what God should inspire them with, for the Advancement of the great Work that was to be done in the Kingdom. So did they call the Works of Darkness, and the Seduction of the Spirit of Error.

IN order then to advance this Work, which they call'd the Work of God, as they were enrag'd, that their Remonstrance and Declaration had been slighted, and that the House of Commons had voted for the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, on the 6th of *December*, they sent to the House to demand, "That the Members who had been charg'd with Treason, upon
 " the Return of the Speaker of the House the 6th of *August* 1647, might
 " be secur'd, and brought to their Trials, as also Major General *Brown*,
 " whom they look'd upon to have been one of those who had invited the
 " Duke of *Hamilton* into *England*: That all the Members, who had not
 " voted for declaring Traitors all the *Scots* that enter'd *England* under the
 " Command of that Lord, may be immediately expell'd the House;
 " and that all those, who had consented to the repealing the Vote of no
 " more Addresses to the King, be likewise expell'd; as also those, who
 " had propos'd the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, and who had voted, that
 " the King's Concessions to the Propositions of the Parliament, upon the
 " Treaty, were sufficient Grounds for settling the Peace of the Kingdom:
 " Lastly, That all such faithful Members, who are innocent of these
 " Things, in order to distinguish themselves from the others, may publickly protest against their Proceedings." Those others were very near two Thirds of the House. These Demands destroy'd the Practice of all Courts of Justice, and of all manner of publick Assemblies; wherein Things having pass'd by the Majority of Votes, the Judgment given is equally supported and maintain'd by the whole Society, as well by those who voted against it, as by those who were for it. So that the Majority of either of the Houses being the whole House, according to all the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom, the Army made War directly upon both the Houses, tho' it was upon that very Account, that the Army demanded, that these very Houses should cause the King to be put to Death.

*The Demands
 of the Army to
 the House of
 Commons.*

BUT as they long'd to be at it, and had not Patience to wait for the Answer, they sent four Regiments to *Westminster*; which having dismiss'd
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the City Train'd-Bands that were there upon Duty, took Possession of the Gates, plac'd Soldiers upon the Stairs, and in the great Hall; and suffer'd none to enter but the Members and Officers of the two Houses. Then Colonel *Pride*, Colonel *Hewson*, and Sir *Hardress Waller*, having a List in their Hands of the Names of those who were to be seiz'd upon, immediately caus'd forty one Members of the House of Commons to be arrested. Some of them were stopp'd in the Court of Requests, others in the Hall; and they were all very rudely push'd into the Court of Wards. And as some, whom they were looking for, were already in the House, they caus'd them to be call'd for with sham Notes, pull'd them out of the Door, and shewing no other Warrant to those that demanded it, but their Soldiers, they sent them all Prisoners to the Queen's Court. The House being inform'd of this Violence, sent their Sergeant at Arms twice to the Captain that guarded the Members seiz'd upon, to demand that they might be releas'd; but the Sergeant was sent back, without being able to get near the Place where they were. The House resolv'd to complain of it to the General, and not to go upon any Business, till the Members should be set at Liberty; but that was a Feint, as what follow'd plainly demonstrated. As Night was drawing on, *Hugh Peters* went with a Sword at his Side, by Order of the General, to release some of the Prisoners; who having ask'd him, "By what Authority they had been arrested," he answer'd, "That it was by that of the Sword." So that, when Major *White* was expell'd the Council of War, for having said, "That there was no other visible Authority in the Kingdom," that Disgrace befel him, only because he had, before the Time, discover'd the secret Conspiracy of the Army.

THE Prisoners were carry'd into a Place call'd *Hell*, where they pass'd the Night upon Benches and the Floor, and where without Doubt they reflected upon the Time, when the King, in a regular Way, having caus'd five of their Members to be accus'd of high Treason, came himself to demand them, in a peaceable manner, without offering the least Violence to any Person; that at that Time, I say, the House was highly offended thereat, made a great Noise, cry'd out, that all was undone, all their Privileges were violated, that it was an Attempt of dangerous Consequence, and at length encourag'd those Tumults in the City, which forc'd the King to leave it, and which afterwards expos'd both the two Houses and the City to all the Outrages they have suffer'd since that Time.

THE next Day, they were all carry'd to the Council of War at *Whitehall*; where having waited six or seven Hours, they were told, That the General was so taken up with other important Affairs, that he could not speak to them; but that he had given Orders to carry them to two Inns in the *Strand*, and that he would send thither some of his Officers to speak with them. They were conducted thither on Foot by a Detachment of Musquetiers, who frequently halted, in order to expose those poor Men in the middle of the Streets, in the Dirt, to the Derision of the People. Besides these, who were soon sent away to other Places, the Officers who guarded the Parliament, the Day following, kept above 160 Members from entering the House of Commons; many others retir'd, in order to shelter themselves from the Storm; so that there were but about forty or fifty Members, all devoted to the Army, and three or four Peers, who had prostituted the Dignity of their Character, which together compos'd the pretended Parliament.

ON the 11th of *December*, the secluded Members caus'd a Declaration to be publish'd, in the Name of the Counties and Towns whereof they were Representatives ; in which having signify'd the Violence and insolent Treatment that had been offer'd to them, and, in their Persons, to all the Commons of the Kingdom, they protested " Against all the Proceedings of the House during their Absence, and as long as it should be under the Power of the Army : That they declar'd them all void, and all those who had kept above 100 Members from entering the House, Enemies of the State, and Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity. " They had much stronger Reasons to ground this Declaration upon, than the House had the 20th of *August*, 1647, to declare, " That all that had pass'd from the 26th of *July* to the 6th of *August*, was void and null. " For then the House was full, and there were only forty Members, who of their own Accord fled to the Army, without the least Appearance of any reasonable Cause that could induce them thereto ; the Tumults, of which they complain'd, being at an End the same Day that they began, and the City having taken such a Course about them, that there was no Reason to be afraid of any bad Consequence.

THIS Declaration having made a great Noise in the City, the two pretended Houses caus'd a contrary Declaration to be publish'd ; wherein having call'd it seditious, and tending to the Subversion of the fundamental Government of the Kingdom, they ordain'd, That it should be suppress'd, and that all the Members of both Houses should disown it. And that as for those who were the Authors of it, they should be incapable of ever holding any Office, or of having any publick Employment in the Kingdom. Such was the Language of those good People, who were undermining the true Foundations of the State, and were conspiring with cruel Parricides, in order to ruin the true Father of the Country.

THE General, in order more and more to keep the City under, sent into it some more Regiments, which he quarter'd in *Black-friars*, where formerly stood the Convent of the *Dominicans*, and round about *St. Paul's*, where that vast and venerable Cathedral of *London* serv'd the Soldiers for Lodgings, and their Horses for Stables ; and, by the General's Order, they took away by Force great Sums of Money out of the Halls of the City-Companies. As the Polity of this City was exceeding fine, all the Companies of Merchants, and those of the Tradesmen had, besides *Guild-Hall*, each a particular Place where they met, and where they laid up a common Stock for the Necessities of their Companies, when any of their Society became indigent, or left poor Widows and Orphans.

AFTER that the House of Commons, which ought to represent all the Commons of the Kingdom, had been deserted, and that there were only remaining in it 50 or 60 Agents of the Army, this pretended House began to repeal many Votes, which had been enter'd in the Journals, and to revive others, which by a full House had been made void. So they resolv'd, That the Vote of the 7th of *September*, 1647, whereby Commissary General *Copeley*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, *Denzil Hollis*, Major General *Massey*, and Mr. *Long* were expell'd the House, should remain in Force ; and that that which re-admitted them, should be void : That that of the 3d of *January*, 1648, which forbid any more Addresses to the King, should be in Force ; and that that of the two Houses of the 30th of *June*, 1648, which had repeal'd it, tended to the Dishonour of the

1648. Parliament, and the Ruin of the Kingdom : That the Vote of the two Houses, for opening the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*, blemish'd their Honour, and put the Kingdom into evident Danger : That the Sentence pass'd the 10th of *November*, for banishing the Earls of *Holland* and *Norwich*, the Lords *Capel* and *Loughborough*, was notoriously unjust : That the Vote, which set a Ransom of a hundred thousand Pounds upon the Earl of *Cambridge* (Duke of *Hamilton*), was no less unjust, and that they all ought to have been sentenc'd to die : Lastly, That the Commons having voted, that the King's Concessions to the Propositions of the Parliament, upon the Treaty, were sufficient for settling the Peace of the Kingdom ; had violated the publick Faith, and dishonoured the Parliament of the Kingdom. And that these Sticklers for the Army might give it all the Satisfaction it desir'd, they caus'd a Protestation to be drawn up, which they all sign'd, for expressing their Aversion to the Votes that had been repeal'd : Though that manner of Proceeding, in the Condition their Fellow-Members were in, by the Violence of the Army, ought to have made them be expell'd the House, and brought to condign Punishment.

IN order to justify this Violence, the Officers of the Council of War sent to their trusty Friends an Answer, which they call'd an humble Answer, wherein they laid down two destructive Principles : The first was, the Sincerity of their Intentions for the Publick Good. Now, there is no Sincerity of Intention that can rectify an Action that is not just in itself, though it should be hurtful to no Body, and even be apparently pious ; therefore it can much less justify criminal and shameful Actions : And as the good Intention cannot be discover'd but by that of Actions ; Could any be seen more wicked, and more contrary to all Laws both divine and human, than those who were resolv'd upon by the Officers of the Army ? Their second Principle was, Necessity : For, said they, as the greatest Part of the Members of the House were corrupted ; if they had not seiz'd upon some, and expell'd others, they would have concluded a Peace with the King, and restor'd him to the Throne. This Pretence, as well as the first, open'd a Door to all manner of Disorders ; for every Man might say, that there was a Necessity to do what he did ; or maintain, that his Intention was good and advantageous to the Publick : Let us add to that, That since there is no Necessity to do Evil, so there can be none to prevent Good. But that which the Officers of the Army were opposing, was the greatest of all the Blessings that could be wish'd for, and which all good Men had been so long aiming at. They themselves had formerly labour'd to bring it about, by a Spirit quite contrary to that whereby they were actuated at this time ; for they then plainly said, that it was absolutely necessary, for the Good of Peace, to enter into a Treaty with the King himself, and to exclude but very few of the Royal Party. But who had made them Judges of the Publick Necessity ? The Members of the House of Commons are answerable to no Man for their Conduct, but to the House itself : For though they be elected by the People, yet they take their Authority from the King's Writ, which gives them Leave to elect ; and all the Power of the People, after that, is made over to them, in order to deliberate upon the Things propos'd, and to consent thereto, according to their Judgment, and not as those who have deputed them may have a mind to : Because, otherwise, if there should happen a Difference of Opinions between the Deputies and those who depute them, the latter might protest against what the former had done, and so make void all the

the Acts of Parliament. But though they should be oblig'd to be accountable for their Actions to their Electors, they ought not to be so to others who have no Vote in the Elections; and much less to the Army, which ought to depend upon them, because it was rais'd by Virtue only of a Vote of the two Houses, for the Defence of the King, the Parliament, the Protestant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and, in short, to act according to the Orders it should receive from the same two Houses.

1648.

THIS pretended Necessity was alledg'd by *Cromwell*, the first time that they had the Impudence to speak of putting the King to Death, in the pretended House of Commons: For having got up in the midst of the Cabal, he told them, according to his wonted way, "That if any Man had made that Motion on set Purpose, he would have look'd upon him as the greatest Traitor in the World; but since the Providence of God, and Necessity, had induc'd them thereto, he beseech'd his Divine Majesty to bless their Counsels; and that, as for him, he would give them none at that time, not having had Leisure to consider of what he should say in an Affair of that Importance." But 'tis a manifest Impiety, in any Affair whatsoever, to appeal to the secret Providence of God, and to pretend that there is a Necessity to comply therewith in any thing, when all the Oracles, which God hath reveal'd to Men, teach us the contrary; and then 'tis not the Decrees of God that ought to be the Rule of our Lives, but his Precepts.

THIS humble, or rather insolent Answer, contain'd also a great many Calumnies, wherewith they blemish'd the persecuted Members; but it was easy to see, that all this Malice proceeded only from their having approv'd of the Articles of the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*: And yet their false Brethren, who remain'd in the House, having at first pretended to take them into Protection, and interest themselves for their Liberty, receiv'd this humble Answer, and approv'd of it, with as much Baseness as Injustice. But these Members, who had not been heard in their own Defence, found Means to publish it, notwithstanding that the Spies of the pretended House run up and down through all the Printing Houses, in order to find it out: And in their Reply, they boldly retorted all the Calumnies, which these Enemies both of God and Men had belch'd out against them.

IN this Time of Confusion, a Libel came out, intitled, *The Agreement of the People*, whereof the last Remonstrance of the Army was a perfect Abridgment: It was the same Piece which, under the Name of *The Rights of the People*, having been sign'd by nine Regiments of Horse, and seven of Foot, on the 9th of November 1647, had been presented, by the Agitators, to the House of Commons; where it was no sooner read, than the House voted, "That it contain'd Principles destructive of the Authority of Parliament, and the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom." The House repeated the same Vote some Days after, and caus'd five or six Men of the City, who had been bold enough to own it, to be imprison'd. At the same time the House order'd a Letter to be written to the General, desiring him to cause diligent Search to be made for the Authors of it in the Army, and to give an Account thereof to the House. Whereupon the Court-Martial caus'd a Soldier, who own'd the Thing, to be shot, and a great many more to be imprison'd and very ill us'd, on the same Account. But, as we have already said,

Cromwell

1648. *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, finding that the Torrent of the Army run that way, and that all the Agitators were wedded to those Opinions, they resolv'd to change their Note, and join with them : It was then that they fram'd the fatal Design, which they put in Execution, when the Business was found to be ripe, and that their Hour, which was that of the Powers of Darkness, was come.

IN the mean time, their trusty Friends in the House thought fit to sanctify themselves by a Fast, which they kept on the 22d of *December*, in *St. Margaret's Church, Westminster*, with four Peers, who having paid their Respects to the General, offer'd to renounce their Titles and Dignities, if ever they should be against the Liberties of the People : It was no wonder then, that, being in so good an Humour, they put in to be of the Company. *Hugh Peters*, the Merry *Andrew* of the Pulpit, preach'd there ; and having taken for his Text, *Moses* leading the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, apply'd that Passage to the Leaders of the Army, whose Design (said he) was to draw the People out of the Captivity of *Egypt* : But it was not reveal'd to him, by what Means that was to be done : Then covering his Face with both Hands, in so ridiculous a Posture, that none of the Hearers could forbear laughing, then leaning on his Elbows upon the Pulpit, he started up all of sudden, and cry'd out, " That God had reveal'd it to him : And it was, that the " Army must overturn the Monarchical Government, not only in *Eng-* " *land*, but likewise in all other Kingdoms : That that Stone was the " Corner Stone, cut out of the Mountain, which was to beat in Pieces " all the Powers of the Earth : That if it should be objected, that this " was not a beaten Road, and that no Man had as yet pass'd it ; what " will you say of the Virgin *Mary*, (answer'd this prophane Mouth) " was there ever an Instance of a Woman that had conceiv'd without " the Company of a Man ? So this Age sets, but does not follow Exam- " ples. " This was the Substance of this false Prophet's Sermon, who impudently made an ill Use of the holy Scripture ; as *John Goodwin*, his Colleague, prophan'd it after a terrible manner, in a Pamphlet which he publish'd at the same time, in order to justify the Rapines, Oppressions, Murders, and the Parricide of the Army.

ON the 25th of *December*, the Army, in a Council of War, resolv'd to tolerate all Kinds of Religions, and entertain'd with Ceremony, as the true Representatives of Counties, a great Number of shabby Fellows, with Sticks in their Hands, from some Counties, with Petitions, which the Deputies of the Army, in the Committees of the Counties, had drawn up, and wherein they demanded, in Name of those Counties, that Justice might be done upon the principal Offenders, particularly upon the King, the greatest Delinquent. For which the Council of War had the Impudence to thank those Counties ; which, on the contrary, demanded that Justice might be done upon these Parricides, and which detested their execrable Attempt. It was not after this manner that the Treaty was demanded : Every Body approv'd of it with their Wishes ; and the City of *London* had so generally demanded it, that when the pretended House, prescribing Rules for the Election of the Magistrates of the City, had, at *Skippon's* Desire, voted, that such as had been for the Treaty, should not have any Office ; the Common-Council of the City went and remonstrated to the House, that, by that Vote, all the Citizens must be excluded from the Magistracy ; there being no Person of any Note in the City, who did not wish, with all his Heart, that the

two Houses would treat with the King ; and who, on the contrary, was not very sorry that the Treaty had not come to a good Issue, according to the Expectation of all honest Men. 1648.

AT last, on the 28th, the Ordinance was drawn up for Trying the King, wherein the Names of all the Commissioners were inserted : And because all manner of Laws, both divine and human, condemn'd such execrable Proceedings, and that the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom were expressly against them, the Traitors, who then compos'd the House of Commons, bethought themselves of grounding them upon this ridiculous Declaration, " That the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, do declare, That it is Treason in the King of *England* for the Time to come, to levy War against the Parliament of the Kingdom. " They had a mind to speak as Legislators, who make Laws only for the Time to come ; and so being fallen into a reprobate Sense, they did not comprehend, in this Decree, the only Thing for which they had made it.

ON the 2d of *January*, the Ordinance and Declaration were carry'd up to the House of Lords, where there were sixteen that Day : They began with the Declaration. Whereupon the Earl of *Manchester* told them, " That, by the fundamental Laws of *England*, the three Estates were compos'd of the King, the Lords, and Commons : That the King was the first and principal Estate ; that it belong'd to him to assemble and dismiss the Parliament ; he confirm'd all their Acts, and, without him, there could be no Meeting of Parliament ; so that it was an absurd and ridiculous thing, to say that the King could be a Traitor against the Parliament. " The Earl of *Northumberland* added, " That the greatest Part of the People was still in Doubt, whether it was the King, who had first made War upon the two Houses, or if it was they, who had made it first upon the King : That if the King had begun it first, there was no Law that call'd that Action of his Majesty Treason ; and that it would be contrary both to Justice and Reason, to declare it Treason by an Ordinance, when the Fact was not prov'd, and that there had been no Law hitherto that had decided thereupon. " These Things were so convincing, that those who were of contrary Sentiments, durst not open their Mouths, insomuch that the Ordinance and Declaration were both rejected. 1649.

IT was not this House only, but the House of Commons likewise, where these Conspirators were present with the other Members ; which, in more than a hundred Declarations, and as many Petitions, whereof we have already spoken in the preceding Part of this History, have declar'd, by the Consent of all their Members, " That they never intended to do the least Injury either to the Person, or the Crown, or the Posterity of his Majesty ; that, on the contrary, they design'd to make him more glorious than ever any of his Predecessors had been : That they would preserve, at the Peril of their Lives, the Fidelity which they ow'd him : That all the Loans and Contributions should be employ'd for the Maintenance of the Protestant Religion, the Person and Authority of the King, the Laws, and Privileges of Parliament : That the Troops they had levy'd, were only for the Service of his Majesty, and the two Houses : That they should always take a most particular Care to prevent the Danger that might happen to his Person : That they never had the least Thought of Deposing him,

1649. " much less of making an Attempt upon his Life ; and that they should
 " never depart from the Sentiments of Respect and Fidelity they ow'd
 " his Majesty.

THE pretended Commons having had an Account of what had pass'd in the House of Peers, resolv'd to rid themselves both of the King and Lords all at once, and voted, " That all their Members, and others
 " appointed by them to act in any Ordinance, wherein the Lords are
 " join'd with them, shall be impower'd and enjoin'd to sit, act, and
 " execute in the several Committees of themselves, notwithstanding the
 " House of Peers join not with them. " Besides, they declar'd, " That
 " the People, under God, are the Original of all just Power : That the
 " Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, being chosen by, and
 " representing the People, have the supreme Authority of this Nation :
 " That whatsoever is enacted and declar'd for Law, by the Commons in
 " Parliament, hath the Force of Law ; and all the People of this Nation
 " are included thereby, although the Consent and Concurrence of the
 " King, and House of Peers, be not had thereunto. " The lawful
 Government and the Laws being by this Means abolish'd, the Lives,
 Liberties, and Fortunes of all the People were at the Discretion of a
 Handful of Confidants of the Army, who were the Dregs and Refuse of
 the House of Commons, which, when it was entire, had never pretended
 to be a Court of Justice.

WHEN the King calls a Parliament, the Commons are summon'd thereto, in order to agree to what is ordain'd by common Consent, and to put it in Execution afterwards. The Writs which are issued out for the Election of Members, are worded thus ; *Ad consentiendum & faciendum quæ ibidem de communi consilio ordinari contigerit.* The King never adviseth with the House of Commons, but with the Peers, the Judges of the Kingdom, and with his Privy-Counsellors, who, for the most part, are in the House of Lords, where the King presides, and never goes into the House of Commons. The Commons may send up Grievances, consent or not consent to the Establishment of Laws, grant or refuse the laying on of Taxes : But they are not a Court, nor Judges ; they cannot examine Witnesses upon Oath, which a Court of Judicature can : They cannot try any Person ; and 'tis only since *Edward VI's* time that they have Records ; besides, these are nothing but Journals of what passeth in the House. Appeals are only made to the House of Lords, without the Commons having any Share therein : 'tis very plain, by their Posture, when they are conferring with the Lords upon any Affair, that they do not pretend to be their Equals, nor Judges, as the Lords are ; for the Lords sit, and are cover'd, and the Commons stand, with their Hats off.

IF the Hearts of these Men, who were the Reproach and Disgrace of that House, had not been harden'd, and if they had not had Faces of Brass, it would have seem'd, that they themselves were asham'd of their Ordinance for Trying the King ; for they order'd the Clerk of the House not to give any Copy of it to any Person whatsoever : But it was rather the Stings of a bad Conscience that were tormenting them, and which will torment them to Eternity. And, indeed, some, who have had Business with them, have observ'd, that they were like so many *Cains*, who were afraid that every one that met them would fall upon them : They led them from Room to Room, locking up all
 the

the Doors ; and they even thought that God had set a Mark upon these Parricides, and that something extraordinary and frightful was seen in their Countenances. 1649.

THIS detestable Ordinance was in Words to this Effect ; “ That *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, not content with the Usurpations which his Predecessors had made upon the Rights and Liberties of the People, had had, over-and-above, a wicked Design to overturn the ancient and fundamental Laws of the Nation, and to introduce therein an arbitrary and tyrannical Government : And among the other wicked Means which he had made use of for the Accomplishment of his Designs, he had attack’d it with Fire and Sword, had levy’d War against the Parliament thereof, which had laid Waste all the Country, drain’d the publick Treasures, ruin’d Commerce, caus’d a vast Number of the People to be slain, and open’d a Door to a thousand other Calamities, whereof *Charles Stuart* is guilty, and for which he might, long before this time, have been brought to Justice : But the Parliament having forbore doing of it, in hopes, that God having deliver’d him into their Hands, the Imprisonment of his Person would have appeas’d the Troubles of the Kingdom ; and having seen that this Indulgence serv’d only to encourage him the more, with all his Accomplices, to continue in their cursed Designs : For which Cause, and that no Officer or Magistrate may, for the time to come, presume to take in hand to put the *English* Nation in the Condition of Slaves, the Commons in Parliament assembled have ordain’d, and ordain, That N. N. N. shall be appointed Commissioners and Judges for the Trial of *Charles Stuart* : And these Commissioners, or any twenty of them, shall have Power to hold a Court of Justice, in such Place, and at such Time, as they shall think fit to appoint, under their Hands and Seals, by publick Proclamation, in *Westminster-Hall*, in order there to hear read the Charges and Informations given against *Charles Stuart*, with his Defences ; likewise to hear the Witnesses ; and to proceed to the Sentence and Execution, according as the Merit of the Cause shall require. This Court shall also have Power to chuse Officers and Assistants, such as shall be judg’d necessary for that End, by the Majority of the Votes of the Court : And General *Fairfax*, with all the Officers of Justice, and all other well-affected Persons, shall also have Power to assist the Commissioners in the Discharge of their Commission, which shall end within a Month. ”

THEY had nam’d General *Fairfax* amongst these Commissioners, with a great Number of Officers, and others, who did not appear in this pretended Court. Not that they were better-affected to the King, than the other Villains that were present ; but their being nam’d, made it plainly appear that they were all of the same Cabal. I believe General *Fairfax* may be excepted, who may be said to have had an Abhorrence of this horrid Attempt, and who had only lent his Name to all that the Army had done since the Rebellion. But, that the Names and Persons of those, who actually had a Hand in the King’s Murder, may be detested by all Posterity to the End of the World, I have set them down here :

John

1649.	<i>John Bradshaw</i> , President.	<i>Thomas Wyat</i> .	<i>Thomas Wogan</i> .
	<i>Oliver Cromwell</i> .	<i>Lord Grey of Groby</i> .	<i>John Love</i> .
	<i>Henry Ireton</i> .	<i>Lord Visc. Lisle</i> .	<i>William Cawley</i> .
	<i>Philip Skippon</i> .	<i>Lord Monson</i> .	<i>John Lisle</i> .
	<i>Thomas Harrison</i> .	<i>Sir Hardress Waller</i> .	<i>John Corbet</i> .
	<i>Edward Whaley</i> .	<i>Sir Henry Mildmay</i> .	<i>Thomas Blunt</i> .
	<i>Thomas Pride</i> .	<i>Sir John Danvers</i> .	<i>Thomas Bone</i> .
	<i>Isaac Ewre</i> .	<i>Sir Thomas Maleverer</i> .	<i>John Brown</i> .
	<i>Richard Ingoldsby</i> .	<i>Sir John Bouchier</i> .	<i>Isaac Kenington</i> , Alderman.
	<i>Rowland Wilson</i> .	<i>Sir James Harrington</i> .	<i>Thomas Atkins</i> , Alderm.
	<i>Henry Martin</i> .	<i>Sir William Brereton</i> .	<i>John Foulks</i> , Alderm.
	<i>William Purfroy</i> .	<i>Sir Peter Wentworth</i> .	<i>Thomas Andrews</i> , Alderm.
	<i>Godfroy Boswell</i> .	<i>Sir William Constable</i> .	<i>Francis Thorp</i> , Serjeant at Law.
	<i>John Berkstead</i> .	<i>Sir Gregory Norton</i> .	<i>Isaac Dorislaus</i> , } Counsellors,
	<i>Edmond Ludlow</i> .	<i>Sir Peter Temple</i> .	<i>Mr. Aske</i> , } who drew up the Charge, and assisted.
	<i>John Hutchinson</i> .	<i>William Henningham</i> .	<i>John Cook</i> , Sollicitor-General.
	<i>Robert Tichbourn</i> .	<i>Cornelius Holland</i> .	<i>Mr. Dandy</i> , Serjeant at Arms, Mace-bearer.
	<i>Owen Roe</i> .	<i>Miles Corbet</i> .	<i>Mr. King</i> , Crier.
	<i>Adrian Scroop</i> .	<i>Francis Allen</i> .	<i>Mr. Walsford</i> , } Tipstaves, and Messengers.
	<i>John Okey</i> .	<i>Peregrine Pelham</i> .	<i>Mr. Radley</i> , }
	<i>John Harrison</i> .	<i>John Gourdon</i> .	<i>Mr. Payn</i> , }
	<i>John Desborough</i> .	<i>Denis Bond</i> .	<i>Mr. Powell</i> , }
	<i>John Moore</i> .	<i>Humphrey Edwards</i> .	<i>Mr. Hull</i> , }
	<i>Francis Lassels</i> .	<i>Henry Smith</i> .	
	<i>Edmond Harvey</i> .	<i>James Chaloner</i> .	
	<i>John Venn</i> .	<i>Thomas Chaloner</i> .	
	<i>Anthony Stapely</i> .	<i>John Allured</i> .	
	<i>George Fleetwood</i> .	<i>Gregory Clement</i> .	
	<i>James Temple</i> .	<i>John Fray</i> .	

THE Commission of this Gang of Desperado's was not seal'd with the Great Seal, which the two Houses had caus'd to be made, after that the Lord Keeper had retir'd to the King: That Seal frighten'd these Conspirators then; because the King's Effigies and Arms were upon it, and the Inscription was, *Charles*, by the Grace of God; which would have confounded their diabolical Enterprize. They had order'd it to be broken: but not being as yet resolv'd upon what sort of Seal they should cause to be engrav'd, these Commissioners were to act under their own particular Hands and Seals, with which a great many of their Crew were not very well provided. As the Seal is the King's Seal, so all the Courts are Royal; all Judges, the Kings Counsellors; and all Ordinances and Laws, Royal Statutes: Letters Patent, are Royal Patents; the Peace of the State, is the King's Peace; and all just War, is the War made by the King: He is the Fountain from whence all Authority springs; and it belongs to him to confer Titles and Marks of Honour. So that their Proceeding against the sacred Person of the King, may be compar'd to that of a Gang of Highway-Men, who having seiz'd a Traveller, should lead him into their lurking Hole, where, in order to pass away their Time merrily, they should appoint some of their Number to be Sham-Judges, who having interrogated him in the Terms and Forms of Justice, should condemn him to die, because they would not take away his Life, but with that insolent Ceremony.

WHAT

WHAT is very remarkable in this, is, that the *Jews*, who crucify'd the Son of God, by whom Kings Reign, took then Occasion of the Conjunction, which seem'd favourable to them: They presented a Petition to the Council of War, who crucify'd him again, in the Person of the King, his Vicegerent in the Kingdoms, over which God had set him. By their Petition, they requested, that the Act of their Banishment might be repeal'd, and that they might have *St. Paul's Church* for their Synagogue; for which, and the Library of *Oxford*, wherewith they desir'd to begin their Traffick again, they offer'd five hundred thousand Pounds; but the Council of War would have eight. The Brokers employ'd by the *Jews* in the Affair, were *Peters* and *Martin*. The Proposal was made to the pretended Commons, with another Demand of the Council of War, which agreed very well with this, to wit, That no more Tithes be paid to the Ministers. They were persecuted for having pray'd for the King; though the Directory, establish'd by the two Houses, in Place of the Liturgy, ordain'd, that the King should be pray'd for over all the Kingdom; as was done in *London*, where the Officers of the Army had often propos'd to have the Doors of all the Churches shut up; and where the Mayor and principal Aldermen, in Common-Council, having refus'd to declare, that the supreme Authority was in the pretended House of Commons; that House ordain'd, that forty Members of that Council might hold it, though the Mayor and Aldermen should not be present; any Privilege, Charter, or other Usage of the City to the contrary notwithstanding.

POSTERITY will hardly believe, that the Nobility, which is very illustrious in *England*; that the People, who are brave and warlike; that the powerful City of *London*, which can raise forty thousand good regular Militia, had fallen into so deep a Lethargy, as to suffer that the eighth Part of the Members of the House of Commons, who scarcely represented the eighth Part of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of the Kingdom, all the other Members being either secluded or imprison'd by the Army, should suppress the House of Peers, abrogate the Privileges of *London*, overturn the fundamental Laws of the Monarchy, and erect a Court of Justice for Trying their King: And that they had been so blinded, that they did not reflect upon the Reproach that that would draw upon the whole Nation; and that they did not conspire together, in order bravely to oppose the Erection of this Butchery, to which they all expos'd themselves. If a handful of profligate Men have had the Impudence, in the Horror of their Crimes, to trample upon all Laws, both divine and human, and even that which was the most sacred and inviolable of the State, and to usurp an Authority for taking the King's Life; who could be sure of his own? So much the more as any Man was rais'd above the rest, so much the more Reason had he to be afraid: If Men, who were not themselves a Court of Justice, and could not so much as try the meanest Man of the Kingdom, not even though all the Members had been lawfully assembled in their House: If, I say, such Kind of People could constitute themselves Judges of the King, who could have none but God; they, his mortal Enemies, who had declar'd by their Manifesto's, that they had a mind to have his Life; they, whom the meanest Subject could have excepted against in all the Courts of Justice: If that, I say was establish'd, such a Faction, nay, a thousand other Factions; might not they, in

1649. like manner, erect themselves into Courts, in all the Corners of the Kingdom? After which, could there be any other Thing expected but Murders and Massacres? Would not all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom destroy one another? And would not the whole Kingdom, at last, become a Slaughter-house, and a frightful Defart?

The END of the ELEVENTH BOOK.

THE

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

T R O U B L E S

O F

G R E A T - B R I T A I N.

B O O K XII.

AT length we are come to the last Act of the most horrid Tragedy that Men have ever seen upon the Theatre of the World, to wit, to the fatal Catastrophe of the Troubles, whereof we have spoken, and which we look upon as Men commonly do upon old Age, at which every Body desires to arrive; but when a Man is come to it, he would fain be able to draw back from it. However, it is in this Place of our History that the Reader waits us: And as 'tis, chiefly, when the great Luminaries are eclips'd, that Men are most curious to observe them; so, perhaps, the Reader has only run over what we have written hitherto, in order, at last, to take notice of this so tragical a Conclusion. But he can hear of nothing now, but of Blood, and Spectacles of Horror, which ought to astonish Heaven, and make the Earth tremble. And I have so great a Reluctancy to give a Description of it, besides, that my Profession ought to keep me from it, that I could wish to be excus'd from giving it: For how can I represent a great King, nay, one of the best of Kings, the Father of his Country, ending his Life upon a Scaffold, and that this Cruelty has been committed by a People whom he had so much lov'd? There is not a Soul so little sensible, but must be touch'd with Grief, nor a Heart,

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but must be ready to break, at the Relation of the most strange Thing that ever was seen under the Cope of Heaven. I could wish that I were allow'd to draw the Curtain upon this bloody Theatre, and to cover with a Veil the Grief which no Art can represent: However, I make these Wishes in vain, for the Picture must be finish'd; and as we have shewn his Moderation in his Prosperities, we must let his admirable Constancy be seen in his most deplorable Adversities; and that as he has been always meek upon the Throne, he has been as stedfast and unshaken in his Prison: That he has always been himself, still bearing with an even Mind both good and bad Fortunes: Prosperities did not in the least swell his Courage, nor did Misfortunes damp it: He declin'd his own Grandeur in his good Fortune, and conquer'd himself in his bad: He triumph'd over the Rage of his Enemies, by his long Patience: His Fall has heighten'd the Glory of his Virtues, which the Darknes of that fatal Night have render'd more bright: In short, he has erected glorious Trophies to himself with his own Sufferings, as the Sun makes Crowns to himself of the Clouds that would have cover'd him.

As soon as the Army had presented to the House of Commons that Remonstrance of the 20th of *November*, which was an execrable Libel, the King's Ruin was no longer to be doubted: The King himself foresaw that he should be undone, as soon as he was kept close Prisoner in *Carisbrook* Castle; whence, having prevail'd upon some of his Guards, he found Means to let such of his Servants hear from him, as were still in the Neighbourhood of the Island, and who had stopp'd there with a Design to wait an Opportunity of serving his Majesty; amongst others, he cast his Eyes upon the Lord *Newburgh*, of the Family of *Levingston* in *Scotland*: This Lord had always been so faithful and affectionate to him, that he would not have scrupled to venture his Life, if there had been Occasion, in order to save that of his Master: In a Word, the King knew him to be capable of undertaking any thing for setting him at Liberty, if possible. His Majesty then wrote to this Lord, and bid him order two good Horses to be kept ready on the Sea-side, and to wait for him at a Village about three Miles from *Guilford*. *Newburgh* being gone thither, had Advice, that two Gentlemen, who had been order'd, as well as himself, to wait for his Majesty, had just gone for *Southampton*, and that they had left Orders for him, to go in all Haste to *London*. What had oblig'd them to do so, was, that the King having attempted to make his Escape through a Window of his Chamber, he never could get out but the half of his Body, and, strive whatever he could, he was forc'd to give it over; however, without being discover'd. In order to facilitate his Escape, he found Means to get some *Aqua fortis*, which in a little time had eaten into some of the Iron Bars of the Windows. *Hammond*, who commanded in the Castle, having presently perceiv'd it, and at the same time found out those whom the King had practis'd upon, he turn'd them out of the Castle, and put others in their Place. Immediately after, the Treaty of Peace was begun in *Newport*, which made the King think no more of making his Escape.

IN the mean time, *Newburgh* made shift to see the King, who being inform'd that the Army was labouring to break off the Treaty, and that, perhaps, the End would not answer the favourable Beginnings it had had; the King, I say, order'd *Newburgh* a second time to cause some Horses to be kept ready, and to put them into the Hands of a Gentleman whom he should send him. Every thing having been prepar'd for the King's Escape,

Escape, according to the Orders his Majesty himself had given, a Party of Horse came from the Army, who carry'd him away by Force, and conducted him to *Hurst Castle* in the County of *Southampton*.

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The King carry'd to *Hurst-Castle* by *Harrison*.

THREE Days after the King was in that Castle, *Newburgh* found Means to convey a Letter to him, and at the same time treated with the Captain of a Frigate, in whom he had Confidence, and who promis'd him to carry the King to any Place he should be pleas'd to order him. There was a sort of a long Causeway that reach'd from the Castle to the Harbour of *Milford*, upon which the King walk'd every Day at eleven o' Clock in the Forenoon, with three or four Soldiers only to guard him; so that as Ships could anchor very near the Shore, the Long-Boat could easily come on Shore with a Score of Men, who, without running any Risque, would have been able to bring off his Majesty, and carry him in Safety on Board of the Frigate: But the Captain having in all Haste fitted out his Ship in the *Thames*, and being ready to set Sail, a Party of Horse, commanded by Colonel *Harrison*, came to take the King, in order to conduct him to *Windsor-Castle*.

NEVERTHELESS, *Newburgh*, not despairing of succeeding in his Design, went immediately to *Bagshot-Park*, where he then liv'd, and by which his Majesty was to pass, in going to *Windsor*. The King came there pretty soon in the Morning, and not thinking that *Harrison* intended to make him dine in the Lodge, he sent Word to *Newburgh*, to dispatch, as soon as possible, one of his Servants, with two Horses, to a Place of the Heath, call'd *Swintley-Bars*; and, that his Majesty might at first Sight know him, he order'd him to put a pretty large Patch under his left Eye: But before the Horses could be got out of the Stable, the King's Head-Cook came, who was a Man entirely at the Devotion of the Army, and who had Orders from *Harrison* to dress Dinner there. The King seeing that, sent again to tell *Newburgh*, that he wish'd some Way could be contriv'd for getting him convey'd privately out of the Lodge, if it was possible: But as he was so narrowly watch'd, that the Soldiers never lost Sight of him, he had no way left him for escaping out of their Hands, but by the Swiftnes of the Horse upon which he should be mounted, when he should cross the Heath. And as the Horse, upon which the King had come, was not fit for performing that, he was made lame, to the End that, without any Suspicion, he might take another Horse out of *Newburgh's* Stable. *Harrison*, however, could hardly be persuaded to let the King make use of him: But his Majesty seeming very indifferent about it, *Harrison* consented that the King should mount *Newburgh's* Horse; but he order'd the Troopers who conducted him, to keep close about him the whole Way; which they perform'd so punctually, that it was impossible for him to get from them.

The King dines at the Lord *Newburgh's*, where there was an Intention of making the King's Escape, but in vain.

NEWBURGH follow'd the King to *Windsor*, where having alighted at an Inn, he found a Gentleman, who, in a handsome manner, offer'd to assist him in making his Majesty's Escape, and also promis'd to get his Majesty a Pass-Key, for opening all the Gates; and likewise said, that if his Majesty would do him the Honour to trust him, he durst engage to convey him out by the Casemates, which went under the Castle to the River-side, and which the Garison knew nothing of. *Newburgh* gave the King an Account of it, by a Letter which he got convey'd to him: And the King having the same Day receiv'd

An Attempt to make his Escape from *Windsor-Castle*, but also in vain.

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 * *Passe-pas-*
saut.

The King
 brought to
 St. James's.

the Pass-Key *, which the Gentleman had promis'd him, he sent *Newburgh* Word, that he would trust the Gentleman who had offer'd his Service so handsomly, and order'd him to have every Thing ready for his getting out of the Castle, and that the Ship he had hired might at the same time be in a Readiness somewhere upon the Coast for carrying him to *Jersey*, as soon as he could get to her. All that was done according to the King's Orders, but all was thwarted by the Misfortune that always attended his Majesty's Affairs: For as all was ready for his Deliverance, which seem'd infallible, his Enemies intercepted two Letters, one from the Queen, and the other from *Newburgh*. As soon as they had decypher'd them, they search'd the King, and found the Pass-Key in his Pocket: An Account thereof having been sent to *London*, two Days after he was carry'd thither, and imprison'd in *St. James's* Palace.

ON the 19th of *January*, Mr. *Dandy*, Sergeant at Arms, carrying the Mace, rode to *Westminster*, accompany'd by the Officers of the pretended High Court of Justice, bare-headed: Six Trumpets, who march'd before him, having sounded in the *Palace-Yard*, Proclamation was made, to give Notice to the People, that the Commissioners of the High Court of Justice were to sit To-morrow, for the first time, in *Westminster-Hall*, where all those, who had any Complaint to make against *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, should be heard. The like Proclamation was made in *Cheapside*, *St. Paul's Church-yard*, and at the *Old Exchange*. What must seem very strange, is, that all that great Multitude of People, that had got together there, express'd no more Resentment of it, than the Stones of that stately Building near to which they were met.

IT was on the 20th of *January* then, that these Parricides met in *Westminster-Hall*: They chose the upper End of the Hall for their Sitting, where they had caus'd Benches to be erected on both Sides, cover'd with scarlet Cloth, for the Commissioners; a Chair of State cover'd with red Velvet, with a Desk cover'd with a Carpet and Cushion of the same Velvet, for the pretended President *Bradshaw*. The Sword and Mace were carry'd before him, and he had for his Guard twenty Gentlemen, each carrying a Partizan, who were commanded by Colonel *Fox*. This petty Counsellor, rais'd to be a Judge, being seated, and next to him the Commissioners, the Ushers open'd the Door of the Hall, which was presently fill'd with Men and Women of all Ranks. After the Ushers had commanded Silence, Colonel *Tomlinson*, who had the Custody of the King, had Orders to bring him before the Court. His Majesty being come, surrounded with Guards, the Mace-Bearer receiv'd him at the Door of the Hall, and conducted him to the Bar, where there was another Chair of State cover'd with red Velvet, prepar'd for him. His Majesty being seated therein, and still keeping on his Hat, the Clerk read the Ordinance of the pretended Commons, containing a Power to Try the King; and as he nam'd the Commissioners, each of them stood up, and answer'd to his Name. The Clerk was seated at *Bradshaw's* Feet, at the End of a Table cover'd with a rich *Turkey* Carpet, upon which were the Sword and Mace, with two strong Boxes, wherein was the Charge against the King. This cursed Ordinance having been read, *Bradshaw* turning towards the King, and casting off all the Respect he ow'd to his sacred Person, he call'd him by his Name, and told him, " That the Commons in Parliament assembled,

" being

The King
 brought to
 Westminster-
 Hall.

“ being sensibly affected with the unhappy State into which the King-
 “ dom was fallen, and with so much Blood as had been spilt therein,
 “ as he was charg’d with having been the principal Cause thereof ; they
 “ had, by their own Authority, constituted this High Court of Justice,
 “ in which he should hear read the Charge and Informations that had
 “ been given in against him, upon which the Court should after-
 “ wards pass their Judgment.” Then *John Cook*, their Solicitor-
 General, directing his Speech to *Bradshaw*, calling him *My Lord*, said,
 “ That he charg’d *Charles Stuart* with High Treason, in the Behalf of
 “ the Commons, and of all the People of *England* ; and that, in their
 “ Name, he requir’d, that the Depositions of the Witnesses might be
 “ read to him.” The King offer’d to speak before reading of the Charge,
 but was interrupted by *Bradshaw*, who told him, “ That he should
 “ be heard after the reading of the Charge that had been given in
 “ against him.”

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THE Sum of the Charge was, “ That he had been admitted King
 “ of *England*, and trusted with a limited Power to govern according to
 “ Law ; and, by his Oath and Office, was oblig’d to use the Power
 “ committed to him for the Good and Benefit of the People ; but that
 “ he had, out of a wicked Design to erect to himself an Unlimited
 “ and Tyrannical Power, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of
 “ the People, Traitorously levy’d War against the present Parliament,
 “ and the People therein represented.” After this outrageous Preamble,
 it contain’d an Account of all the Battles, Sieges, and Rencounters
 wherein the King had been personally present, and of all the Com-
 missions he had given out, as well in *England* as *Ireland*, for levying
 and commanding Troops. The Conclusion of it was, “ That it thereby
 “ appear’d, that the King was the Author of a bloody War, and that
 “ he was guilty of all the Treasons, Murders, Burnings, and Desolations
 “ with which the whole Nation in general had been afflicted since the
 “ Beginning of the War.” Whereupon *Cook*, in the Name of all the
 People, charg’d the King with being a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and
 an irreconcilable Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England* ; and
 requir’d, “ that he might be obliged to answer to all the Particulars ; to
 “ the End that such an Examination, Trial, and Judgment might be
 “ had thereupon, as should be agreeable to Justice.”

The Charge
against the
King.

DURING the reading of this defamatory and seditious Libel, the
 Silver Head of the Cane, which the King had in his Hand, fell to the
 Ground ; and seeing that no Body offer’d to take it up again, he took
 it up himself : Then sitting down again, he smiled to hear some
 Things truly surprizing, especially when his Majesty heard those very
 injurious Words of Tyrant, Traitor, and Murderer, which were Things
 notoriously false, and altogether the Reverse of his Majesty’s Temper ;
 on the contrary, his greatest Fault had been his too great Clemency ;
 and it was surprizing to see how these desperate Men could be so auda-
 cious as to assert them.

THIS insolent Libel being read, *Bradshaw* told the King, “ That
 “ he had heard the Charge of the Crimes of which he was accus’d, and
 “ that the Court was prayed, on Behalf of the Commons of *England*,
 “ that he might be put to answer thereto.” A deep Silence was kept,
 in order to hear the King speak, who said, “ That he had lately been in
 “ the Isle of *Wight*, where he had begun a Treaty, upon the publick
 “ Faith,

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“ Faith, with the two Houses ; that he had proceeded therein with all
 “ the Sincerity possible with their Commissioners, who were Men of
 “ Honour, with whom he had good Reason to be well satisfy’d : And
 “ as they were ready to sign the Treaty, he had been carry’d out of
 “ the Island by Force, without knowing why ; and after having been
 “ remov’d from Place to Place, he had been brought hither : That
 “ he desir’d then to know by what Authority all that was done : Not
 “ but he very well knew that there were many Sorts of Authority, and
 “ that there were even some exercis’d by Highway-men.” He justly
 demanded a lawful Authority, and recommended to these pretended
 Judges, “ That, before they went any further, they would, at least,
 “ remember that he was their King, and take Care not to heap up so
 “ many Crimes one upon another, which would certainly draw down
 “ the Judgments of God upon the Kingdom, still greater and more
 “ terrible than those it had already felt : That, in the mean time, he
 “ would not betray his own Dignity, nor prostitute that Authority which
 “ he held immediately of God, by a long and lawful Succession of so
 “ many Kings his Ancestors.

HIS Majesty said these Things with his wonted Gravity, and Calm-
 ness of Temper ; but, however, they did not in the least affect these
 Parricides : On the contrary, *Bradshaw*, in a very arrogant manner,
 answer’d the King, “ That if he had rightly minded what he had told
 “ him at first, he would have known by what Authority they pro-
 “ ceeded : That it was that of the People of *England*, who had elected
 “ him King, and who now required that he should answer them : That
 “ if he would not acknowledge the Authority of the Court, it would
 “ proceed.” The King resuming the Discourse, said, “ That it was
 “ above a thousand Years that the Kingdom of *England* had been
 “ hereditary, but it had never been elective : That, beyond Compari-
 “ son, he was more inclin’d to preserve the Liberties of his People, than
 “ any of his pretended Judges could be : That though he was account-
 “ able to none but God, nevertheless, he should answer all that was
 “ laid to his Charge, if they would let him see by what lawful Autho-
 “ rity he had been brought before them ; and, that what he demanded,
 “ was due to the meanest Subject, who likewise might very justly except
 “ against them for his Judges.

BRADSHAW flew out into such a Passion, that he told his Majesty,
 “ That his way of Answering being to interrogate the Court, it did not
 “ become him, in the Condition he was then in.” The King, with-
 out being mov’d by these so insolent Words, continu’d to speak, and said,
 “ That Lieutenant-Colonel *Cobbet*, who was there present, could testify,
 “ that he had made him come out of the Isle of *Wight* against his
 “ Will ; and that it was likewise by Force that he appear’d before
 “ them, since he was not come there to submit himself to their pre-
 “ tended Court ; and that his having refus’d to answer, should not, how-
 “ ever, hinder him from still maintaining the just Privileges of the House
 “ of Commons ; but that he heard no mention made of the House of
 “ Peers, without which there could be no Parliament, much less with-
 “ out the King, who was naturally the Head of that great Body : And
 “ is it thus (cry’d out his Majesty) that it was propos’d to bring me
 “ hither with Honour, and to conclude the Treaty with me ; for the
 “ Freedom and Security of which, the publick Faith was engaged ?”
 And going on, he likewise said, “ That he acknowledg’d that he was
 “ oblig’d

“ oblig’d to procure and maintain the Peace of the State, and that he
 “ would do it too, to his last Breath : but as Lawful Authority could
 “ not be resisted, without committing a Crime ; so neither could
 “ a Tyrannical and altogether Unlawful Power be submitted to, with-
 “ out Baseness. ”

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THE pretended President, not able to argue the Case with the King, only told him, “ That the Court, in Expectation of his final Answer, “ adjourn’d their Meeting to *Monday* the 22d, and would preserve the “ Peace, of which he had spoken, in causing Justice to be done ; and “ that it was the chief Thing his Judges were labouring to bring about, “ who were all very well persuaded that their Authority was Lawful. ” He told no new Thing, in saying that he and his Accomplices thought themselves sufficiently authoriz’d ; for all Assassins and Highway-men were no less convinc’d of their Power and Authority, and would fain overthrow likewise that, whereby they ought to be hang’d, or broke upon the Wheel : but he blasphem’d against Heaven, when he added, that they deriv’d their Authority from God ; seeing he hath so expressly forbid, and even sometimes severely punish’d those wicked Attempts, as we have shewn elsewhere : besides, that the Punishment of *Korah* and his Associates, whom the Earth swallow’d up alive, ought to have struck Terror into all Men, having sufficiently shewn them, that they must never rise up against the Powers which God hath establish’d upon the Earth.

As the Guards were carrying back the King, the Soldiers cry’d out aloud, *Justice ! Justice ! Execution !* On the contrary, the poor People, not able to forbear crying, *God save the King*, a great many of them were very ill us’d : And an old brutish Fellow, who was Roaring, rather than Crying, having had the Impudence to spit in the King’s Face as he pass’d, that good Prince, wiping it off with his Handkerchief, without the least Emotion, only said, *That his Saviour had suffer’d more Ignominy than that, for his Sake.*

ON *Monday* the 22d, the Parricides met again in *Westminster-Hall*, whither the King having been brought, as before, *Cook* began to speak, and said to *Bradshaw*, “ That, at the last Meeting, he had produc’d, on “ Behalf of the People of *England*, a Charge of High Treason against “ the Prisoner at the Bar ; and that having been requir’d to answer to “ it, instead of complying, he had call’d in Question the Authority “ of the Court ; and that now he requir’d, on Behalf of the People, “ that the Prisoner might be put to make a positive Answer ; and in “ case he should refuse to do it, that the Matter of the Charge may be “ taken *pro Confesso*, and the Court may proceed according to Justice. ” *Bradshaw* having repeated the same Words to the King, added, “ That “ they expected he would give a positive Answer to the Particulars of the “ Charge brought against him ; and that if he did not do it, they had “ Proofs ready at hand : And as for their Authority, both he and all the “ Kingdom ought to be satisfy’d with it, because it was the Authority “ of the Commons of *England* in Parliament assembled. ” The King reply’d, “ That as no Person could give what he had not ; so the Com- “ mons could not convey to any Men, whatever they be, the Authority “ and Jurisdiction of a Court, which they never had ; and that if they “ had none, when they were lawfully assembled in a Body, he was “ surpriz’d with what Impudence fifty or sixty Conspirators could lay “ Claim

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“ Claim to it, some whereof were Officers of the Army, and the rest
 “ were desperately devoted to it. ” As to the Battles wherein the King
 had been present, they had been all fought in the Face of the Sun, as
 well as the Sieges of Towns whereof he was accus'd, which had been
 undertaken and carry'd on in the like manner. So that the Counsellor
 made himself ridiculous, when he laid such Stress upon the Proofs
 which, he said, he had ready at hand : But this Counsellor would have
 been very much surpriz'd, if he had been ask'd, why he had not caus'd
 to be insert'd in the Charge, that infamous Declaration which the House
 of Commons had caus'd to be publish'd against the King, when both
 Houses voted no more Addresses to be made to his Majesty ? It was both
 the Time and Place to do it : For in that defamatory Libel, among the
 Crimes which they laid to the King's Charge, he was accus'd of having
 been Accessory to the poisoning King *James*, his Father. It may be
 easily believ'd, that these real Parricides did not leave out that Article,
 out of any Design they might have to spare his Majesty, since they had
 a mind to have his Life, and that that Pretence would have been the
 most plausible of all those they had ever been able to invent for making
 him lose it ; besides, they did not put it in the Declaration, but only to
 palliate their Shame. So *Bradshaw* must have been sadly puzzled, to
 find the least Proof of it ; and thus he would soon have been forc'd,
 with great Shame, to give over all this insolent Grimace of the Forms
 of Justice.

THE King having a mind to urge the Reasons why he neither could
 nor ought to acknowledge this pretended Court, he was interrupted by
Bradshaw, who said, “ That what the King did, was not agreeable to
 “ the Proceedings of any Court ; because he took upon him to dispute
 “ the Authority of the Court, before which he appear'd as a Prisoner,
 “ and a great Delinquent : That he ought to submit himself to it, and
 “ that it would not suffer its Authority to be call'd in Question. ” The
 King having a mind to resume the Discourse, *Bradshaw* interrupted him
 again, and told him, “ That his Reasons should not be heard ; because
 “ the Vote of the Commons, was the Law of the Kingdom, and that
 “ he ought to have rul'd and reign'd by Law : In a word, That the
 “ Court would take Notice of the Contempt he had shewn, and that the
 “ Clerk should record it. ”

As there was nothing but most palpable Falshoods in all this Discourse,
 the King did not mind them ; his Majesty insisted only upon *Bradshaw's*
 having call'd him a Delinquent ; and ask'd, “ How it could be said,
 “ that a King was a Delinquent ? since, by all the Laws of the King-
 “ dom, none but those who side with the King's Enemies can become
 “ such ; and that, all the World over, every Man was allow'd to protest
 “ against Proceedings that were done contrary to the Laws or Customs
 “ of the Places where he was summon'd to appear ; and that it was
 “ also every-where allow'd, to demand to be referr'd to one's own
 “ Judges. ” *Bradshaw* reply'd, “ That the King could not protest
 “ against the Jurisdiction of the Court ; and that it had its Authority
 “ from the Commons of *England*, to whom both he, and all the Kings,
 “ his Predecessors, had always been accountable. ” The King having
 demanded one single Instance of it, *Bradshaw*, who still interrupted
 him, took it ill that he did not allow him to speak, and told him,
 “ That his Demurrer was of no Use to him, the Court having its Juris-
 “ diction from the supreme Authority, which was inherent to the Com-
 “ mons

“mons of *England*.” But the King having once more ask’d, “Who
 “had made the Commons a Court of Justice?” *Bradshaw*, instead of
 answering, order’d the Clerk to read this, which was written in a Paper
 he had there ready at hand; “*Charles Stuart* King of *England*, you have
 “been accus’d, on the Behalf of the People of *England*, of High
 “Treason, and many other Crimes; the Court have determin’d, that
 “you ought to answer the same.” The King having answer’d, “That
 “he would do it, as soon as they should shew him their Authority;”
 and having required, “That he might give in his Reasons why he had
 “demanded that of them;” *Bradshaw* answer’d, “That it did not
 “become Prisoners to require.” And as the King had reply’d, “That
 “he was not an ordinary Prisoner;” *Bradshaw* order’d the Guards to
 “take him away, since he had nothing else to say;” and told him,
 “That the next time he should appear before them, he should know
 “their final Determination.”

ON *Tuesday* the 23d, the Parricides, to the Number of Seventy-
 three, met again, for the third time, in *Westminster-Hall*, whither the
 King having been brought, *Cook*, directing his Discourse to *Bradshaw*,
 said, “That this was the third time that the Court, out of meer Favour,
 “had caus’d the Prisoner to be brought to the Bar, before determining
 “any thing: That the first time, he had accus’d him of the greatest
 “Treason that ever had been committed in *England*; and that he had
 “humbly requested the Court, on Behalf of the People, that the Pri-
 “soner might be oblig’d to answer quickly to the Charge he had given
 “in against him; but, instead of answering, he had disputed the Juris-
 “diction of the Court: Whereupon it had granted him Yesterday for
 “giving his positive Answer, as he had requir’d him to do, and that
 “the Prisoner might confess or deny the Facts contain’d in his Charge:
 “Nevertheless, that he had done neither; on the contrary, he had
 “excepted against his Judges, who ought to have no Regard thereto,
 “nor any longer to delay pronouncing Judgment against him; so much
 “the more, because, according to Law, when a Prisoner refuses to
 “answer to the Facts upon which he is interrogated, he tacitly con-
 “fesseth the Things whereof he is accus’d by the Charge given in against
 “him; and he is try’d as a Mute, as had often been done to Prisoners,
 “who deserv’d more Favour than This at the Bar: That besides all
 “that, the Commons, in whom the supreme Authority of the Common-
 “wealth is lodg’d, had declar’d, That all that was contain’d in the
 “Charge, was well known to all the World: That therefore he pray’d
 “the Court, or rather, that the innocent Blood that had been shed,
 “and which cry’d aloud, conjur’d it, to pronounce Judgment against
 “him.”

THUS did this pitiful Pettifogger prattle, who was not aware that he
 discover’d to all the World, that the pretended Commons, his Ma-
 sters, had already condemn’d his Majesty, before the Erection of this
 Sham-Court. Then *Bradshaw*, looking upon the King, told him,
 “That the Court had been very ill pleas’d with his Behaviour, since
 “he had been brought before it, and that it might have already pro-
 “ceeded to pronounce Judgment against him, since Justice respects no
 “Man for his Quality, yet it had given him Time to answer positively,
 “whether he was Guilty, or Not Guilty of the Crimes laid to his
 “Charge.” The King answer’d, “That the Day before he had begun
 “to speak for the Liberties of the People, but he had been interrupted,
 “and

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“ and that he desir’d to know if he might do it yet.” *Bradshaw* reply’d, “ That he had already heard the Resolution of the Court upon that Question ; and that, without making so many Digressions, he ought to answer to the Charge, and defend himself the best way he could.” To that the King answer’d, “ For the Charge, he valu’d it not a Rush ; it is the Liberties of the People of *England* that he stood for, and it was that alone he had at Heart : That if he should acknowledge a new Court, he, who ought to be an Example to every Body in maintaining Justice, and the old Laws, did not know how he could answer that Obligation which God had laid upon him, and whereof he he had spoken the first Day that he was brought before this new Court.”

THIS Discourse of the King’s having nettled *Bradshaw*, he order’d the Clerk to do his Duty. The Clerk having read the same Paper he had done the Day before, the King said again, “ That he wanted to inform his Subjects of the Innocence and Justice of his Proceedings ; and that he had never made Use of the Authority with which God had entrusted him, but so far as he had judg’d it necessary for the Defence of their Liberties, and of the Royal Dignity : but that he could not acknowledge a new Court, which had set itself up against their Privileges, and which overturn’d all the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.”

BRADSHAW having answer’d, “ That this was the third time the King had disown’d the Court, and put an Affront upon it ; and that his Actions, which were written in bloody Characters in all the three Kingdoms, gave sufficient Testimony after what Manner he had preserv’d the Privileges of the People ;” he order’d the Clerk to record, That the King had refus’d to answer ; and then having order’d the Guards to carry back the Prisoner after the usual manner, there were Fellows hired on set Purpose, who cry’d out loudly, *God bleſs the Kingdom of England.*

AT last, on *Saturday* the 27th, Sixty-seven of the Parricides met, for the last time, in *Westminster-Hall*, where *Bradshaw* was in a scarlet Robe. As soon as the King had been brought thither, and was in his Chair, he offer’d to speak ; but *Bradshaw* told him, “ That the Court must be heard before he could speak :” And having summ’d up all that had pass’d in the former Meetings, he declar’d, “ That the Court had resolv’d to give its Judgment ; but that the Prisoner should be heard before Sentence, since he desir’d it ; provided, however, that he should not any more take upon him to call in question the Authority of the Court : but if he had any thing to say that might be of Use to his Defence, he was allow’d to speak.” As *Bradshaw* was saying, “ That the King had been accus’d of Treason by all the People of *England* ;” a Lady, who was in the Galleries, cry’d out, *Not the half of the People* ; but she was immediately silenc’d. We have not, as yet, been able to learn who this generous Lady was ; but what she said, well deserves to be written upon Brass, and her Name ought to be transmitted to Posterity, in order to leave a lasting Reproach upon the Memories of such Numbers of Men as were then in that populous City of *London*, who had the Hard-heartedness to see their King butcher’d by a Gang of Men got together, while they had a regular Militia, more numerous by the half, at their Command.

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THE King then having Liberty to speak, said, "That since they would not bear that he should call their Authority in Question, tho' he thought it of great Importance towards the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberties of the Subjects, he should insist no more upon that: That he would only tell them, That for a long Time he had nothing left him free but his Honour and Conscience, which could not be taken from him, and which should still be much more dear to him than his Life: That if he had had a mind to prefer it to the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of his Subjects, he could have defended it a long Time, and, by that Means, put off the Sentence they were ready to pronounce against him: For as he was not altogether ignorant nor unexperient'd in the Affairs of the World, if the Love and ardent Affection he had for his Country had not outweigh'd his own Preservation, he could have easily been able to struggle for his Life after another Manner than he had done: That it was the Love he had for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Preservation of the Liberty of his Subjects, rather than any Interest which concern'd him in particular, that made him desire to be heard before the Lords and Commons, in the *Painted Chamber*, before Sentence was given: That though they should grant him what, with so much Justice, he demanded of them, the Delay would not be great; and they should consider, that Men may more easily repent of having given a Sentence too rashly, than make it void after being given.

BRADSHAW answer'd, "That all that the King had said, amounted to nothing, but that he had a mind to decline the Jurisdiction of the Court." The Commissioners, however, rose up, and retir'd for half an Hour into the *Court of Wards*; from whence being return'd to their Places, Bradshaw told the King, "That they had retir'd for Form's sake only; that they had been but too dilatory; and that, without considering what he propos'd, it was resolv'd, that they should proceed to give Sentence; the Judges being so bound to administer speedy Justice, that it was as bad to delay it, as to refuse it altogether."

THE King press'd them again, that he might be heard before the Lords and Commons, and also conjur'd these Sham-Commissioners, by the Love they pretended to have for the Publick Liberty, to consent to it; but he spoke to Serpents that had their Ears stopp'd up. At last this deplorable Prince desir'd, that what he had propos'd, might be recorded; and then he had the Patience to hear a long and tedious Speech, full of Calumnies, and ridiculous Absurdities, which Bradshaw made to him, in order to justify their Sentence.

HE told the King, "That he ought to have govern'd according to the Laws: That, by his Coronation Oath, he was bound so to do; and, that formerly the Barons had taken up Arms, in order to compel some of his Predecessors to observe them." And surely the King had always acknowledg'd, that the Laws were the true Basis which supported his Authority. He grounded all the Rights of his Royal Dignity thereupon, and never demanded any thing but what he could claim according to the Laws. Very far from having any other Thoughts, he very frequently said to such as had the Honour to approach his Person, "That he was resolv'd, that the meanest of his Subjects should live securely under the Authority of the Laws; and that they should no more be

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"infring'd for them, than for him." That is so true, that when he has had some Reason to contest with the two Houses, he always quoted the Laws upon which he grounded his Demands, as the whole Series of this History sufficiently verifies. As for the Barons Wars which happen'd in the Time of King *John*, 'tis to be consider'd, that *William* the Conqueror, *William* II. *Henry* I. *Stephen*, *Henry* II. and *Richard* I. had all enjoy'd the Rights of the Royal Sovereignty, according to the ancient Customs, which are the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, without ever having been disturb'd in the Possession thereof. In the Time of King *John*, the Barons and Commons finding that those Customs had been violated, they press'd the King to restore them, as he did in the seventh Year of his Reign. After that, King *Henry* III. his Son, confirm'd them; and those Laws have since been call'd *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Forestis*, which is 423 Years ago.

BUT with what Impudence could these Parricides speak of Laws? they, who had overthrown them all? For the Laws are expressly thus; "That the King has no Equal in his Kingdom: That he can do no Wrong: That to imprison the King, in order to force him to consent to any Demands; To make War against him; To make an Attempt upon his Crown, his Life, or upon the Queen's, or his eldest Son's; To take away from him by Force his Counsellors; To usurp the Royal Authority; To counterfeit the Great Seal; To spread Reports amongst the People, in order to alienate their Affection from the King; To alter, by Force, the establish'd Religion and Laws; To invite Foreigners to invade the Kingdom; To seize upon the King's Forts, Castles, and Ships;" All these Acts, I say, are, by the Laws, Crimes of High Treason. Nevertheless, these so zealous Traitors had broke them all; and were so much the more guilty, because, by these Laws, to have only a Design to depose the King, or to take away his Life, though the Design be not put in Execution, 'tis Treason, and punishable by Death. The Parliament decided it so against the Earl of *Arundel*, in the Time of *Richard* II. and, in like manner, against the Authors of the Gunpowder Treason, in the Reign of King *James*. In that of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Meetings which the Earl of *Essex* had, in order only to change some Persons of the Queen's Council, were declar'd Treason by all the Judges of the Kingdom.

WHEN the Lords and Commons fell into Rebellion, in order to shelter themselves from these Laws, they invented these Distinctions; That the King was greater than each of his Subjects in particular, but not than all of them together: That, in the Laws, the Word *King*, is taken rather for the Dignity and Office, than for the Person; for his Body Politick, and not for his Natural Body. But these Gentlemen ought to know, that where the Law distinguisheth not, no Distinction must be made; and that the Text of the Laws will not bear these Corruptions, since it expressly says, That the King is not subject but to God alone, and that there is none above him but God. It contains also, in express Terms, That if all the People of *England* should break a League with a foreign Prince, without the King's Consent; yet, for all that, the League would still be in Force: That he is the Father of the Country; the Husband of the Kingdom, whom it marries, at his Coronation, by a Ring: Which clearly shews, that the whole Body of the Kingdom is inferior to the King. It was also the Opinion of the People of *Israel*, when, having a mind to dissuade King *David* from going to the

the War, they told him, *That his Life was more precious than that of ten thousand Men of the People* : where, putting thus a certain Number for an uncertain, they meant, that it was more precious than all their Lives put together.

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THE Distinction of the King's Political Body and Capacity, from his Natural Body and Capacity, was contrived by the two *Spencers*, Father and Son, in the Reign of *Edward II.* who, in order to cloke their Treason, alledg'd, That the Fidelity due to the King, was rather in regard of the first Capacity, than of the second. Whence they concluded, as the Rebels of this Time have done, That if the King did not rightly govern his Subjects, they ought to depose him ; and since that could not be done by the Laws, it should be done by Force, and then to take care of the Government. But this false and pernicious Opinion was condemn'd with Execration, by a Meeting of Parliament, held by the same *Edward*, which, in the Statutes of *England*, is call'd *Exilium Hugonis* ; and by another Meeting, held the first Year of the Reign of *Edward III.* Besides, the Text of the Laws cannot bear this cursed Interpretation ; for 'tis not the Dignity, but the Person of the King, that can be put in Prison, that can have Wife and Children, and upon whose Life Traitors can make an Attempt.

THEN *Bradshaw* spoke of " the Obligation the King was under to
" call frequent Parliaments, and to consent to all the Bills that should
" be presented to him : That, formerly, the Parliament had met twice
" a Year ; and that afterwards, by a Law of *Edward III.*'s, it was to
" meet every Year : That it was there that the Grievances of the People
" were redress'd ; and that all the Misfortunes that had befallen them
" for some Years, proceeded only from the long Interruption of Par-
" liaments ; which are in *England*, what the *Tribunes* of the People
" were in *Rome*, and the *Ephori* in *Sparta* : And, in short, the King
" having been forc'd to call this last Parliament, he had not given over
" oppressing them ; and attacking them, Root and Branch, all at once,
" he design'd to imitate *Caligula*, who wish'd that all the People of
" *Rome* had but one Head, that he might be able to strike it off at
" one single Blow. "

BUT this Counsellor, full of Deceit, could not be ignorant that, about two hundred Years after the Conquest, there was no form'd Body of Parliament in *England*, either as to the Number or Quality of the Members ; but that down to *Edward I.* who was the ninth King after *William* the Conqueror, the Kings call'd for some Prelates and Barons, such as they pleas'd, in order to make Laws, and regulate the Government of the State. And, perhaps, that before *Edward*, it will not be found that any King had call'd the Commons, in order to give their Vote in Parliament. Neither ought the Counsellor to be ignorant, that the Kings who have reign'd since *Edward III.* with the Applause of all their People, did not go by his Law, for calling Parliaments ; because the Affairs of the Kingdom did not require it so. And, what is yet more remarkable, the King had granted Triennial Parliaments ; and that he was ready to grant them oftener, if the two Houses had desir'd it. This Counsellor took care not to quote what an ancient Author says, whom he himself names, who wrote a Book of the Manner of holding Parliaments, and who liv'd before the Conquest, " That the King is the
" Head, the Beginning, and End of the Parliaments. " 'Tis his Business
to

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to call it ; 'tis his Business to adjourn it ; and, by the King's Death, 'tis at an end. The Lords are the principal Members of it, and the Commons the inferior. Properly speaking, the King makes not one of the Estates ; the three Estates, are compos'd of the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons ; but the King is in a Sphere exalted above all the three. The Bills of the Lords and Commons pass not for Acts of Parliament, that is to say, for Laws, until the King has given his Royal Assent to them ; and he may refuse to give it. The Wisdom of the Laws has thus provided : For, as has been said elsewhere, the King being assisted by his Council, and the Judges of the Kingdom, in the House of Peers, he may see Reasons why he ought not to consent to all that the two Houses propose to him. Would not the Commons take it ill, to be depriv'd of the Liberty they had a mind to rob the King of, and not to be allow'd not to consent to some Things propos'd to them by the House of Lords ? And would not the Pratler say, that *Richard III.* would have been more careful of his Honour, had he refus'd the ignominious Bill, which the two Houses presented to him, for securing him of the Crown ? and that *Henry VIII.* would have done well, had he rejected that which has been call'd *The Law of the Six Articles* ? And would not his Memory have been more respected, had not he given his Assent to a Bill which blemish'd the Birth of *Queen Elizabeth* ?

'Tis false, that the Misfortunes of the Kingdom were owing to the Interruption of Parliaments ; for it never was so happy and flourishing as at that Time : It was the earthly Paradise, whereof the Plenty, the profound Peace, the Riches of the People, the Splendor of all the Orders, the Magnificence and Sumptuousness of the Court, at once created Jealousy and Admiration in all the other Kingdoms of the World. On the contrary, all the Miseries of the Kingdom proceeded from this last Parliament, which, very far from redressing the Grievances of the People, have made them sink under the Burden. And *Bradshaw* could never instance any thing that could bring more Disgrace upon Parliaments, than when he spoke of this wretched one, which, like a horrid Tempest, has spoil'd all the Beauty of the State, and put it into a dreadful Confusion : Neither did he speak much to their Advantage, when he compar'd them to the *Tribunes*, whose Creation was owing to the Sedition of the People ; and to the *Ephori*, whom he would be very loth to suffer in his own House. Would he willingly bear that his Clerk had the Liberty to speak as loud therein as himself ? and that he should take upon him to be his Equal and Companion ? What Disorder would there be in Families, if the Children were allow'd to cope with, and resist their Fathers, or if Servants had a Right to controul their Masters ? For thereby it may be conceiv'd, what Confusion, and even Desolation, there would be, if such Things were practis'd in a Kingdom, which ought to be consider'd as one great Family, where the Power of those private Men is center'd in the Prince, as God reunited in the Body of the Sun the first Light, which he had diffus'd upon the Embryo of the World.

'Tis no less false, that the King had been forc'd to call this last Parliament. 'Tis true, he let some Time pass without calling one, in order to endeavour to stifle the Factions that had begun to break out in that which he had held before. He had observ'd, that there were some People who were peevish, who were not satisfy'd with their Conditions, and who complain'd that the State was not well govern'd, because they had

had no Share in the Government. The Causes and Instruments of happy Times, are good Men. Parliaments are successful, according to the Times in which they are held: For if the Time be turbulent and factious, the Parliament is so too; and to call one then, would be as great a Blunder in the Rules of Politicks, as it would be, according to the Rules of Physick, to take a Purge in very hot Weather, or during the Disorders of a Fever.

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BUT the King call'd this last Parliament of his own Accord, in order to remedy the Disorders that might have been crept both into Religion and the State, and, by that Means likewise, to secure the Prosperity of his Subjects, to the End that he might preserve their Affection and Good-Will, which he look'd upon as the greatest temporal Blessing, which good Princes ought to draw upon themselves; there being nothing, next to the Divine Protection, that can give them more Security, or do them more Honour. He also shew'd not to value that something of his Royal Authority should be diminish'd, well knowing that he could lose nothing thereby, provided he could gain the Hearts and Love of his People: For that End, he consented that several Courts and some Officers, which were chargeable to the People, should be suppress'd; that several Taxes, which the Kings his Predecessors had levy'd, should likewise be lessen'd; that Triennial Parliaments should sit, and that they could not be adjourn'd without the Consent of the two Houses. That being the Case, was it not an intolerable Calumny, to accuse the King of having had a Design to oppress the Parliament by Arms? For, as he himself said, "He would have had but little Foresight, if, having intended to abrogate with the Sword, the Laws which he had voluntarily but just made, he should have ty'd his Hands, at the Desire of the Parliament." He said right, that he had committed a Fault in Government, in raising the Parliament beyond what he ought to have done; not having thought, that after he had set it above the Pinnacle, it would have thrown him from Top to Bottom.

AFTER that the Tumults of *London* had oblig'd the King to leave the Parliament, the two Houses began to take too much upon them, and to say, That his Absence ought not to hinder them from acting Magisterially, since they could not be adjourn'd 'till they should think fit; and, to justify their Actions, alledg'd, That the King was always virtually in Parliament. The *Scots* Covenanters, for their Part, acted after the same manner, and held General Assemblies, without any Person being present to represent his Majesty. But that virtual Presence is a Chimera, which the Laws have always condemn'd. Queen *Elizabeth* having summon'd a Parliament to meet on the 23d of *January*, in the first Year of her Reign, the Lords and Commons met at *Westminster* on the Day appointed: But the Queen having fallen ill the 21st, she could not be present; which made the Meeting to be put off to the 25th, wherein her Majesty was present. Whereupon all the Judges of the Kingdom gave it as their Opinion, that the Session of Parliament was not to be look'd upon to have begun the 23d, when the Lords and Commons met at *Westminster*; but that the Beginning ought only to be reckon'd from the 25th, which was the Day on which the Queen was present in Person. If it was true, that the King was still look'd upon as present in Parliament during its sitting; why did the two Houses send Propositions to his Majesty at *Newcastle* and *Hampton-Court*, in order to get his Consent? Why did they send Commissioners to the Isle of *Wight*,

1649. to desire him to pass four Bills under his Hand, and by his Letters Patent? And if it should happen that the Lords should not be present at a Meeting of Parliament; would it not be ridiculous and Fool-hardy in the Commons, to pretend to have Power to act without them, grounding their Pretension upon that airy Notion of their Virtual Presence? From Henry III. to Henry VII. the Stile of the Acts of Parliament was, *The King, sitting in Parliament, ordains*; or, *The King, by the Advice of his Prelates and Barons, at the humble Request of the Commons, ordains*. In the Reign of Henry VII. the Stile was alter'd, and ever since it has continu'd to be thus; *It is ordained by the King, Lords, and Commons*. So that 'tis always the King's Assent, that gives Force to every thing that's resolv'd in Parliament; wherefore the Laws call the King, the Fountain of Justice, and the Soul of the Law.

THE Lords and Commons had done better, if they had ingenuously said, that after the King's Absence, they ceas'd to be a Parliament: For they are a Parliament by Virtue of the King's Writs, whereby the Prelates and Barons are summon'd, in order to consult with him upon Matters of Importance, which concern the Defence of the Kingdom and Church of *England*. But the Members, that were in the two Houses, gave the King no Advice: On the contrary, they had driven him away; they had put him in Prison; and having resolv'd to govern the Kingdom without him, they had forbid any more Addresses to be made to his Majesty, who could no longer treat with the Bishops, since they had been turn'd out of the House of Peers, contrary to their Privileges, contain'd in *Magna Charta*, and which have been confirm'd by all Parliaments: Besides, these Members gave themselves no more Trouble about the Defence of that Communion, which the King call'd the Church of *England*; since they had ruin'd it, having abolish'd Episcopacy and the Liturgy, and alienated all the Church-Lands: To which may be added, that tolerating, as they did, a vast Number of different Sects, there remain'd no longer any Form or Face of Religion in the Kingdom. Neither could it be said that they acted for its Defence; for they had made a League with Foreigners, in order to destroy it; and had exacted an Oath from all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom, that they should give no Relief or Assistance to his Majesty.

BUT it was a horrid Piece of Impudence, to compare the King to *Caligula*, and say, That he had thirsted after the Blood of his Subjects, and wanted nothing but the Ruin of his People: seeing this good Prince had no greater Pleasure in the World, than to see them happy. He cherish'd his Subjects as his own Children; and it may be said, If he fail'd in any thing, that it was his having been too good, and having held the Reins of Government a little too slack. After that he had try'd all manner of Means for removing the Misunderstanding betwixt him and the Parliament, even when *Essex* was marching against him at the Head of a powerful Army, he sent Proposals of Accommodation to the two Houses. He never had the least Advantage by Arms, but he presently sent to desire to treat with them about a Peace: And the Grief he had, for having consented, for Reasons of State, to the Death of the Earl of *Strafford*, shew'd plainly, that (as he himself has said) he was much more afraid of taking away the Life of any Body unjustly, than of losing his own.

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BRADSHAW went on to tell him, " That though some Regard 1649.
" was had in *England* for the Royal Blood, yet the Kings grounded
" their Titles much better upon the Declaration of Parliament, than
" upon the Succession of their Ancestors : That, without having Occa-
" sion to bring Instances of foreign Countries, the King, who could not be
" ignorant of the History of his own Family, knew very well after what
" manner some of his Predecessors in *Scotland* had been treated by the
" Parliament ; and that the Parliament of *England* had likewise depos'd
" two of them, to wit, *Edward II.* and *Richard II.* " But this ma-
licious Counsellor could not be ignorant of the Laws, which he profess'd ;
and his Heart bely'd his Mouth, when he said, That the Kings grounded
their Titles much better upon the Declaration of Parliament, than upon
the long Succession of their Predecessors. For, in the first Parliament
that was call'd by King *James*, the Lords and Commons therein repre-
senting (said they) the whole Kingdom, and humbling their Hearts,
rather than their Knees, acknowledg'd him, with all Submission, for
their Sovereign Lord, and that the Crown of *England* belong'd to him
by hereditary Right, and by a lawful Descent and Succession : That they
promis'd him, and his Royal Posterity, all manner of Fidelity and Obe-
dience, to the last Breath of their Lives ; and that they most humbly
beseech'd his Majesty to accept of that humble Acknowledgment, for the
First-fruits of their Fidelity. And because it could not have the Force
of an Act of Parliament without his Royal Assent, they beseech'd his
Majesty, with the same Submission, to be pleas'd to consent to it. Besides,
if there had been any Room for what *Bradshaw* said, Usurpers would
have had as good Titles as the lawful Kings, since those had always the
Parliament on their Side.

HE had a mind to instance many Seditions and Revolts, that had been
fatal to some Princes in foreign Countries, as well as in *Great-Britain* :
But he did well to save himself that Trouble ; for it was agreed, that he
and his Accomplices were not the first Parricides in the World ; though
it may be said that they have been the first in their manner of proceed-
ing, which never has had an Example amongst the most savage and
cruel of all Men. 'Tis likewise false, to say, That the Parliament of
Scotland furnishes them any Example of it ; or that that of *England* had
ever attempted to depose any of their Kings with the Forms of Justice.
Edward II. and *Richard II.* were, indeed, forc'd to resign the Crown,
the one to his Son, and the other to *Henry Duke of Lancaster* : but
the Parliament was also obliged to consent to those Resignations,
by the armed Force that surrounded them. After all, these unfortu-
nate Princes were not condemn'd to die ; on the contrary, it was
order'd that they should still be treated as Kings. And, what is yet
more remarkable, *Richard Mortimer*, who was the chief Actor in the
the Misfortune of *Edward II.* and in the crowning of *Edward III.*
four Years after, was condemn'd to die, as a Traitor and Enemy of the
King and Kingdom, for having caus'd *Edward II.* to be put to Death
in *Berkeley-Castle* ; and that in full Parliament, King *Edward III.* pre-
sent, and thereto consenting : He was afterwards executed, with Sir
Simon Bereford, who was one of his Accomplices ; and *Thomas de Gourney*,
and *William Ocle*, who had fled, were both declar'd Traitors by the
Parliament, which promis'd a great Reward to those who should bring
them to Justice.

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At last the Counsellor changing his Profession, began to act the Part of a Preacher : for the Independents are all Prophets, and boast of being the Royal Priesthood ; as we shall shortly see *Cromwell* forsake Arms and the Tribunals, in order to mount the Pulpit and preach. *Bradshaw* then exhorted the King to have a serious Remorse for his Crimes ; and this wretched Fellow, who had said, in his Heart, there is no God, had the Impudence to speak of his Judgments to his Majesty, and even to quote some Passages of the holy Scripture. The King desiring to be heard, the Clerk was commanded to read the Sentence : It contained, “ That as the Commons of *England* had erected this Court of Justice “ in order to try *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, he had been thrice “ brought before the Court, where, the first Day, an Indictment, “ charging him with Treason, and some other Crimes, having been “ twice read, he had been required to answer thereto, which he had “ always refus’d to do to the Court ; which, for Reparation of all those “ Crimes, condemn’d him to be put to Death, by the severing his Head “ from his Body. ” The Clerk having ended, *Bradshaw* said, “ That “ this Sentence was the Resolution and Judgment of the whole Court. ” After which, all the Parricides stood up, in order to shew that they had consented. The King desiring to be heard, was snubb’d by *Bradshaw*, who having order’d the Guards to carry back their Prisoner, told him, “ That he could not be heard after Sentence. ” I leave all Men, who have not stifled, by the Crime, all the Faculties of their Soul, if this be not the most abominable and most extraordinary Sentence that has ever been pronounc’d in the World.

As the King could not, on the 22d of *January*, get Leave to tell his Reasons against the Jurisdiction of this pretended Court, whatever Request he made to it, he had a mind to give it them in Writing, but they were rejected. I was willing to set them down here as he left them written with his own Hand ; the Substance whereof is as follows : “ I should have contented myself with the Protestation I made against “ the Authority of this new Court, and with having let it see, that there “ was no Power upon Earth that has a Right to call me before it. If “ my own private Interest had only lain at Stake, perhaps I should not “ have as yet complain’d : but thinking myself oblig’d to maintain the “ true Liberties of the People, over whom it has pleas’d God to set me, “ I must not be silent, nor dissemble, in this present Juncture ; for none “ of my Subjects can be sure of enjoying either Goods, or Life, if Men “ who have no lawful Power, take upon themselves daily, whenever “ they think fit, to make new Laws, and abrogate the old : Therefore “ I was always expecting that you should have given me Reasons, against “ those which I brought, in order to prove that I was not to answer “ before you, nor justify myself against your Charge, though it had “ been as true, as it is frivolous and ridiculous : But since there is no “ Help, and that I am not in a Condition at present to force you to it, “ though no Man is oblig’d to prove a Negative ; yet I shall not forbear “ shewing you, that you cannot so much as be Judges of the meanest “ of my Subjects, so far ought you to have been from thinking that you “ can be mine ; of me, I say, who am your King. When any Person “ is to be try’d, he must be under the Jurisdiction of those who are to “ judge him, and he must be try’d either according to the Laws of God “ only, or according to those of the Country where he lives : And those “ who will act as Judges, must have a Character, that gives them a “ lawful Power to judge him : But, I am very sure that your Power “ cannot

“ cannot be lawful, according to the Law of God ; because it especially
“ recommends the Obedience due to Kings, and, in express Terms,
“ says, *That the Word of a King is of such Power and Authority, that*
“ *no Man may say unto him, What dost thou ?* As to the Laws of the
“ Kingdom, they are no less against it ; and I am persuaded, that no
“ Lawyer will maintain, that an Indictment can be laid against the
“ King, since all Indictments must be drawn up in his Name ; and that
“ 'tis a constant Maxim in Law, That the King can do no Wrong to
“ any Man. Besides, the Laws, upon which you pretend to ground
“ your Authority, are either old, or new : If they are old Laws, let me
“ see them ; if they are new, shew me by what Authority they were
“ made. I leave all the World to judge, if the House of Commons,
“ which never was a Court of Justice, can erect one ; and if it would
“ not be a Paradox to all such as have the least Knowledge of the Laws,
“ of *England*, to maintain, that the Commons may pretend to erect one
“ both without the King and the Peers of the Kingdom. But suppose
“ that the Commission of the People of *England* should be sufficient to
“ authorize you, you would still be sadly puzzled to produce it : For 'tis
“ certain, that you have never ask'd it of the tenth Part of the Men in
“ *England* ; although, in going that way to work, if you should neglect
“ to ask the Vote of the meanest Clown, you would do him Wrong :
“ At least, this pretended Commission ought to have the Consent of the
“ Majority of the People, of what Condition soever they be ; and 'tis
“ what you have never been at the Pains to ask. Thus you see, that I
“ not only defend my own Cause, but contend for the just Liberties of
“ my poor Subjects, which consist not in having a Share in the Govern-
“ ment, but in living peaceably and securely, under the Protection of the
“ Laws. Neither ought I to forget, on this Occasion, the Privileges of
“ Parliament, which you have infring'd with the publick Faith, but
“ even infring'd them after an unheard-of manner ; with which, how-
“ ever, I don't charge the two Houses in a Body : For all the pre-
“ tended Crimes whereof I am accus'd, have been committed long
“ before the Treaty of *Newport*, wherein having granted all that I could
“ grant, without wounding my Honour and Conscience, I did not
“ doubt but the two Houses would have been satisfy'd therewith : but,
“ however, I was carry'd out of the Island by Force, and brought as
“ a common Prisoner before this pretended Court. But I plainly see
“ that the House of Peers has had no Hand in this Procedure : And as
“ for that of the Commons, every Body knows that the greatest Part of
“ the Members have either been imprison'd, or seclused : So that,
“ though there had been nothing else but that, it would have been still
“ a Reason more than sufficient, for grounding the Protestation I have
“ made against this pretended Court. To conclude : The Peace of the
“ Kingdom was what I had much at Heart ; and I saw not how it
“ could be expected, as long as an usurped Power should bear Sway
“ without the Laws, and alter the whole Form of Government, under
“ which this Kingdom has been so flourishing for many Ages. Assure
“ yourselves, that the People will never be beholden to you, for
“ having made this Alteration ; because they will still remember how
“ happy they have been under the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, under
“ that of the King my Father, and even under mine, before these
“ unhappy Troubles : And as they will have just Reason to doubt if
“ ever they shall enjoy so much Prosperity under a new Government ;
“ they will likewise plainly see, but too late, that I took up Arms,
“ for no other End, but to maintain the fundamental Laws of the

1649. “ Kingdom. These are, in few Words, the Reasons why I cannot
 “ submit myself to this pretended Authority, which you say you have,
 “ without violating, nay, ruining that lawful Authority wherewith God
 “ hath entrusted me, for the Management of the People whom he hath
 “ been pleas’d to subject to me. Give me better Reasons, if you have
 “ any, that may make it appear that I am mistaken, or else withdraw
 “ your Action.

AFTER that the Sentence of Death had been pronounc’d against the King, his Majesty lay two Nights in one of the Rooms of *White-Hall*, where the Soldiers, that were guarding him, drank hard, and committed a thousand Insolencies in his Presence, without shewing him the least Respect: They continually smoak’d Tobacco, the Smell of which was insupportable to his Majesty, as it had been to the King his Father. From the Room wherein he was, he could very well hear the Noise of the Carpenters, who were busy the whole Night in erecting the Scaffold upon which he was to end his Life: For these Parricides were so thirsty after his Blood, that they would have put him to Death more than once, if it had been in their Power, affecting especially to expose to his Sight, Death, with all those fatal Implements which always attend it, that it might be the more terrible to him. ’Tis true, these good Men allow’d the Bishop of *London* to assist him on this Occasion; but they would have the *Balaam* of the Army to be join’d with him, in order to abate the Sweetness of the Comforts he might receive from the Bishop, if that Man had not been there.

THE Bishop having preach’d before his Majesty on *Sunday*, the Leading Men of the Conspirators caus’d to be presented to him a Paper, containing many Articles, which overturn’d both the Laws and Religion of the Kingdom; and they offer’d to save his Life, if he would sign them. His Majesty having read some of them, return’d them their Paper; and told them, “ That he chose rather to lay down his Life
 “ for his People, than so basely to betray them to the Insolence of a
 “ Faction of the Army.”

THE Day before his Death, the King had the Satisfaction to see the Duke of *Glocester*, and Princess *Elizabeth*, his Children: He desir’d that little Princess to tell the Queen, her Mother, “ That he should tenderly
 “ preserve the Love he had always had for her to his last Breath.” Then he bid her tell the Duke of *York* from him, “ Not to look upon
 “ the Prince of *Wales* hereafter as his eldest Brother, but as his Sovereign,
 “ whom they were all to obey.” Then having taken the Duke of *Glocester* upon his Knee, he told him, “ That he was going to die, and
 “ that, perhaps, his Enemies would have a mind to make him King;
 “ but he bid him be sure not to consent to it, as long as his two Bro-
 “ thers were alive, and carefully remember what he was saying, if ever
 “ it should be mention’d to him.” That young Prince, looking his Majesty earnestly in the Face, answer’d him, “ That he would rather
 “ suffer himself to be torn in Pieces, than ever to consent to it.” This Answer, which exceeded the Reach of his Age, very much comforted the King, who, caressing them both very tenderly, entreated them not to be griev’d for his Death, which would be glorious to him, because he died for maintaining the Protestant Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom: At last, having embraced them, he gave them his Blessing, recommending the reading of some Books to them, which he nam’d,
 in

in order to confirm them in the Religion of his Communion; and, above all, order'd them to be obedient to the Queen their Mother, and to love one another; hoping, from the Goodness of God, that his eldest Son would be establish'd in his Throne, sooner than he would have been if he had liv'd longer with them.

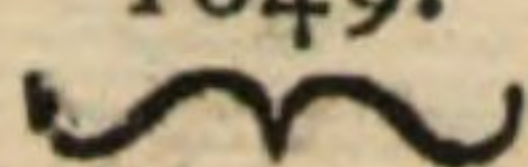
THAT very Day the pretended House of Commons caus'd the Form of Publick Deeds to be altered, looking upon the King as already dead, and, instead of his Majesty's Name, that of the Protectors of the Publick Liberty to be put therein; and instead of these Words, *against the Peace and Dignity of our Crown*, these, *against the Publick Peace*. The King's Bench was call'd the *Upper Bench*; all the Marks of Royalty, even to the King's Arms, were defaced where-ever they were found; and, out of a prodigious Fury, they caus'd the King's Statue to be broke, which some of themselves had caus'd to be plac'd in the *Exchange of London*.

ON *Tuesday* the 30th of *January*, a fatal Day to *Great-Britain*, which should wish that it were blotted out of all Records, and that Posterity might for ever forget it; that Day, I say, about ten o' Clock in the Forenoon, the King was brought from *St. James's Palace*, where he had lain that Night, to *White-Hall*. They made him walk through the Park on Foot, surrounded by a Regiment of Foot, which march'd, Drums beating, and Colours flying. The King went through the Gallery into the Cabinet-Chamber, where he continu'd his Devotions with the Bishop of *London*. By the Rubrick of their Service, the Gospel of the Day was the 27th Chapter of *St. Matthew*, wherein is the Passion of our Saviour, and in which may also be observ'd a great Resemblance betwixt his Sufferings, and those of his Anointed. His Majesty having receiv'd the Sacrament in the Morning from the Hands of the Bishop, he would neither dine, nor take any thing but a little Water and Wine, with a Bit of Bread, at the time that he was brought upon the Scaffold, which had been erected hard by the great Hall, call'd the *Banqueting-House*. The Scaffold was hung round, and the Floor cover'd with black Cloth, and the Ax and Block laid in the middle of it, and where there were four Iron Rings, to which the King was to be made fast, if he had offer'd to resist. Several Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horse, were posted on every Side; and the People, who ought to have hid themselves in their own Houses, and there lamented for their Loss, had flock'd thither from all Parts, in order to see this horrid Spectacle.

THE King went upon the Scaffold through a Window of the *Banqueting-House*, accompany'd by the Bishop of *London*, Colonel *Tomlison*, and some other Officers of the Army, who were follow'd by a Guard of Musketeers, and other Soldiers arm'd with Partizans. His Majesty being advanc'd upon the fore-part of the Scaffold, turn'd toward *Tomlison*, and, with his usual Mildness, directed his Last Speech to him and the other Gentlemen upon the Scaffold, which was to this Effect:

" I SHALL be very little heard by any Body here, I shall therefore
 " speak a Word unto you here: Indeed, I could hold my Peace very
 " well, if I did not think that holding my Peace, would make some Men
 " think that I did submit to the Guilt, as well as to the Punishment;
 " but I think it my Duty, to God first, and to my Country, for to clear
 " myself, both as an honest Man, a good King, and a good Christian.
 " I shall begin first with my Innocency: In troth, I think it not very
 " needful

*The King's
Last Speech*

1649.


* Against the
 Earl of Strafford.

“ needful for me to insist long upon this ; for all the World knows
 “ that I never did begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament ;
 “ and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an Account,
 “ that I never did intend to encroach upon their Privileges : They
 “ began upon me ; it is the Militia they began upon : They confess’d
 “ that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from
 “ me ; and, to be short, if any Body will look to the Dates of Com-
 “ missions, theirs and mine, and likewise to the Declarations, they will
 “ see clearly, that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I. So that,
 “ as to the Guilt of these enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I
 “ hope in God that God will clear me of it : I will not, I am in Cha-
 “ rity ; God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment, there is no Necessity of either : I hope they are free of this
 “ Guilt ; for I do believe that ill Instruments between them and me,
 “ have been the chief Cause of all this Bloodshed ; so that, by way of
 “ speaking, as I find myself clear of this, I hope, and pray God, that
 “ they may be too : Yet, for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill
 “ a Christian, as not to say that God’s Judgments are just upon me ;
 “ many times he does pay Justice by an unjust Sentence, that is ordi-
 “ nary ; I only say this, That an unjust Sentence *, that I suffer’d for
 “ to take Effect, is punish’d now by an unjust Sentence upon me ; that
 “ is, so far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent Man. Now
 “ for to shew you that I am a good Christian, I hope there is a good
 “ Man (pointing to Dr. Juxon Bishop of London) that will bear me
 “ witness, that I have forgiven all the World, and even those in parti-
 “ cular that have been the chief Causers of my Death ; who they are
 “ God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But
 “ this is not all, my Charity must go farther ; I wish that they may
 “ repent ; for, indeed, they have committed a great Sin in that Parti-
 “ cular ; I pray God, with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their
 “ Charge ; nay, not only so, but that they may take the right Way to
 “ the Peace of the Kingdom : for Charity commands me, not only to
 “ forgive particular Men, but to endeavour, to the last Gasps, the Peace
 “ of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wish with all my Soul, and I do hope
 “ there is some here that will carry it farther, that they may endeavour
 “ the Peace of the Kingdom. Now, Sirs, I must shew you both how
 “ you are out of the Way, and will put you in a Way : First, you are
 “ out of the Way ; for, certainly, all the Way you have ever had yet,
 “ as I could find by any thing, is the Way of Conquest. Certainly, this
 “ is an ill Way ; for Conquest, Sirs, in my Opinion, is never just,
 “ except there be a good just Cause, either for Matter of Wrong, or just
 “ Title ; and then, if you go beyond it, the first Quarrel that you have
 “ to it, that makes it unjust at the end, that was just at first : But if it
 “ be only Matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery ; as a Pyrate
 “ said to Alexander, that he was a great Robber ; he was but a petty
 “ Robber : and so, Sirs, do I think, the Way that you are in, is much
 “ out of the Way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the Way : Believe it,
 “ You will never do right, nor God will never prosper you, until you
 “ give him his Due, the King his Due, (that is my Successor), and the
 “ People their Due ; I am as much for them, as any of you can be. You
 “ must give God his Due, by regulating rightly his Church, (according
 “ to the Scripture) which is now out of Order ; for to set you in a Way
 “ particularly now, I cannot, but only this ; A National Synod freely
 “ call’d, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when that every
 “ Opinion

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“ Opinion is freely and clearly heard. For the King, indeed, I will not;
“ — (then turning to a Gentleman that touch'd the Ax) he said, Hurt
“ not the Ax, that may hurt me; — For the King, the Laws of the Land
“ will clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because it concerns my
“ own Particular, I only give you a Touch of it. For the People,
“ and, truly, I desire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any Body
“ whosoever; but I must tell you, that their Liberty and their Freedom
“ consists in having of Government, those Laws, by which their Life
“ and their Goods may be most their own. It is not in having Share in
“ Government, Sirs, that is nothing pertaining to them; a Subject and
“ a Sovereign are clean different Things; and therefore, until they do
“ that, I mean, that you do put the People in that Liberty, as I say,
“ certainly they will never enjoy themselves. Sirs, It was for this, that
“ now I am come here; if I would have given way to an arbitrary Way,
“ for to have all Laws chang'd, according to the Power of the Sword,
“ I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you, (and I
“ pray God it be not laid to your Charge) that I am the Martyr of
“ the People.

“ IN troth, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer; for I will only say
“ this to you, That, in troth, I could have desir'd some little Time longer;
“ because that I would have put this, that I have said, in a little more
“ Order, and a little better digested it, than I have done; and therefore
“ I hope you will excuse me: I have deliver'd my Conscience; I pray
“ God that you do take those Courses that are best for the Good of the
“ Kingdom, and your own Salvation.”

HIS Majesty having made this Speech, without shewing the least
Emotion, the Bishop of *London* said to him, “ That tho' there was no Body
“ that made any Doubt of his Majesty's Religion, yet it may be expected
“ that he should say somewhat for the Satisfaction of the People.” The
King having thank'd him for putting him in mind of it, added; “ In
“ troth, Sirs, my Conscience in Religion, I think, is very well known
“ to the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a
“ Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of *England*, as
“ I found it left me by my Father, and I think this honest Man (point-
“ ing to the Bishop of *London*) will witness it.”

THEN turning to Colonel *Hacker*, he said, “ Take care that they
“ do not put me to Pain.”

THEN a Soldier touching the Ax, the King said, “ Take heed of
“ the Ax; pray take heed of the Ax.

THEN the King put off his Cloke, and his *George*, which he gave
to the Bishop, and recommended to him privately to send it to the
Prince, his Son: At last, having thrown off his Doublet, and put on
his Cloke again, he put his Hair under his Night-Cap, which the Bishop
deliver'd him.

THEN the King, turning to the Bishop, said, “ I have a good Cause,
“ and a gracious God on my Side.”

The Bishop. “ THERE is but one Stage more: This Stage is tur-
“ bulent and troublesome; it is a short one; but you may consider, it
“ will
6 L

1649. " will soon carry you a very great Way ; it will carry you from Earth
 " to Heaven, and there you shall find a great deal of cordial Joy and
 " Comfort. "

King. " I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where
 " no Disturbance can be. "

Bishop. " You are exchange'd from a temporal to an eternal Crown :
 A good Exchange !

THEN the King, looking upon the Block on which he was to lay his Head, without the least Terror, ask'd if it was firm ? It having been answer'd, Yes ; he cast his Eyes upon two Monsters, who had come mask'd, in order to be the villainous Instruments of this prodigious Wickedness ; (for the common Executioner would by no means come there, let them promise and threaten him ever so much) : The King then told them, " That whenever he should stretch forth his Hands, " they might put their Orders in Execution. " Perhaps they had voted for them. And as his Majesty had made a very short Prayer, his Hands and Eyes lifted up towards Heaven, he kneeled down, and fitting himself upon the Block, as one of these wretched Butchers came near him, in order to put his Hair higher up, the King, thinking that he was going to strike, told him, That he should wait the Sign ; but after such a manner, that shew'd his Mind was no ways disturb'd, that it continu'd firm in its usual State, and that it was not in the least prepossess'd with the Fear of Death. A little after, the King having stretch'd forth his Hands, at one Blow his Head was severed from his Body : And as the second of these Villains had expos'd it to the Eyes of the People, the Soldiers that surrounded the Scaffold cry'd out hideously, or rather, howled like the Devils that possess'd them. The Body was put in a Coffin cover'd with black Velvet, and carry'd into *White-Hall* : It was afterwards remov'd to St. *James's*, where having been put into a leaden Coffin, and for some time expos'd to the View of the People, the Duke of *Lenox*, a Prince of the Blood, who, on that sad Occasion, generously imitated the Piety of *Joseph of Arimathea*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Bishop of *London*, paid their last Duty to him, and conducted him to *Windso*r, where he was interr'd in the Royal Chapel, by *Henry VIII.* the Parricides having a mind, by all means, that the best of all their Kings should be laid near him, of whom there was greater Ground of Complaint ; and they did not suffer the usual Funeral Solemnities to be perform'd, nor any other thing to be engrav'd upon the Lead, but these Words, *Charles King of England.*

His Character. THUS died *Charles I.* King of *Great-Britain*, in the 49th Year of his Age, and the 25th of his Reign. He was one of the most accomplished Princes of the Age he liv'd in, as well upon Account of the Gifts of Nature, as the Comeliness of his Person, and his admirable Qualities. He had an excellent Understanding, a solid Judgment, and an Expression wonderfully noble and eloquent. He was extremely affable, and, with a great Mildness, qualify'd the Majesty that appear'd in his Countenance, when he gave Audience to his People : He lov'd them tenderly ; and as he was a great Lover of Justice, he would have it equally administer'd to all his Subjects. Before the Rebellion, nothing was heard in the Streets, but, *God save the King* ; and in the Country, every one eat his Bread in Peace. As his Moderation was exemplary in Prosperity, which
 always

always attends Peace, his Resolution and Courage were no less so in the Fury of War. Never was there a Prince more temperate or more chaste than he, nor yet more courteous, more clement and sweet-natur'd: In a Word, he was most devout, according to the Way of his Communion, for which he had a great Veneration, and shew'd a very great Respect to all his Clergy: In short, he had all the Virtues of a King, with all those of private Men; and as he had no Vice for making the Shadowings of the Picture, it will, in some measure, remain imperfect, because the Original was perfect.

BUT this Prince has drawn an immortal one * of himself, wherein all these incomparable Virtues plainly appear: One would say, that the political Reflections that he has made therein, are taken from *Tacitus*, and that the Prayers have been pick'd out of *St. Bernard*; both are noble Proofs of the extraordinary Piety and Ability of this great King. As soon as this excellent Work began to appear, the Parricides, full of Rage, to see that so noble a Monument was left of his Memory, and which might make the People very sensible of the Loss they had sustain'd; these cursed Murderers, I say, did their utmost Endeavours to have it suppress'd: but in spite of all the Precautions they had taken, it has been printed in, almost, all the Languages in the World, to their eternal Infamy and Confusion, and to fright them yet more than *Belfazzar* was, when he saw the Writing of the Hand that came out of the Wall.

THE next Day after the King's Death, the pretended Commons caus'd a Proclamation to be publish'd, That no Person should presume to declare *Charles Stuart*, commonly call'd the *Prince of Wales*, or any other Person, to be King, or Chief Magistrate of *England* or *Ireland*, or any Dominions belonging thereunto, under the Pain of Treason. This Proclamation did not prevent the spreading many printed Copies through the City of *London*, of a Proclamation declaring the Prince of *Wales* King of *England*, &c. But that City was not at all mov'd thereby; on the contrary, having lost all Sense of its own Strength, and quite forgot its former Liberty, it suffer'd itself to be enslav'd, and gave itself up to the Tyrants that had usurp'd the Throne of their Master.

As some Peers were waiting the Answer to a Proposition they had made to the Commons, of conferring with them upon the Government of the State, this pretended House voted, "That the House of Peers" *The Commons abolish the House of Peers.* "in Parliament is useless, and dangerous, and ought to be abolish'd." It annull'd all their Privileges, and, as a Favour, made them capable of representing Towns and Counties. The Peers enter'd a long Protestation against that Vote; but it was but a weak Resentment without Effect, for they had unhappily render'd themselves incapable of supporting it.

AT last, this House had the Impudence to vote against the Office of Kingship, by declaring, "That it had been found by Experience, that" *Vote against the Office of Kingship.* "the Office of a King in this Nation, or to have the Power thereof in any single Person, was unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety, and publick Interest of the Nation, and therefore that it should be abolish'd, and, to that Purpose, an Act should be forthwith prepared:" At the same time, it made null and void the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and appointed another to be taken in Place thereof; obliging them who took it, to be faithful to the Commonwealth of *England*.

MORE

1649.

MORE Difficulty was found, as to the Oath to be taken by all the Members of the Council of State; for, after that forty Persons had been nam'd for composing that Council, the pretended Commons would oblige them to declare by Oath, "That they approv'd of the Proceedings of this pretended House, and of the High Court of Justice, in all they had done, as well against the King, as in abolishing the House of Peers; and that they acknowledg'd, That the supreme Power was lodg'd in the House of Commons." Cromwell having made a Report to the House, That there were only nineteen of the Members chosen for that Council, who had taken the Oath in the Terms that had been propos'd, and that the rest, making no Scruple to own that the sovereign Authority was lodg'd in the House of Commons, could not, however, approve either of the King's Death, or the abolishing the House of Peers; whereupon, he himself found out this Medium, that, without making any mention in the Oath of whatever had pass'd, it should only oblige them to own the lawful Authority of the Commons, who had ordain'd, with Fulness of Power, That the Nation should henceforth be govern'd after the manner of a Common-wealth, without either King or Peers. To which they all acquiesced.

THE Council had a new Great Seal, whereon was engraven St. George's Cross, which, of old, was the Arms of *England*, (for those which the Kings bore, were compos'd of the two Leopards of *Normandy*, and of that of *Guienne*) with a Harp, which is the Arms of *Ireland*. They likewise coin'd new Money of the same Stamp. And when they made themselves Masters of the Low Country of *Scotland*, they did not put the Lion of *Scotland* in their Coat of Arms: but, in order the more easily to prevail upon the *Scots*, they were willing to incorporate them with themselves into one Nation, looking upon *Scotland* as the Northern Part of *England*. The Expedient would not have been bad, if these two Nations had then had any Inclination to love one another: but, very far from that, they have felt the noble Wrath of the Lion, which does not easily submit to a foreign Yoke.

WE have told, that after fifty or sixty Members, whom the Army had left in the House of Commons, had begun to usurp the Authority of Parliament, this pretended House had revok'd the Orders they had given, as well for the Ransom of the Duke of *Hamilton*, as for the Banishment of the Earls of *Holland* and *Norwich*, the Lords *Capel* and *Loughborough*, who were also Prisoners of War, except *Loughborough*, who had made his Escape out of Prison. Now the pretended Commons, notwithstanding that, about the End of *February*, appointed a new High Court of Justice, but, for the most part, compos'd of other Commissioners, in order to try these Lords, and Sir *John Owen*, who had been taken in *Wales*. They were all condemn'd to die as Traitors, for having taken up Arms against the Parliament of *England*. The Quarter, which they had all got, was interpreted after a ridiculous and unheard of manner, as if they had done them some Favour in saving them from the Sword of the Soldiers, in order to make them die by that of the Hangman.

THE Duke of *Hamilton*, being a *Scots-man*, puzzled them a little; for the Council, who pleaded against him for the pretended Commonwealth of *England*, falsely alledg'd, that, as being a *Scots-man*, he was a Subject thereof; because it appear'd that the Kings of *Scotland* had several times done Homage to those of *England*. That was very false: There never

never was one but *Baliol*, who, in order to get Assistance from *Edward I.* King of *England*, against his Competitor *Robert I.* ignominiously consented to hold the Crown of *Edward*. But though, perhaps, *Robert's* Pretensions were not better grounded than *Baliol's*; yet, out of Hatred to his Baseness, which was look'd upon as an inexpressible Crime by all Ranks of People in the Kingdom, they deserted him, and sided with *Robert*, who was advanc'd to the Throne. 'Tis true, the Duke's Father was Naturalized in *England*, and he himself was a *Post-natus*, that is to say, he was born since King *James* had succeeded, after Queen *Elizabeth's* Death, to the Crown of *England*, of which he was a Peer, as being Earl of *Cambridge*: But it was likewise true, that there were Articles sign'd between him and *Lambert*, which were still in Force; though the Duke, having made his Escape out of *Windsor-Castle*, had unhappily been discover'd by a Soldier in *Southwark*, from whence he was carry'd Prisoner into the Tower.

AN Express was sent to *Argyle*, in order to know his Sentiment of the Matter: But he, who had no mind to have a Competitor in *Scotland*, where he knew the Duke's Interest to be much greater than his own, refus'd to be reconciled with him at any Rate. The Puritan Clergy were likewise his irreconcilable Enemies, and had condemn'd him to Death in *Scotland*, before Sentence had been pronounc'd against him in *England*. However, this Sentence would not have been put in Execution, if he would have discover'd those with whom he had kept a private Correspondence, *Cromwell* having visited him in Prison for that End, as the Patriarch *Peters* had also done; but they could get nothing out of the Duke, who generously sacrific'd his Life, in order to save those of the faithful Servants of the King his Master.

THE 9th of *March* was appointed for the bloody Execution of all the Lords that had been condemn'd, except the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *John Owen*. A great many Persons of Quality had presented Petitions to the pretended House of Commons, begging the Lives of them all; and the House having debated thereupon, it was carry'd almost unanimously to save Sir *John Owen's* Life; but that of the Earl of *Norwich* was sav'd by one Vote only, and Orders were given for executing the other three. About ten o' Clock in the Forenoon they were brought from St *James's* Palace, by Lieutenant Colonel *Beecher*, to Sir *Thomas Cotton's* House near *Westminster-Hall*, where having continu'd together about two Hours, praying and conferring with their Chaplains, the Duke of *Hamilton*, taking his Leave of those who were to follow him, encouraged them with a Resolution not to be express'd, and went out first to mount the Scaffold; it was erected in *New Palace-Yard*, where *Fairfax's* Regiment of Horse, and several Companies of *Hudson's* and *Pride's* Regiments of Foot, were drawn up.

THE Duke having mounted the Scaffold, with Dr. *Sibbald* his Chaplain, and two of his Servants, the Earl of *Denbigh*, his Brother-in-Law, who was in *Westminster-Hall*, desir'd to speak with one of the two. *Beecher* suffer'd the Servant to go to him, and in the mean time the Duke discours'd with his Chaplain. The Gentleman being return'd, and having whisper'd to the Duke what the Earl had told him, which, probably, was nothing else, but that having done his utmost with the pretended Commons for saving his Life, he had not been able to prevail upon them; and what made it be thought so, was, that the Duke

1649. answer'd aloud, with a great deal of Firmness and Resolution, *There's no Remedy then.* Then advancing towards the People, he said, "That never having lov'd to speak in Publick, he should willingly have excus'd himself from it at present, if he had not found himself oblig'd to confute some base Slanders with which he had been charg'd; and that he knew there were some People, who, without any Ground, had asserted, That whatever Pretence he had made use of for taking up Arms for the King's Service, he had other Designs: That that was most false; and as it was not a time to dissemble, he protested before God, That he never intended any other thing by the Command of the Army, which the Parliament of *Scotland* had committed to his Charge, but what the Parliament itself had solemnly declar'd." Moreover, he added, "That he had all manner of Reason to love and serve the late King, both as his King and Master: That the most happy Years of his Education had been spent near his Majesty; and besides all that, he had had the Honour to be of his Household." He concluded, with declaring, "That he died in the Protestant Communion, wherein he had been educated; and that though he may have some Reluctancy to die a violent Death, yet he most heartily forgave all those who had been the Cause of it;" and then protested, "That he carry'd no Hatred against any Person into the Grave with him." Then he kneel'd, and made a very devout Prayer, after the manner of his Communion. At last he rose up, and, with an undaunted Countenance, embrac'd his Chaplain and Servants; and, turning towards the Executioner, he forbid him to touch any Thing that belong'd to him, and that his Servants would satisfy him for what might be his Due on this Occasion; then he forgave him, as he sincerely did all the World. This Nobleman, having put his Hair under a Night-Cap he had ready, he fitted himself upon the Block, without the least Emotion, and told the Executioner, That when he should stretch forth his Right-Hand, he might do his Office, if he thought fit. After he had pray'd a very short Time, at one Blow his Head was severed from his Body, and having been receiv'd by his Servants in a red Sarcenet Scarf, they put it, with the Body, into a Coffin, which they had caus'd to be brought upon the Scaffold, from whence it was immediately carry'd to Sir *John Hamilton's* House in the *Meuse*.

Duke Hamilton's Last Speech.

Duke Hamilton beheaded.

Thus died *James* the first Duke of the illustrious Family of *Hamilton*. His Character. He was a Nobleman of great Judgment, and admirably skill'd in the Management of Affairs: He had also acquir'd some Experience in War, long before these last Troubles; for when the King of *Sweden* had declar'd for the Prince *Palatine*, and heartily espous'd his Interest, the late King sent him into *Germany* at the Head of a very fine Army, in order to join the great *Gustavus*: He had always had a good Share in the most important Affairs of State, ever since his Majesty had call'd him to be about his Person; and after he had serv'd him with his Advice in time of Peace, he expos'd his Life for his Service in the War, and at last lost it with great Resolution for his Interest, which he always express'd to be very dear to him to the very last.

The Earl of Holland mounts the Scaffold next. His Last Speech.

AFTER this Execution, the Guards made the Earl of *Holland* mount the Scaffold; who having spoke for some time with Mr. *Bolton*, his Chaplain, he told the People, "That he was of the Protestant Religion, for which his Family had always had a great deal of Zeal, but that he had not liv'd according to the Rules which that Religion teacheth;" and

“ and that, because of his Sins, God had suffer’d that he should die as
 “ he was going to do : That, however, he was not asham’d to follow
 “ the King his Master in this kind of Death ; nor had he any Hatred
 “ against any Person ; and he pray’d to God, that the King, his Son,
 “ might be establish’d upon his Throne without any more Bloodshed :
 “ He also pray’d for the Prosperity of the famous University of *Cam-*
 “ *bridge*, of which he was Chancellor ; and he declar’d, That the
 “ Design he had had, and for which he was going to die, had not been
 “ undertaken, but for the Honour of the King, and the Parliament of
 “ the Kingdom.” Then he embrac’d Mr. *Bolton*, and his Servants ;
 and having call’d the Executioner, he gave him ten Jacobus’s, telling
 him, That they were of more Value than his Cloaths ; and likewise told
 him, To give the Blow, when he should stretch forth his Hand. At
 last he fell upon his Knees, and, after a short Prayer, he stretch’d him-
 self upon the Block, with great Resolution, and without expressing
 the least Fear of Death, which he suffer’d as soon as he had stretch’d
 forth his Hand.

THIS Earl ow’d all his Fortune to King *James*, and King *Charles*,
 who had rais’d him to the chief Offices of the Kingdom. There had,
 indeed, been something Blame-worthy in his Conduct, in the Beginning
 of the Troubles, but he has wash’d it away since with his Blood, dying
 a very affectionate and faithful Servant of the King his Master.

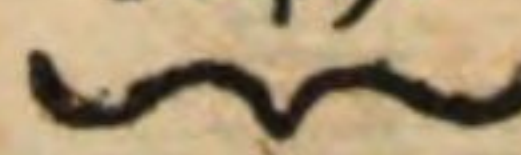
AT last the Lord *Capel* was brought upon the Scaffold, which was
 full of Blood : He came there attended only by two of his Servants,
 having taken Leave of his Chaplain by the Way. When he got upon
 the Fore-part of the Scaffold, he spoke to the People, but with a Tone
 which look’d rather like the Voice of a General speaking at the Head of
 an Army, than of a Man that was going to die : The Substance of his
 Speech was, “ That he died a Protestant, according to the Religion
 “ profess’d in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of *England*, and
 “ that he had never lik’d any other : That though he was put to Death
 “ contrary to all the Forms and Laws of the Kingdom, he bore no Ill-
 “ Will to any Person : That he suffer’d for keeping the Fifth Com-
 “ mandment, believing that Christians were thereby commanded to obey
 “ Magistrates ; but, nevertheless, he must own, after so great an
 “ Example as that of the King his Master, that he had consented to
 “ the Earl of *Strafford*’s Death ; not that he had had any Hatred against
 “ him, but that he thought it a Piece of Cowardliness to suffer himself
 “ to be carry’d away with the Stream, in opposing that Injustice : That
 “ having had that Opportunity of mentioning the late King, of glorious
 “ Memory, he could not forbear saying, That he was the most accom-
 “ plish’d Prince that ever had reign’d ; and that as he had had the
 “ Honour to be of the King, his Son’s, Council, he had narrowly look’d
 “ into all his Actions, and found himself oblig’d likewise to say, That
 “ he was a most promising Prince ; that he pray’d to God that he would
 “ be pleas’d to restore him to his Kingdoms.” He concluded, with
 begging “ that God would be pleas’d to comfort his Wife, and give
 “ her Grace, on that Occasion, to submit her Will to his, which was
 “ always just and holy.” Then he call’d the Executioner, and giving
 him five Jacobus’s, he desir’d him not to strip him upon the Scaffold ;
 and that if he must have something more for the Value of his Cloaths, his
 Servants would satisfy him, but that he left the whole Care of his Body
 to them. Then he kneel’d down, and having made his Prayer, and
 desir’d

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The Lord Capel  
mounts the  
Scaffold.His Last  
Speech.



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*His Character.* HE was a most gallant and generous Nobleman, who had perform'd Wonders at the Siege of *Colchester*; and when the pretended Commons had seiz'd upon his Son, who was at School in *London*, and had sent him to *Fairfax*, with Orders to treat him after the same manner as the Besieged should treat the Committee of the County, *Capel* begg'd of *Norwich*, and the other General Officers in the Town, not to regard his Son in the least, looking upon it as a great Glory, that both he and his Children should lose their Lives for the Service of the King their Master.

*LANGHORN*, *Powel*, and *Poyer*, who had all been up in Arms for the King, were still in Prison: The pretended Commons referr'd them to a Court-Martial, having been made Prisoners at Discretion by *Cromwell*, in the Principality of *Wales*. The Sentence of the Court-Martial was, That one of the three should be shot; and having made them cast Lots, the Lot fell on *Poyer*, who had so bravely stood out the Siege of *Pembroke*.

THE Parricides murder'd all these Noblemen before they caus'd their pretended Act to be publish'd for abolishing the Kingly Office. On the 23d of *March* they sent the Order to the Mayor of *London*; who having had Honour and Courage enough to refuse it, he was summon'd before the Commons, who fined him in two thousand Pounds, and sent him Prisoner into the Tower; and having depriv'd him of the Mayoralty, they made Alderman *Andrews*, a Man fit for their Purpose, to be elected in his Stead. But when this Mayor in Person, accompany'd by fourteen Aldermen, went to cause that scandalous and villainous Act to be publish'd, the People cry'd out, *We will have none of it; God bless King Charles the Second*: And, undoubtedly, the Multitude of People, would have spoil'd the Sport, if some Troops of Horse, which had been kept in Readiness on Purpose, had not dispers'd them.

As the House of Peers had likewise been abolish'd, the pretended Commons, not thinking it convenient to leave the Admiralty in the Hands of a Peer of the Kingdom, took the Earl of *Warwick's* Commission from him, and gave it to three Colonels, *Popham*, *Blake*, and *Dean*, of whom they were very sure.

AT the same time, they order'd, That no Minister should teach in their Pulpits any thing relating to State Affairs. 'Tis not there, truly, that they should be treated of: It had been much for the King's Advantage, if from the Beginning of the Troubles, he had issued out the like Orders; for there were a great many Ministers in both Kingdoms, who were arrant Fire-brands of Sedition; and besides, there were others, who were not disaffected, but who, by all means, would take upon them to speak something of State Affairs, though they had not so much Prudence



dence and Discretion to wind themselves out of them, as those ticklish Times requir'd, when Vows and Prayers were much more proper than political Decisions.

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THE Parricides, who liv'd in continual Alarms, were still afraid that the People, opening their Eyes, and coming to be affected with the Murder of their good King, would rise up against them, and pay the Obedience and Fidelity they ow'd to the King, his Son. Notwithstanding their threatening the Ministers who pray'd for him, and made use of the Liturgy, there were still some who did both; and the Means they used for alienating the Minds of the People from those Preachers, were so insolent and foolish, that they had quite contrary Effects to what they had intended, endearing them the more to their Pastors: A very remarkable Instance whereof happen'd in the Beginning of *Lent*, in the Church of *Walton* upon *Thames*; for the Minister of the Place having preach'd an Afternoon's Sermon, as he had come down from the Pulpit, six Soldiers enter'd the Church, one of whom carry'd in his Right-Hand a lighted Candle in a Lantern, and in the Left-Hand four others that were not lighted: He said to the People, "That he had a Message to deliver them, from God." Having said that, he had a mind to get up into the Pulpit: But the People having stopp'd him, and being unwilling to hear him in the Church, as they had almost all withdrawn into the Church-Yard, he began to speak, and tell them, "That God had reveal'd to him, in a Vision, to discover five Lights to them: 1. That the *Sabbath-Day* (meaning *Sunday*) "being only a *Jewish* Ceremony, and not in the least useful, was "abolish'd, and that it was there that he ought to extinguish his "first Candle," (that was the Burden of all his Revelations); but the Wind was so great, that he could not light it. 2. "That "Tythes were but ceremonial too, and that they were only a heavy "Burden to the Saints, and a Discouragement to those that till'd "the Ground. 3. That Ministers being no longer of any Use, "they were abolish'd, as Antichristian; Jesus Christ himself being "descended into the Hearts of his Saints, and his Spirit enlightening "them with holy Inspirations. 4. That all Magistrates were likewise "abolish'd; for they were of no Use but to overbear the Liberty "of the Saints, obliging them to keep close to the human Laws; "and that Jesus Christ, by his Spirit, was come amongst them, and "that he had establish'd the Kingdom of Saints upon Earth. 5. That "the Bible (taking it out of his Pocket) for which they had a great "Regard, was in like manner abolish'd, since it contain'd nothing "but despicable Rudiments, and Milk fit for Children; but that "Jesus Christ being descended in Glory amongst his Saints, he "imparted to them a greater Measure of his Spirit, than this Book "could do; therefore he had commanded him to burn it." Having done speaking, he took the Candle out of the Lantern, and set the Bible on Fire. Who would not be affected with the deplorable State to which Schism has brought Religion in *England*, which formerly was so Christian, and so Catholick?

ON *Low-Sunday*, six Preachers in Buff-Coats mounted the Pulpit in *Westminster*, one after another, and try'd the Patience of their Hearers: At last the Spirit mov'd *Cromwell*, who being got into the



1649. Pulpit, did nothing for a long time but sigh, and having his Eyes turn'd towards Heaven, as if he had been in an Ecstasy; then having pray'd about an Hour, he made a Sermon which lasted another Hour and a half. In his Prayer he beseech'd God, in Imitation of *Moses*, to free him from the Burden of this great People of *England*, which was too heavy for his Shoulders: But what has since happen'd in that Kingdom, has shewn with how much Sincerity he then made that Prayer.

HE propos'd, in the pretended House of Commons, to establish Presbyterian Government, and employ'd his Emissaries to draw in the Presbyterians: He made it to be told them, "That they had quarrel'd with the late King about the Political Government, which was harder to adjust than the Government of the Church, whatever might be pretended to the contrary: That they had no less made War against him, than the Independents, who had only finish'd what others had begun; insomuch that the King, his Successor, look'd upon them both equally guilty, and, for his own Interest, would be oblig'd to ruin them both." But the Presbyterians, who neither suffer'd themselves to be wheedled nor frighted, stopp'd their Ears to all the Propositions that came to them from the Paricides. It was upon that Account, that, not standing any longer in Awe to mock God, they appointed a Fast to be kept on the 19th of *August*, to ask Pardon of God, for the Ingratitude of the People, who had not been thankful for the Favour God had shewn them, in having deliver'd them from Monarchy, and plac'd them in a free Commonwealth.

IN the mean time, the Levellers bore impatiently that the supreme Authority should be in the Hands of a pretended Council of State, which, as well as the Council of War, *Cromwell* turn'd and winded as he pleas'd: He had made Use of those Levellers for murdering the King, abolishing the House of Peers, and secluding above two-thirds of the Members of the House of Commons: Thus seeing himself Master, he could no longer bear the Thoughts of an equal Representative of the People, or of popular Assemblies, which the Levellers demanded. They spoke so loud thereof, that, in order to strike Terror into them, six or seven Soldiers of Captain *Savage's* Company were shot, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard* at *London*: And an Act was afterwards pass'd, declaring it to be Treason, to say, that the establish'd Government was Tyrannical; and to deny, that the supreme Authority of the Nation was in the House of Commons: That it should likewise be Treason, to make an Attempt upon the General's Life, and upon that of the Lieutenant-General; to raise Mutinies in the Army; to kill any Member of the House of Commons, or any Officer of Justice, in the Discharge of his Office.

THE Levellers, in order to oppose these Violences, took the Field, and rendezvous'd near *Banbury*, in the County of *Oxford*, where, finding themselves to be about four or five thousand Men, they publish'd a Declaration: But, for want of keeping a good Outlook, *Fairfax* surpriz'd them, and kill'd seven hundred of them; the Defeat of the whole Party being reserv'd to *Cromwell*, who routed



routed them, and took all the Leaders Prisoners. The Commons having had an Account of the Victory, order'd a general Day of Thanksgiving for that great Mercy; and the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, who were of the Cabal, in order to honour the Solemnity, resolv'd to give a Dinner in the City to the pretended House of Commons, the Council of State, and the General Officers of the Army. This Thanksgiving was kept on the 7th of *June*, in *Christ's Church*, where the Mayor, going to meet the Speaker of the House of Commons, deliver'd him the Sword, as had usually been done to the King, and receiv'd it afterwards from the Speaker, on the Part of the Commonwealth, as the King return'd it to the Mayor. Then they were sumptuously entertain'd in *Grocers-Hall*, and, after the Feast, *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* had very fine Presents of Plate made them. But *Fairfax's* Power began then to decline very much; for *Cromwell* was very soon after chosen *Generalissimo*, in order to go to *Ireland*, with very ample Power, and the Choice of the Troops, which were drawn out of the Garisons and Army.

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My Design is not to follow him into that Kingdom; 'tis only to let you see how the King's Murder was taken in *Scotland*, where there was not a Man that did not express both an Abhorrence and a deep Resentment of it. As soon as the News thereof was come, the Parliament caus'd King *Charles II.* to be solemnly proclaim'd King of *Great-Britain*: The Cross, which is in the High Street, being very richly hung, all the Nobility went thither in their Robes: The Chancellor himself carrying the Proclamation, read it to Lyon King at Arms, who proclaim'd it aloud to the People. By this Act, they openly disclaim'd the Murder of the late King, and also acknowledg'd all the Titles of the King, his Son, and the undoubted Right he had to succeed to the Crown: but they would not entrust him either with the Sword or Sceptre, 'till after he had sign'd the Covenant.

IN the mean time they try'd the Marquis of *Huntly*, whom they had kept Prisoner in the Castle of *Edinburgh* since the Month of *October* of the Year 1647. The Marquis was condemn'd to be beheaded the 22d of *March*, for having been always faithful to his Prince; for those who pronounc'd that cruel Sentence, could accuse him of no other Crime. 'Twas thus that the *Scots* Covenanters butcher'd his Majesty's best Friends, at the same time that they were treating with him. *Huntly* being got upon the Scaffold, a Minister ask'd him, "If, for the Peace of his Conscience, he did not desire to be absolv'd from the Censure of Excommunication, which the General Assembly had fulminated against him?" *Huntly* answer'd him, "That he was not us'd to hear false Prophets, such as he was, and desir'd him to be gone." Then turning towards the People, he said, "That he was going to die, for having spent some Years of his Life in the King his Master's Service, and for having given him some weak Proofs of his Fidelity and Obedience: That he was very sorry, as they ought all to be, that he was not the first, of all his Majesty's Subjects, who had suffer'd for that Cause, which was so glorious, that it had sweeten'd to him all the Bitterness of Death. He encourag'd all the King's good Subjects not to be dishearten'd because of what had happen'd to him; but, on the contrary,

The Marquis  
of *Huntly*  
try'd, and  
condemn'd to  
be beheaded.

His Last  
Speech.



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“contrary, to look upon the Scaffold as a Theatre of Honour,  
 “and to abhor the Doctrine and Example of those who should  
 “dissuade them from the Obedience which, by all Laws, divine and  
 “human, they are obliged to pay to their Sovereign Lord.” He  
 declar’d, “That he had Charity enough to forgive all those who voted  
 “for his Death, in the Sentence that had been pronounc’d against  
 “him; though, far from being guilty of Treason, they could not  
 “convict him of ever having done any thing contrary to the Laws:  
 “That he did not doubt but he was a great Offender in the Sight  
 “of God, and desired to be assisted with the Prayers of all such as  
 “were well-affected to his Majesty, without troubling himself with  
 “the Prayers of those who were not.” Having spoken after this  
 manner, he threw off his Doublet, put his Hair under a Night-  
 Cap he had upon his Head; and then, having said a Prayer, and  
 embrac’d all his Friends that were upon the Scaffold, without the  
 least Perturbation, he encounter’d Death, and, with a very serene  
 Countenance, said to the Executioner, That he might perform his  
 Office when he pleas’d.

His Character.

THIS Nobleman was, without doubt, the most powerful Subject  
 the King had in all his Kingdoms; so that if he could have been  
 reconcil’d with *Montrose*, and got the better of the Discontent he  
 had, because *Montrose* commanded in Chief, they, being join’d toge-  
 ther, would have been able to keep the best Part of the Kingdom  
 of *Scotland* under the King’s Obedience, in spite of whatever the  
 Covenanters could have done against them. He had excellent Parts;  
 and both by his Looks, and every Thing about him, he appear’d  
 to be a Man of great Quality. When the most Christian King,  
*Lewis XIII.* was pleas’d to call for the Troop of *Scots* Guards, this  
 Nobleman carry’d it over to *France* more richly accouter’d than  
 ever it had been seen there, consisting altogether of Gentlemen,  
 and having for Lieutenant the Lord *Gray*, who is one of the most  
 ancient Barons of *Scotland*, and who contributed much to the Levying  
 of the Troop. And when the Troubles of that Kingdom had  
 oblig’d *Huntly* to return to *Scotland*, with his most virtuous Lady,  
 who was Sister to the Marquis of *Argyle*, and who had been but  
 just brought to Bed of Twins, a Son and a Daughter, they left  
 them to the Care of *William Davidson*, Doctor of Physick, who has  
 acquir’d a great deal of Honour, by the Care he has since taken of  
 their Education, having caus’d them both to be brought up accord-  
 ing to their Quality, at his own Charge, and thereby set a rare  
 Example of Friendship and Respect for that illustrious Family,  
 though his own was very numerous. In the Time of the first Zeal  
 for the Covenant, which ran like a Torrent through the whole King-  
 dom, the Marquis’s Father, who was one of the greatest Men that  
*Scotland* had produc’d for many Ages, was taken in his stately  
 Castle of *Strathbogy*, and carry’d Prisoner to that of *Edinburgh*;  
 however, he was set at Liberty some time after, and died at *Dundee*  
 in returning Home: He had always made publick Profession of the  
 Catholick Religion, the Exercise whereof was perform’d with Splendor  
 and Solemnity in all his Houses. After his Death, the Persecution  
 against the Catholicks increasing, the worthy Marchioness, his Widow,  
 who was of the House of *Lenox*, had the Satisfaction to come and  
 die in *France*, where she was born. While they were both alive,  
 their



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their second Son, the brave Viscount of *Melgum* unfortunately perish'd by Fire, in the House of a Gentleman of his Acquaintance, whom he had gone to visit. The Piety of Queen *Anne* of *Austria*, who has done his only Daughter the Honour to keep her about her Majesty, occasions that tragical History to be well known at the Court of *France*.

WHEN *Huntly* was put to Death, the King was at the *Hague*, where he was like to sink under the Grief he had for the Loss of the King his Father, when the News of his Death was brought him; and that he might not forget a Day so fatal for him and all *Great-Britain*, he has always fasted every *Tuesday* since. The Duke of *Hamilton*, Brother to the late Duke, and a great Part of the most considerable Noblemen of the Kingdom, went to wait upon his Majesty, who, at the same time, sent for *Montrose*.

IN the Sixth Book of this *History*, we have told, that *Montrose* having laid down his Arms, by the King's Orders, went to *Norway*, and from thence having gone through *Denmark*, where he was receiv'd with such a Welcome as was due to a Man of his Quality and Merit, he came to *France*. His Fame had got there long before him: but though it was very great, and that commonly Men don't answer to what is said of them when one sees them, yet all those who had known that great Man, agreed, that they had not heard so much said to the Advantage of that Nobleman, as so brave and famous a General deserv'd.

THE Cardinal *de Retz*, then Coadjutor of *Paris*, contracted a very particular Friendship with *Montrose*, who told him, "That he would conform himself to the Condition in which the King his Master was; that he would set up no Equipage for appearing at Court: That he had a great Family, (meaning his chief Officers, and some Noblemen that had follow'd him), and that he had little left for maintaining it; but that he would leave a Part of it at the Academy; and as for himself, he would retire to the Country: That, in the mean time, 'till he should be able to do something for the King his Master, as he was unwilling to sit idle, he should be very glad to follow the Inclination which his Birth gave him, and to serve *France* with four thousand good Men, whom he would bring with him into the Service; and that they were Men who had given very good Proofs of their Fidelity and Bravery. The Proposal was made to the Court by that Prelate: but not being able to adjust Matters, *Montrose* went to *Germany*, where the Emperor made him Velt-Marshal of the Empire, and gave him the Command of a Body of twelve thousand Men; which *Montrose* accepted of, upon Condition, that he might return the Staff to his Imperial Majesty, as soon as the Service of the King his Master should call him elsewhere."

THE King then having sent for him, he call'd for his Friends, shew'd them his Majesty's Letter, and told them, That, in the Matter he was to advise with them, he begg'd of them to consider only what Honour requir'd of him. They understood very well what he meant, and were all of his Opinion: So that having taken Leave of the

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Emperor,



1649. Emperor, he came in all Haste to wait upon the King his Master. His Majesty gave him such a Reception as his Services had deserv'd of him, and did all he could to reconcile him with the Duke of *Hamilton*. *Montrose* did not shew great Aversion to it, but some unlucky Misfortune prevented it from taking Effect: So that the *Scots* Commissioners, who were come to treat with the King, in order to deliver up the Government to him, taking Advantage of the Variance that was betwixt these two Noblemen, which then divided the whole Court, they propos'd such ridiculous Conditions to his Majesty, that, by all means, they would have him to sign the Covenant. They were so obstinate in it, and suffering themselves to be guided by *Argyle* and the Clergy, they us'd so many Delays in their Treaty, that they gave *Cromwell* Time to ravage *Ireland*, whence they might have expected Relief, and also Time to return soon enough into *England*, to intermeddle in their Affairs.

WE don't intend to treat of the Particulars of this Reign, nor to enter upon it: But, to put an End to this History, we shall be satisfy'd with only shewing, how *Montrose*, who had been order'd by the King to throw himself into *Scotland*, in order to oblige the Covenanters to think of more reasonable Propositions; how, I say, that Hero crown'd his excellent Life by a glorious Death, though it appear'd ignominious to vulgar Souls.

THERE have been few Men that have put an End to great Undertakings: God did not even suffer that great Prophet, who spoke to him Face to Face, to introduce his People into the Land which he had promised; he reserv'd the Honour thereof to *Joshua*, his Successor. In a Word; whatever has had a Beginning, still contains a sort of Corruption in the Principles of its Generation; and the most perfect Creatures in the World, are still sensible of the Nothing from whence they had their Rise.

1650. IT seem'd that the Marquis of *Montrose* was a Man chosen of God, for raising up again the overturn'd Throne of his Prince: In the Reign of the late King, his Master, he had put a Damp upon the Rebellion in *Scotland*, and had carry'd his victorious Arms over all the Kingdom. Under the Protection of his Majesty who now reigns, he posted through *Germany*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, in order to solicit the Northern Powers, and to engage them in the most just and most glorious Quarrel that ever was heard of in the World, and in which, it may be said, that Kings are greatly concern'd: And having, by that gentle Violence which Virtue commonly makes use of to force great Souls, oblig'd a great Number of Officers and old Soldiers, among those warlike Nations, to follow his Fortune, he sent a Part of them before him to the Islands of *Orkney*, and carry'd thither the rest with himself; from thence he wrote to all his Friends, and to all such as he had known to have the Royal Cause at Heart; and to facilitate their joining him, he landed on the Continent, follow'd by those brave Foreigners, and some Militia of the Islands, commanded by good Officers, who, in many Actions, had given Proofs of their Valour during all the first Troubles. But a fatal Day put a Stop to the Progress of so favourable Beginnings, and blasted all their Hopes; the Fortune of War having made that excellent Man



Man fall into the Hands of the Covenanters, over whom he had so often triumph'd. 1650.

*MONTROSE* having secur'd *Orkney* for a Place of Retreat, landed in *Caithness* with a thousand Men : He had no Horse ; and could take no more Foot with him, without leaving the Islands unprovided of Soldiers. Having divided them into two Bodies, he gave the Command of the first to Colonel *Hurry*, who march'd with it to the Castle of *Dumbeth*, which he took by Capitulation. *Montrose* being come there, left Major *Whiteford* in it ; and having pass'd the *Brora*, he march'd to *Glenmuick*, where he waited the raising of a Regiment of four hundred Men which he had order'd. The People of *Sutherland* hid themselves, and gave him no Intelligence of the Enemy's March, who having made themselves Masters of the Passes of the Shire of *Ross*, prevented him from having any News of his Friends.

He sent *Hurry* to *Balnagown*, who espoused the Cause ; and he himself having advanc'd near to *Taine*, on the Borders of *Ross*, he order'd Major *Lille*, with a Detachment of Musketeers, to march through a Wood, where he might find the Gentry of the Shire. *Lille* had no sooner enter'd the Wood, than he discover'd the Enemy's Scouts, with which he acquainted *Montrose*, who order'd him to halt, and advancing himself, he saw the Enemy marching out of an Ambuscade, and who attack'd him in three Bodies. The Engagement was both sharp and bloody. *Montrose* had his Horse shot under him ; and young *Menzies* of *Pitfodells*, who carry'd the Royal Standard, with Major *Guthrie*, were kill'd close by him : but as the Match was not equal, and that the Enemy's Horse broke through every-where, the Royalists gave Ground, and were bore down by the Number of the Enemy : At last the brave Lord *Frederic* did an Action worthy of Remembrance ; for he gave his Horse to *Montrose*, and surrender'd himself Prisoner, well knowing that if that Nobleman should get off, the Face of Affairs would soon be alter'd. *Montrose* swam over the River, accompany'd by the gallant Sir *Edward St. Clair*, and *St. Clair* of *Brim*, a Gentleman of *Caithness*. At the same time *Balnagown* seiz'd upon *Hurry*, and the new Levies dispers'd themselves. *Montrose* got into a very deep Valley, where having continued two Days, he sent *Brim*, who knew the Country, to look for some Provisions ; but he having betray'd him, a Party of the Country People came upon him immediately, who, after having promis'd him all manner of good Usage, basely sold him to *David Lesly*. \*

As soon as the News of his being taken was brought to the Parliament then sitting at *Edinburgh*, his Death was resolv'd upon, without regarding the King's Authority in the least, by whose Order he had taken up Arms. Neither did they stick to displease the King, nor to give his Majesty so just Grounds of Resentment ; though they might well have judg'd that he would have good Reason to believe that they did not deal honestly with him, and that he could not with Safety put himself into their Hands, since they were making so fatal Preparations for his Reception, and that they were marking out his Way with the Blood of his Lieutenant-General. They did not at all consider that the illustrious *Montrose* was a Prisoner of War, and likewise forgot the good

\* *Bishop Wisheart*, Author of *Montrose's Life*, writes, that it was *Mackleod* of *Assint*, who betray'd *Montrose* ; but in every thing else relating to *Montrose*, through this whole History, our Author and the Bishop agree.



1650. Treatment their Prisoners had receiv'd from him; so that, trampling under Foot all Laws both divine and human, all in a Fury they appointed Commissioners for Trying him, even before he was brought to *Edinburgh*.

ON the 17th of *May* 1650, in the Morning, the Commissioners met, and in the Afternoon of the same Day they presented to the Parliament the Sentence they had drawn up: It was to this Effect, "That as soon as *James Grabam* (which was the Name of this matchless Marquis) should come to the City, he should be met by the Magistrates, and the Hangman, at the Gate: That he should be ty'd with Cords upon a Cart, bare-headed: That the Hangman should ride upon the Horse that was to draw the Cart, cover'd before him, and so be brought through the City: That the Marquis should be hang'd on a Gibbet thirty Foot high until he should be dead, which Gibbet should, for that End, be erected before the Cross on the High Street: That he should remain expos'd there for the Space of three Hours, with the History of his Battles, written in Latin, and his Declaration hanging about his Neck: After which, he should be beheaded, and quarter'd: That his Head should be fix'd upon the Prison-House of *Edinburgh*: That his Arms and Legs should be put upon the Gates of the Towns of *Sterling*, *Glasgow*, *Pertb* alias *St. Johnstoun*, and *Aberdeen*: That, in case he should repent, (whereby the Sentence of Excommunication might be taken off by the Church) the Trunk of his Body should be bury'd in the *Grey Friars*; if not, it should be bury'd under a Gibbet of four Pillars, without the City.

THE next Day, the 18th, about four o' Clock in the Afternoon, he came to the Water-Gate, where, according to his Sentence, he was met by the Magistrates, with their Guards, and the Hangman driving the Cart: As soon as he came within the Gate, the Magistrates shew'd him the Sentence; and he read it with as compos'd a Countenance, as if it had been some Affair about which he was indifferent. After having read it, he return'd it to them, and said, "That he would willingly obey; and that he was only sorry, that through him, his Majesty, whose Person he represented, should be so dishonour'd." Then he went up into the Cart, which he then look'd upon as a Triumphal Chariot, and, according to his Sentence, was carry'd to the Prison, all the other Prisoners walking bare-headed before him, tied two and two together, like Highway-men. All the way as he pass'd, there appear'd in him so much Courage and Resolution, and so much Majesty was seen in his Countenance, in the Condition he was in, that the Minds of the People towards him were alter'd all of sudden; their Hatred turn'd into Compassion; and their intended Curses, into Tears and Prayers for him.

WHEN he was taken from the Cart, he gave the Hangman a Piece of Gold, telling him, "That he gave him that, because he had driven the Cart so well." It was seven o' Clock at Night when he enter'd the Prison, whither he could have easily been brought by a shorter Way; but these Gentlemen were pleas'd to deal so by him, and make him pass through the High Street, which is the whole Length of the City, in order to give that Divertisement to the People: Their Malice was not confin'd to that; they caus'd the Cart to be stopt for some time before the Earl of *Murray's* House, where, by an unparallel'd Baseness, *Argyle*, with the chief Men of his Cabal, who never durst look *Montrose* in the Face,



Face while he had his Sword in his Hand, appear'd then in the Windows and Balcony, in order merrily to feed their Sight with a Spectacle which struck Horror into all good Men : But *Montrose* astonish'd them with his Looks, and his Resolution confounded them.

As soon as he was in the Prison, the Parliament sent him some of their Members, with two Ministers, to examine him : but he refus'd to answer, and declar'd, That he would not acknowledge that Parliament, until he should be satisfy'd that the Treaty between his Royal Master and them was concluded, and that they had satisfy'd his Majesty. Which being reported to the Parliament, they delay'd any farther Proceeding 'till Monday, when they order'd their Commissioners to tell him, That the King and They were agreed. Then *Montrose* desir'd to be at Rest, for he was fatigu'd with the long Journey he had made ; and added, *That the Compliment they had put upon him the Day of his entering the City, ought to satisfy them.*

THE next Day, being Sunday, he was again teaz'd by the Ministers, who still pursu'd him with Threatnings, but could not disturb the Tranquillity of his Mind. As they were going to leave him, he told them, " That his Enemies were mistaken, if they imagin'd they had loaded him with Infamy the Day before ; for, on the contrary, he look'd upon that Day as the most glorious for him that ever he had spent in his Life : " That God had powerfully supported him by the Presence of his Spirit, " which fill'd his own with all the Comforts imaginable, and which had " given him Strength to despise the Injuries that Men could do him, " and to behold him for whose Cause he suffer'd, and for which he was " still ready to undergo the most violent Attacks which the Malice of " Men could devise for shaking his Constancy, still hoping that God " would not forsake him. "

UPON Monday in the Forenoon he was brought before the Parliament, where the Chancellor, in a long study'd Speech, upbraided him with " having broke both the Covenant, and the Solemn League betwixt the " two Nations : That he had disturb'd the Kingdom ; and having join'd " with the *Irish* Rebels, he had shed a great deal of innocent Blood. " The Chancellor, after having very much enlarg'd upon these Particulars, saying, " That God had suffer'd that he should fall into their Hands, " that he might be punish'd according as his great Crimes deserved. " *Montrose* being allow'd, answer'd, with his usual Gravity, " Since you " have assur'd me that you have agreed with the King, I look upon you " as if his Majesty presid'd in your Meeting, and 'tis on that Account " that I shew you this Respect, and speak to you uncover'd : My Care " hath always been, never to do any thing unworthy of a good Christian, " and a loyal Subject : 'Tis true, I engag'd in the first Covenant ; but 'tis " likewise true, that I defended it as vigorously as, in Conscience and " Honour, I could, until I perceiv'd that some private Persons, under " Colour of Religion, intended to deprive the King of his Authority, " and to seize upon it for themselves. When it was thought fit that, in " order to distinguish those that were well-affected, from those that were " not, a Bond should be subscrib'd, wherein his Majesty's faithful Servants, " having sufficiently provided for the Security of Religion, oblig'd them- " selves to maintain his Royal Person and Authority ; I, indeed, subscrib'd " it with a great deal of Zeal : but as for the League between the two " Nations, I thank God I had no Hand in it, so could not break it ; but



1650.

“ how far Religion hath been advanc’d by it, and the sad Consequences  
 “ that have follow’d it, these poor distressed Kingdoms can witness.  
 “ When his late Majesty, of glorious Memory, had almost subdued those  
 “ Enemies that rose against him in *England*, and that a Faction of this  
 “ Kingdom went in to their Assistance, his Majesty was pleas’d to honour  
 “ me with his Commission, in order to give a Diversion to those Forces  
 “ that were going from hence against him. I acknowledg’d his Majesty’s  
 “ Command most just, and thought myself bound both in Conscience  
 “ and Duty to obey it. What my Carriage was towards my Country-  
 “ men on that Occasion, you yourselves can bear witness: ’Tis almost  
 “ impossible to prevent Disorders in an Army; but the least that I could  
 “ discover in mine, were severely punish’d; never was any Man’s Blood  
 “ spilt but in Battle, and even then many thousand Lives have I pre-  
 “ served. In fine, As I had taken up Arms by the late King, my Lord  
 “ and Master’s Orders, by the same Orders I also laid them down, and  
 “ went out of the Kingdom. I am not return’d, but by the Authority  
 “ of his Majesty who now reigns, and who has succeeded to the Kingdoms  
 “ of his Ancestors: The Orders he gave me are altogether just, and my  
 “ Obedience is altogether honourable: The King meant nothing else,  
 “ but to oblige you not to put off the Treaty any longer; for he well  
 “ knew, that as soon as you should return to your Duty, I would lay  
 “ down my Arms, and retire. These Reasons, I think, should oblige  
 “ you, not to hurry on your Sentence as you do, but to consider the Justice  
 “ of the Quarrel, my Master’s Commands, and the Moderation of my  
 “ Conduct; that I may be treated not only as a Christian, but likewise as  
 “ a faithful Subject, and as your Brother and good Countryman: Be not  
 “ too rash in an Affair of this Importance, but let me be judg’d by the  
 “ Laws of God, the Laws of Nature and Nations, and the Laws of this  
 “ Land: If you do otherwise, I do here appeal from you to the righteous  
 “ Judge of the World, who, at the Last Day, must be both your Judge  
 “ and mine, and who will deal with every one of us according as we  
 “ shall have dealt with others.” He deliver’d this Speech with a Grace  
 and Presence of Mind that surpriz’d them all; and it was observ’d, that  
 he appear’d before that Tribunal with the same Countenance as some of  
 those, who were sitting there, had seen him formerly have at the Head  
 of an Army: ’Tis true, that, on that Occasion, they had not seen him  
 so near, nor with the same Confidence, that they beheld him then.

AFTER which, the Chancellor order’d the Clerk to read over the  
 Sentence once more. *Montrose* heard it, without discovering the least  
 Emotion: But as he was going to make some Answer, the Chancellor  
 bid him hold his Tongue, and order’d him to be carry’d back to Prison.  
 He was no sooner there, than the Ministers attack’d him afresh, still  
 striving to terrify him with the extraordinary Rigour of the Sentence:  
 but they lost their Labour, having to do with a Man who explain’d it  
 after quite another manner than they imagin’d; for he told them, “ That  
 “ he was extremely oblig’d to the Parliament, for the Honour they were  
 “ pleas’d to do him; because he took it for a greater Honour to have his  
 “ Head put upon the Top of the Prison for the Cause he defended, than  
 “ to have his Picture plac’d in the most honourable Part of the King’s  
 “ Bed-Chamber: That he could not enough admire the Care the Parlia-  
 “ ment took, to perpetuate his Memory, and to prevent that his Loyalty  
 “ might not be forgot, having order’d lasting Monuments, for Posterity,  
 “ to be put up in the four principal Cities of the Kingdom; and that he  
 “ wish’d that his Body could furnish Flesh enough to send a Piece of it

“ 10



“ to every City in Christendom, that there might every-where be Marks  
“ of his Loyalty to his King and Country.” 1650.

THE Night between *Monday* and *Tuesday*, being the last he was to live, he spent it all in Praying, having a Guard still in the Room with him. The next Day, being the 21<sup>st</sup>, having put on a Suit of Scarlet Cloaths, laced all over with Gold Lace, he waited for the last Hour of his Life with a Tranquillity of Mind not to be express'd. About three o' Clock in the Afternoon the Magistrates of the City went to receive him from the Prison, from whence he walk'd on Foot up to the Scaffold, with as much Courage and Chearfulness as if he had been going to make his Entry into some Town that he had taken: And because he well foresaw that his Friends would not be allow'd to come near him, nor that he should be permitted to speak to the People, he threw a Paper among them, which contain'd the Speech he design'd to have made, the Substance whereof was this:

“ I SHOULD be very sorry if this kind of Death I am going to  
“ suffer, should give any Ground of Scandal, or be capable of making  
“ any bad Impression upon the Minds of good Christians: Is it not well  
“ known that the Righteous are sometimes afflicted; and that, on the  
“ contrary, the Wicked are prosperous, which they seem not to deserve?  
“ Is it not often seen, that the just Man perisheth in his Uprightness, and  
“ the wicked Man prospers in his Iniquity? All those to whom I have  
“ the Honour to be known, and who know the Particulars of my Life,  
“ have no Reason to be scandaliz'd at my Death; since many great Men,  
“ who, beyond Comparison, were of greater Worth than I, have been  
“ dealt with in this manner. Nevertheless, I must acknowledge that  
“ God's Judgments are just; for I should deserve to suffer a more severe  
“ Treatment, if it had been possible that my Enemies could have contriv'd one, because of the Sins I have committed as a private Man;  
“ and therefore I submit to the good Will of God, not considering Men  
“ but as Instruments, which he is pleas'd to make use of, for executing  
“ his Justice upon me: Therefore, I pray him to forgive them my Death,  
“ as I do heartily forgive them; and, very far from having the least  
“ Resentment, I don't so much as complain of it, nor lay it to any  
“ Man's Charge: I only think myself oblig'd, for my own Vindication,  
“ to say, That all I have done in this Kingdom, hath been by the King's  
“ Commands, and for his Defence; for I believ'd, that, next to the  
“ Fear of God, the first Duty of a good Christian, was, to honour the  
“ King, according to the Laws of God, and those of Nature; besides,  
“ that 'tis the Sentiment of all Nations. So I have not sinn'd against  
“ Man, but against God, 'tis against him alone that I have sinned; and  
“ because with him there's Fulness of Mercy, and abundance of Favour,  
“ I appear before the Tribunal of his Justice with a holy Confidence. I  
“ doubt not but there may be some good Men that will judge ill of me,  
“ because, perhaps, they look upon me to be excommunicated; but 'tis  
“ for a Cause that deserv'd Blessings, and publick Acclamations: so that  
“ I am in no Pain about having incurr'd that Censure; yet I wish it  
“ were taken off, provided it were done without wounding either my  
“ Conscience or Honour: If they refuse to do it upon these Conditions,  
“ I appeal to God, who, I hope, will be both my Judge and Saviour.

“ I KNOW there are some who have given out, That I had laid the  
“ Blame of all that has pass'd, upon the late King. God forbid! 'tis  
“ a most



1650. " a most wicked Calumny: I very well know that that great Prince  
 " always led the Life of a Saint, and died a Martyr: I pray God, I may  
 " so end my Life as he did his; and, if it were lawful to wish that my  
 " Soul were in the Place of any Man's Soul, I should wish it were in the  
 " same State with his. As for the King, his Son, who now reigns, I am  
 " bound to give him this Character, That he is a very hopeful Prince;  
 " that it will be his People's Fault, if they don't live happy under his  
 " Government; that his Commands to me were most just; that he will  
 " perform whatever he shall promise his People: God grant that they  
 " may do the same, and that he be not betray'd by those very Men whom  
 " he honours most with his Confidence, as the King his Father was.  
 " Thus, having a mind, to my last Breath, to continue faithful to the  
 " Memory of the Father, so I die faithful to the Person of the Son.  
 " Don't think that 'tis Obstinacy or Hard-heartedness that makes me  
 " continue stedfast in my first Sentiments; 'tis the Light of my own Con-  
 " science, which is seconded by the working of the good Spirit of God  
 " that is within me; 'tis he that enables me to look Death in the Face  
 " without Fear, though it should appear to me a thousand times more  
 " frightful than it is: Let him be glorified in my Death, which I em-  
 " brace with Joy. To conclude; I desire of those who are in Charity  
 " with me, that they may assist me with their Prayers, heartily offering  
 " mine to all such as are not: So I leave my Soul to God, my most  
 " faithful Services to my Prince, my affectionate Respects to my Friends,  
 " and my Memory and Charity to all Men."

HAVING thrown this Paper, they brought him the History of his Battles, in Latin, and his Declaration, tied together with a Cord, in order to be put about his Neck; which having been done, he said, "That the King his Master had formerly honour'd him with the Order of the Garter; but that he reckon'd himself much more honourably adorn'd with the Collar that had been just now put about his Neck, than with that of the Garter." After they had tied his Arms, the Weight of which the Rebels had formerly felt, he ask'd them, smiling, "If they thought there was yet any thing left for them to do, in the merry Mood they were in, for loading him with Infamy; if there was, he bid them not spare him, for he would willingly suffer whatever they could do to him."

THUS died this great Hero with an unshaken Courage, in the 38th Year of his Age. All the Shadowings that Rage and Fury have thrown upon the Description of his Death, have only serv'd to heighten the excellent Virtues of his Life, which they have render'd more bright: His Person hath honour'd the Punishment, instead of having been thereby dishonour'd; it was ignominious to those only who intended it as such, and not to him that receiv'd it; as the Arrows, which the Barbarians shot against the Sun, fell again upon their own Heads, whereby they were both frightened and enraged. But let not Malice triumph; her Endeavours are fruitless: *Montrose* is not dead; he is still alive, and will always live, by his great Name, and the Nobleness of his Actions, both which are immortalized.

THE News of his Misfortune being carried to *Paris*, the Cardinal *de Retz*, then his Uncle's Coadjutor, was sensibly affected therewith, and immediately sent an Express to Court, in order to get from his most Christian Majesty the most effectual Letter that could be penn'd, for requesting



requesting of the Parliament of *Scotland* the Life of that great Man : 1650.  
But before the Gentleman, who was to carry the Letter thither, was ready  
to set out, the Post brought the News of *Montrose's* Murder.

The King's Letter was worded thus :

MOST DEAR AND GREAT FRIENDS,

" HAVING heard that the Marquis of *Montrose* was taken Prisoner  
" in the last Battle he fought in *Scotland*, and considering that that  
" Misfortune happen'd to him by the Fortune of War, in executing the  
" Commission of our most dear and well-beloved Brother the King of  
" *Great-Britain* ; that he has always behav'd himself with great Pru-  
" dence, Honour, and Virtue, and that he has thereby deserv'd our Favour  
" and particular Affection ; besides, having a Regard to the most humble  
" Request that has been made to us in his Favour, by the Archbishop of  
" *Corinth*, Coadjutor in the Archbishoprick of our good City of *Paris* :  
" We find ourselves mov'd to write this to you, by the Advice of the  
" Queen Regent, our most honoured Lady and Mother, in order to  
" intreat you to set the said Marquis at Liberty, and not to suffer him to  
" meet with any ill Usage. We hope that you will regard our Recom-  
" mendation, which we most affectionately send you, and that you will  
" prefer the Mildness of Clemency to the Rigor of Punishment, which, it  
" may be said, he hath not deserv'd, since he hath bravely discharg'd his  
" chief Duty, in obeying the King, both his and your Sovereign, who,  
" one Day, may remember the Favour you shall shew to one of his  
" Servants, upon whose Account we purposely send this Gentleman,  
" who will assure you of our Affection, to whom you may give Credit in  
" whatever he shall tell you from us ; and let you know, that our Sollici-  
" tations in Favour of the said Marquis of *Montrose*, are made as heartily  
" as we pray God to take you, MOST DEAR AND GREAT  
" FRIENDS, under his holy and worthy Protection.

*The King of  
France's Let-  
ter in Favour  
of Montrose.*

Given at Compeigne, the 10th Day of June, 1650.

THIS Letter serves now for honouring the Memory of *Montrose* :  
And the Character which the same Prelate gives him every-where, is  
likewise very advantageous to him ; for he has always said, That of all  
the Men he had ever seen, *Montrose* gave him the most perfect Notion of  
the great Men of ancient *Greece* and ancient *Rome* all at once.

SOME Days after *Montrose's* Execution, which has given so great  
Reason to exclaim against *Scotland*, and has so much blemish'd its Repu-  
tation, Captain *Spotswood* of *Derby*, Grandchild of Chancellor *Spotswood*,  
Captain *Stirling*, Sir *William Hay* of *Delgity*, and Colonel *Hurry*, who  
were taken with *Montrose*, were likewise beheaded in the same Place  
where their General had been executed : And though they were all  
very young, except *Hurry*, who was a gallant old Officer, yet they  
shew'd so much Courage and Greatness of Soul in Dying, that it was  
plainly seen, they preferr'd so glorious a Death to a longer Life.

WE doubt not but those who are pleas'd to dive into this fatal Revo-  
lution of *Great Britain*, will be both astonish'd and frighted, so much  
the more still, because it has happen'd there, not in the Reign of a King,  
such as *Henry VIII.* was, but under the Reign of the best of all the Kings  
that ever sway'd the Sceptre either in *Scotland* or *England*. Thus it was  
that *Rome* abounded with all manner of Riches under the Empire of *Caius*,  
whom



1650. whom Nature seem'd to have produc'd, in order to shew what great Vices can do in a prosperous Fortune: Besides, it was against his Will that *Rome* was so happy; for he was wont to wish for Defeats of Armies, Conflagrations, and Earthquakes, or a Pestilence, and the Devastation of Provinces; and he was sorry that his Reign had not been remarkable by some publick Calamity, as that of *Augustus* had been by the Defeat of the Legions in *Germany*, and also that of *Tiberius* by the Fall of the Theatres at *Fidenæ*. On the contrary of that, the dreadful Burning of Mount *Vesuvius* was follow'd by a Pestilence and Famine in many Places of the Empire; and a Fire having broke out in *Rome*, it lasted three Days and three Nights, and burnt to Ashes the most magnificent Temples and stately Buidings that were in it; and all that, I say, in the Reign of *Titus*, who was call'd The Delight of Mankind; and who said, That he had mis-spent the Day, wherein he had done no good to any Person. These Judgments of God, which the Wit of Man cannot fathom, made the Royal Prophet cry out, That *the Lord is terrible in his Doing towards the Children of Men*.

BUT we wish that the extraordinary Revolution, the History whereof we are finishing, may teach all Men, who shall take the Trouble to read it, two very important Things: One, That out of the Catholick Communion, nothing is to be found but Confusion and Irreligion in Religion: That all Communions that are separated from it, still labour to reform, without ever being reformed; and that there is not one amongst them, that does not very justly deserve to be cut off from the Church; out of which a Man may, indeed, have Faith, and the Sacraments, but neither Charity, nor Salvation; As we have shewn in a most humble Remonstrance, which we have presented to King *Charles II.* The other Thing is, That when the Obedience that is due to the Powers which God hath establish'd, is withdrawn, whatever their Subjects may promise themselves, or be flatter'd with, they never find in Effect but Misery and Ruin.

'TIS impossible but the Tribe of *Levi* will be inviolably attach'd to *Moses*; and that the sacred Unction, whereof Kings are made Partakers, will subject the House of *Aaron* to them, and closely unite the Crozier with the Sceptre, and the Mitre with the Crown. The Experience of all Ages has also shewn, in all States, that one of these Powers cannot be attack'd, but the other must feel the Counter-Blow: As we see, when the Sceptre was wrested out of the Hands of *Judah*, the Priesthood was no longer the Inheritance of *Levi*; and even before they were both quite ruin'd, the Disorders that happen'd in the Political Government, bred Confusion in the Ecclesiastical Government; the Succession of Priests was interrupted; a schismatical High-Priest was establish'd upon Mount *Gerizim*; and at *Jerusalem* the High-Priests were chang'd from Year to Year, and even sometimes oftener, according as Pretenders to that Dignity appear'd, and offer'd more Money than those who possess'd it had given: At last the Priesthood departed from the House of *Aaron*, and the Sanctuary was prophaned.

NOBILITY is a Ray and an Emanation of Royal Majesty; so that when it falls into Rebellion, it degrades itself, and stains its own Character. Though the Nobility of *England* had cast a Blemish upon that Majesty, in the Person of their Prince, they still thought to preserve their Rank, and wonted Dignity: but they were grossly mistaken; they had



had discover'd the Mystery of Government, and having shaken the Corner-Stone, the whole Fabrick tumbled down. 'Tis an Error, which is but too common to all that Body, not to value enough their first Obligations, though they are the strongest, and to which all others ought to give Way : For, as 'tis a constant Rule in Divinity, That 'tis better to obey God than Men, when they are of contrary Opinions, with Regard to active Obedience, because otherwise a Man must, after the Example of *St. Maurice* and his Companions, suffer every thing, rather than do any thing that never so little wounds his Conscience ; so there is no Obligation that Subjects contract, that ever can exempt them from what they owe to their Prince, whose they are as soon as they have a Being.

THE People should consider, that whatever Pretence the Nobility may use, and whatever Shew they may make of pitying them, and being willing to relieve them, they never so much as think upon them, and that there never was one of them that ever drew his Sword for their Relief : They should likewise remember, that that Publick Good, with which the Authors of Civil Wars flatter the Credulous, vanisheth as soon as they have made their Reconciliation in the Cabinet. So that the greatest Benefit that accrues to the innocent People that espouse their Interests, is like to that of a Man, who, in order to avoid the Mouth of a Lion, should go to throw himself under the Paws of a Bear ; or of another, who, as the Prophet saith, leaning his Hand on the Wall, should feel himself bit by a Serpent. In short, As a lawful Reformation cannot be made in the Church, but by the Authority of the Bishops only, to whom God hath committed the Government thereof ; so there can be no lawful Reformation in the Political Government of the State, but by the Prince, who is God's Vicegerent therein, and who takes the Sword from the Altar, to shew that he holds his Authority of none but God Almighty. 'Tis true, that both may sometimes do amiss, but these are only Faults ; whereas, whatever is attempted against them, is a criminal Encroachment.

THIS being the Case, as without doubt it is, the People must be the Ark, wherein *Aaron's Rod*, and the Tables of the Law, are kept. Let them inviolably preserve a due Respect for the Prince and the Priests : Let the two Powers, the Spiritual and Temporal, stretch forth their Wings upon this Ark, like Cherubims : Let their Faces look lovingly one to another ; and let them both likewise cast their Eyes upon the Ark ; for then the Cloud of the Protection of God will cover it continually, and they shall be call'd the People blessed of God, to the End of the World.

*The END of the TWELFTH BOOK.*



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AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
TRUE CAUSES  
AND  
Favourable Conjectures

WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO THE  
RESTORATION  
OF  
King CHARLES II.

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Written in *French* by D. RIORDAN *de Muscry*.

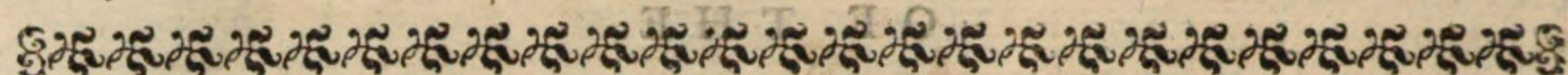
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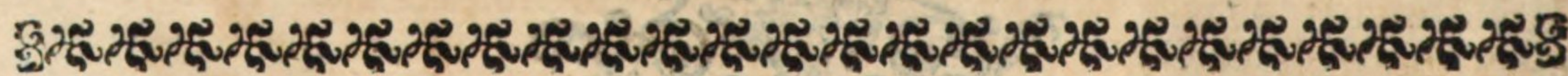
**T**HOUGH the following Piece be not written by the Author of the foregoing History ; yet being join'd, and having relation thereunto, I thought fit likewise to render it into English.

THE Reader will find, that the Author, in the short Account he gives of General Monk's Life, is mistaken, in making him a Native of the County of Middlesex, instead of Devonshire : but as the Mistake is not very material, so it ought not to lessen the Credit of the other Matters of Fact contain'd in the ensuing Relation ; unless they be found to disagree with better-vouch'd Histories of those Times : And as 'tis not my Business to censure this Work ; so neither shall I, by commending it here, bespeak the Reader's good Opinion of it, but leave him to judge thereof as he shall see Cause.

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Written in French by D. R. JORDAN de Mancy.

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Printed in the Year M. DCC. XXIV.



# AN ACCOUNT OF THE RESTORATION OF King CHARLES II.

**M**Y Design is not to shew myself a great Politician, nor to discover Secrets to Men of greater Penetration: I can only, without Presumption, affirm, that I have not been ignorant of whatever hath contributed to dethrone the late King of *Great-Britain*, and to restore his Son: That my Business led me to know those who were acting against them, their Enemies having always been mine; and that I was at no small Pains to persuade them to their Duty, or break their Measures; yet they persisted obstinately in their pernicious Principles. But before I begin the Relation, I find myself oblig'd to give this Testimony to Justice and Truth, (tho' the most Part of Men be of a contrary Opinion) That the King of *England*, next to God, owes his Restauration, first to his own Conduct, and then to the Wisdom and Prudence of the Marquis of *Ormond*, who, among the second Causes of that great Revolution, has been, as it were, the Principal.

At present all *Europe* justly admires, how three very considerable Armies, which lorded it over *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, whereof all the Generals had acted as Provost-Marshal and Tip-Staves against the late King, have, in some manner, given their Votes for the Return of a Prince, whose Father they had murder'd; of a Prince, whose Escape out of their Hands was owing to Divine Providence: how Men, who



who of their own Accord had agreed to be his most cruel Enemies, come now, notwithstanding all the Ordinances they had caus'd to be made against his Life and Crown; notwithstanding the Oaths so often repeated against his Service; after having carry'd Things so far, that they had depriv'd themselves of all Hopes of Pardon: come, I say, of their own Accord, not as Officers, whom Ambition had mis-led, with a Design to make Excuses, and to capitulate; but as Criminals, who, conscious of their horrid Crime, had lost the Use of their Reason and Senses; to submit, without Conditions, to the Mercy of him whom, these twelve Years, they call'd by no other Name but that of the Common Enemy.

FOREIGNERS, perhaps, may attribute this Change, to the great Number of Friends which the Continuance of Monarchy, for so many Ages, may have acquir'd and preserv'd to the Royal Family of *England*, which, without doubt, is one of the most ancient of *Europe*. And, indeed, if all the great Families of the three Kingdoms of *Great-Britain* were strictly enquir'd into, very few of them would be found that did not owe their Fortunes and Rise to it: And it may be said, that, with respect to the Nobility of those Countries, it is what the Trunk and Root are, in regard of the Branches. What still confirms this Opinion, is, that in *England* there is no Reversion of Places and Offices; so that all Favours come immediately from the Prince, who commonly bestows them according to his Inclination, and the Esteem he has for the Persons; insomuch that they are not always given upon Account of Merit or Services, but rather according to every Man's good or bad Fate. And as the Laws of *England* are severe beyond Imagination, and never dispens'd with, Forfeitures have always been, as it were the Field wherein the Bounty of the Kings has had Room to take its full Latitude: For the Rigour of the Laws is so great there, that no Distinction is made between the Degrees of High Treason; so that Estates are not only forfeited there for having taken up Arms against the State, but likewise for the least want of Respect to the Prince; for any licentious Word concerning his Actions or Person, and the least Censure of his Council, are accounted Treason: And one of the Articles of the Laws of *England* the most to be fear'd, is what they call in *English*, *He has spoken Treason*; for 'tis a publick Crime, and any Body has a Right to prosecute it, and declare himself a Party. Many Families have thereby been undone, to all Intents and Purposes; because, after having been outlaw'd, their Posterity are never restor'd. 'Tis by that Means, that the Prince's Favourites become very rich in Land; the Unfortunate being expos'd to their Avarice, and the Venality of false Witnesses. Many great Families have been so rais'd in *England*, and yet a much greater Number in *Ireland*; and therefore they were beholden to the Bounty of the Prince for their Fortunes. But notwithstanding such strong Obligations, those who, both out of Duty and Gratitude, ought to have been the most attach'd to the Royal Interest, have been its most irreconcilable Enemies, and the most passionate Followers of *Cromwell*.

THE Nobility and Gentry of *England*, who had begun the War, having found to their Cost, and after sad Experience, that their Interest was inseparable from that of their Kings, had at length rejected the Employments which *Cromwell* offer'd them, and confin'd themselves to their own Houses, where they endeavour'd to live in Quiet, and divert themselves with Hunting, that they might not be suspected by that Usurper, who wanted but the least Pretence, in order to extinguish them altogether



gether ; so that there was scarce one Gentleman to be found, that would debase himself so far as to take the highest Posts in the Troops of the pretended Common-wealth. *Cromwell* having consider'd their Resolutions, fram'd two Projects, which were to be the Foundation and Support of his Usurpation : The first was, From thenceforth not to bestow either Civil or Military Offices upon Gentlemen, though, in outward Appearance, he cajol'd them, treating them as his Equals, and even not putting on his Hat in their Presence, that he might the better indulge them in the Lethargy into which they were fallen.

THE second was, To draw a new Nobility and Gentry out of the Scum of the People ; witness *Hacker* a Dray-man, and *Harrison* ; the first he made a Colonel, the other a Major-General. By the Choice he made of that sort of Men, he eloquently perswaded the Populace, that he regarded nothing but Merit ; that he had a mind the last Man of *England* should enjoy as great Privileges as the first : And when he caus'd the Head of a Gentleman to be struck off, he assur'd the People that it was a pretended King ; so that the Name of Cavalier became contemptible, as if it had been a Reproach to be a Gentleman. Besides, in order the better to colour this Design, he always preach'd, and made others preach against Luxury, the Distinction of Qualities, the Carriage and Manner of Living of Gentlemen, which he call'd Ostentation, Pride, and Vanity, prejudicial to the Common-wealth. All the Officers that had deserted the King, and sided with the Rebels, in order to please the Usurper, became so many Preachers, who talk'd of nothing but the holy Scripture, and Christian Liberty. In outward Appearance they liv'd very regularly, and were very frugal ; for they manag'd their Pay, when they had got it, as if they had never been to receive any more in their Lives. As for their Diet, they confin'd themselves to the Allowance of the meanest Soldier ; a Tavern was look'd upon, among them, as a Hell ; and lest they should be suspected of shifting Sides, the same Cloaths they wore when but single Soldiers, serv'd them still when they were Captains and Colonels ; so that the Merchant got very little of their Money : Thus did they hoard up all the Money, which was no more employ'd in Commerce, for fear of a Revolution. Thus the Nobility and Gentry being banish'd the Towns, the Youth spending their Estates out of the Kingdom, and the Officers of the Army hoarding up Money, without laying any of it out, the Merchants and Tradesmen of *London* have been reduc'd to very great Straits ; which, without distinguishing the Innocent from the Guilty, hath severely enough reveng'd the Countenance which that City seem'd to have given to the first Commotions.

BUT as Interest is the God of our Age, who has more magnificent Temples, and more illustrious Victims in *England*, than in all the rest of the World, Divine Providence has made Use of that Motive to stir up the famous City of *London* to its Duty : so that nothing more was wanting to bring it entirely back to it, but some favourable Opportunity to shew the Aversion it had conceiv'd against the tyrannical Government.

THE only Obstacle to this great Change, was *Cromwell's* Conduct, who appear'd more formidable to the *English*, than the *Polyphemus* of the Fable : They represented him as having *Argus's* Eyes, and *Briareus's* Hands ; and they knew that he had an infallible Expedient to load with



the publick Hatred all such as displeas'd him, or who might be in a Condition to act contrary to his Authority.

THOUGH by such Means he had acquir'd the Reputation of a great Politician, yet he did not deserve it; for this Conduct of his was no Mystery, in a Country where both Religion and Honour had fallen under a general Contempt: 'Tis certain that false Witnesses had serv'd him much better than his Cabinet Council; he had them of all Kinds; and it may be plainly seen that he had a good Store of them, since he had made above two hundred appear against the late King; so many Plots discover'd, so many Designs frustrated, wherein some unhappy Men still lost their Lives, in order to terrify the real Conspirators, were the worthy Productions of that sanctify'd Gang.

AMONG all those false Witnesses, the Ministers were the most useful Tools for ruining such as he had a mind to be rid of: They began to preach against the loose and disorderly Life of the Party accused, without mentioning Affairs of State; and, by Degrees, made the People believe, that the Person design'd to be ruin'd, or turn'd out of his Place, had chang'd his Religion; that he had a mind to introduce a new Doctrine, and was not of the establish'd Church. Thus he made the late King to be charg'd with being a *Roman Catholick*; the Earl of *Manchester* and *Fairfax*, with being *Presbyterians*; and Colonel *Lilburn*, with being a *Leveller*, and designing to introduce the Community of Goods; Major-General *Harrison*, with being the Ring-Leader of the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*; *Lambert*, with being an *Anabaptist*; Sir *Henry Vane*, with being a *Jesuit*, and aspiring to a Cardinal's Hat; the Earl of *Pembroke*, with being a *Quaker*; and the wretched *Naylor*, with having declar'd that he was *Jesus Christ*. Behold the Goddess *Egeria* of this great *Numa*; behold the Hind of this new *Sertorius*, whose Politicks, though very indifferent, yet were very dreadful, seeing they threaten'd utter Ruin, as well for Religion as Politicks.

THESE unavoidable Means of ruining the Innocent being known by a Part of his Council, at length they came to the Knowledge of the People, insomuch that from thenceforth they began to undeceive themselves, and to look for Means to oppose the Tyranny: but it was too late; it was too powerfully establish'd; it had already assum'd the Face and Manner of a lawful Government, and the People had conceiv'd in their Minds a Democratical State, which they call'd, The great Work.

As in this Establishment they promis'd themselves compleat Happiness, it was the Scope of the publick Prayers, and the Object of private Ambition; and, by these deceitful and chimerical Baits, the Sham-Protector was lucky enough to have insnar'd three Kingdoms, the People whereof believ'd his fair Promises, or counterfeited the Credulous so well, that their Belief could no longer be doubted.

WHILST Villany was establishing itself upon the Throne, and the greatest wicked Man of our Age was thus deluding the Vulgar, he likewise, by Degrees, undeceiv'd the Republicans, who were a powerful Faction of the most wealthy Merchants, who, in the Beginning of the Wars, had sided with the Earl of *Essex*, and afterwards with the Earl of *Manchester*. The Ring-Leader of this Faction was Sir *Henry Vane*, a Man of great Ability, and full of Malice. Sir *Arthur Haslerig* was



of it too, being push'd on purely by Avarice to lay hold of all Opportunities of doing Mischief, and gathering Riches. They were properly the *Brutus* and *Cassius* of this new Republick; *Escot* was the *Cicero* of it. And tho' they follow'd and strengthen'd the Protector's Party, their only Design was, to secure themselves; and then, when Occasion should offer, to rid themselves of *Cromwell*, whom they yet supported, because they found it would be easier to ruin an unjust and cruel Usurper, than a lawful and just Monarch.

SIR *Henry Vane* made very cunning Attempts, in order to dispossess him, thinking himself much more worthy of the Command than he. Besides, 'tis known, that 'twas he that supported *Lambert*, when, in full Parliament, he was so bold as to declare, "That his Sword had cut off the Roots of Royalty; and that he kept it still, in order to draw it against the first that should dare, under the Title of King, to make an Attempt upon the publick Liberty, for which he would die." The Protector contented himself with calmly breaking *Lambert*, and sending away *Vane* to his own House, having always kept fair with that crafty, bold, and untractable Man, as the only Person against whom he had nothing to object; for *Vane* had never been suspected of the least Affection for Monarchy, which was the only Crime the Informers were employ'd about, and that could be punished. And though he was a sworn Enemy to Monarchy, having persuaded his Followers of a fifth Monarchy, which he call'd *The Empire of good Men*; for all that he sometimes said in publick, and made it be told the Army, That if they had a mind to continue Monarchy, the Family of *Stuart* was at least as good as that of *William* the Conqueror: That as for his Part, he did not understand the Politicks of those who had turn'd out the Kings, in order to admit a single Person to govern: That between King and Protector there was no Difference but in the Name; and that *Marc Anthony* was not so good as *Julius Caesar*. Sometimes he spoke mystically of the King's Death, whom he call'd *Tarquin*; and sometimes he pretended to Revelation: In a Word, he knew so well how to keep in with the Protector's Party, that he oblig'd him to heap Riches upon him, and to give him one of the first Places in the Council. The Protector knew very well that he was his Enemy: but he was afraid, that, by the Ruin of this Man, the Royal Family would be deliver'd from one of the most dangerous Enemies it had; and it was upon that Consideration he was sav'd.

NOTWITHSTANDING *Cromwell's* Severity, *Vane* boldly laid the Foundation of a Common-wealth, of which he was to manage the Pen, and *Lambert* the Sword. And this Scheme would also have been carry'd in *Cromwell's* Council, if his rebellious Troops had not stuck close to his Interest, which they look'd upon to be their own: Therefore they resolv'd to put it off 'till the Protector's Death, and to engage him into some slippery Business that might beget him Enemies.

EVER since that Time, nothing pass'd in all *Europe* but *Cromwell* took Care to be acquainted with it: He declar'd himself Protector of the Calvinists; and the Friendship he shew'd them, was the Cause of that Religion's prevailing in *England* above all others at present. The Valley of *Lucern* afforded him an Opportunity of making his court to the Hugonots of *France*: The Return of the King of *Poland*, and the Punishment of the Protestants, who had sided with  
Sweden



*Sweden* and *Brandenburg* against *Poland*, afforded him Means of insinuating himself very far into the Favour of the Protestants of *Germany*, and the *Hans-Towns*; for which Ends he imposed extraordinary Taxes of vast Sums, of which he kept two Parts for himself, and with great Ostentation gave some small Sums to the most clamorous of their Ministers.

If now and then the People grumbled at the too heavy Taxes, he said, That they were rais'd for no other End but to make War upon Antichrist: That the Time was come that the Whore of *Babylon* was to be destroy'd: That the Squadron of Men of War, which he kept upon the Coasts of *Leghorn* and *Cadiz*, should not return 'till after the taking of *Rome*, and the entire Extirpation of the Inquisition: That *Spain* was reduc'd to Extremities; and that Popery was at an end, if they would furnish him with Money but for one Year only: That besides, the Republican Age was come, and that in ten Years there should be no more Kings: That the Empire had pass'd through all the World, having been in *Assyria*, in *Media*, in *Persia*, in *Greece*, in *Italy*, in *Germany*; and then it was *England's* Turn to possess it, where it was to continue as long as it did in *Rome*.

THE People of *England*, who are naturally proud, superstitious, and visionary, gave Credit to these Impostures, and especially the godly or zealous Puritans, with Eagerness advanc'd their Money for accomplishing this great Work, which was to be finish'd every Year. The War with *Spain* thoroughly sanctify'd all the Protector's Actions. A Descent in *Italy* was likewise expected; and the Citizens of *London* were made believe that the Pope should be brought Prisoner to *Newgate*, while he was managing the Consistory by his Envoys at *Rome*. These empty Promises brought him ready Money to pay the Fleet and the Army: All the Conspiracies and Attempts against his Person and Government were regulated according to the monthly Course of the Moon, sometimes increasing, and sometimes decreasing; and he never accus'd any but the leading Men of the weakest Religion, or of the latest Superstition, in order to engage in his Preservation all the Godly, who (as he said) would have been destroy'd, if the Plots had succeeded.

THESE Tricks having been often practis'd, at length were discover'd, insomuch that that Mine was no more sprung: besides, his pretending to interest himself so much in the Affairs of *Flanders* and *Denmark* disgusted a great many of his Council, and almost all the People, who publish'd every-where, that he little minded the Interests of *Sweden*, which were the same to him as those of *Denmark*; and that they plainly saw, that nothing could be expected from the Success of that War, but the Ruin of the Fleet, and an excessive Expence, which they were scarce able to bear. In the mean time, the *Ostenders* very much disturb'd the Commerce, and the *Dunkirkers* took a vast Number of Prizes in the Channel; insomuch that the Merchants of *London*, and other Traders, produc'd an Account of seventeen hundred Ships taken from the *English*, since the Rupture with *Spain*. These Losses very much provok'd the People, and made them so bold as to demand a Peace with *Spain*. *Cromwell* was a little alarm'd at this Demand, so much the more that *Spain* was willing to accept of all manner of Proposals of Accommodation. The *Spaniards* offer'd to indemnify him; to allow him to trade to the *Indies*; to give him the half



half of their Conquests, and to assist him in taking *Calais* and *Boulogne*. On the other hand, the *French* offer'd to assist him in taking *Dunkirk*; thereby giving him to understand, that he should be Master of the *Ostenders*, and cut off his Catholick Majesty's Subjects from the Sea. For the same End, they concerted with him the Attempt upon *Ostend*, which cost him very dear; and the Siege of *Dunkirk*, which he undertook with an Expence of Men and Ships, of Money and Provisions; which plainly shew'd that he was truly of a mercenary Temper, but that he was so to his Cost. *England* carry'd *Dunkirk*, or rather bought it dearer by this Treaty, than can be imagin'd: And, indeed, the *English* plainly confess, that then *Cromwell* found a Man more cunning than himself.

THE Reason why he made War abroad, was, that having already had seven or eight Years Peace in *England*, the most Part of that Army which had made him victorious, had retir'd home; and its Officers not being employ'd, were living frugally upon what they had got: besides, he had so enrich'd his Troops, as to make them despise War; and the Recruits he made, were compos'd of Men who had a Revolution in View, in order to take from the Veterans what they had robb'd from others: That oblig'd him to send abroad all such as were troublesome to him, and to join them to the *French*, without caring much whether they liv'd or dy'd. Indeed, 'tis certain that the Peace was general betwixt the two Nations; but, in the Army, the *French* and *English* Troops were in a State of War, and treated one another like Enemies. The Hedges and Water-gangs could give a better Account of these private Quarrels; and I am certain, that though the *Spaniards* were the declar'd Enemies of the *English*, yet the *French*, out of the general Hatred they bore the Protector's Men, kill'd more of them; and that they treated more kindly, and with more Affection, the meanest *English* Royalist of the Enemy's Army, than the most considerable of the Regicides.

AT this Juncture, the Misunderstanding began to encrease between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, the one accusing the other of Treachery: The *Swedes* maintain'd, That the *Danes* were treating under-hand with the House of *Austria*; and, on the other hand, the *Poles* and *Danes* exclaim'd against the *Swedes*, and affirm'd, That the Invasion they had made, was contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Articles of the Peace of *Roschild*: That it was by no Means lawful to attack a Neighbour unawares, and besiege him in his Capital, without openly declaring War against him: And that, upon the Credit of certain Letters, which are said to have been intercepted, no Attempt could be made upon the Liberty and Crown of a just and lawful Prince, without destroying the Faith of a Treaty, and the Reputation of a State. I shall not say which of the two was to blame, the Motive of that Rupture not being well known but in the Cabinet-Council of those two Princes: but what makes it to be suspected that there was not fair Dealing on one Side, is, that *Cromwell* had been the chief Instrument of that Surprize. The *Dutch* seeing, by the Part he took in the Affairs of the *Sound*, that he had a mind to make himself Master of the *Baltick* Sea, and of the Commerce of *Germany*; and that he had shar'd all the Advantages with the King of *Sweden*, by a Treaty which *Whitlock*, his Ambassador at that Prince's Court, had begun, and which *Meadow*, his Successor, had concluded; were so much alarm'd, that, since the Beginning of their Republick, they had not contributed with so great Eagerness to the fitting out of a Fleet, as



they did to that which was design'd for the Relief of *Denmark*. But because they were afraid that the *English* and *Swedes* were enter'd into an Offensive and Defensive Alliance, they acted very cautiously at first; insomuch that they declar'd they would not move, but for the Good of the two Crowns, and the Protestant Interest, which was very much weaken'd in *Germany* by this Quarrel. Mean while, *Cromwell*, for his Part, was fitting out a strong Fleet for assailing the *Swedes*, and hop'd to draw the *Dutch* into a Quarrel with him: He was already Master of *Dunkirk*; and the *Swedes* having promis'd to give him *Cronenberg* and *Elfenore*, he already look'd upon the *Dutch* as his Tributaries: He gave the Command of this Fleet to Admiral *Mountague*, who may justly be said to have been one of the first that aim'd at the Restoration of his Prince, with whom he always kept a settled Correspondence, by the Means of the Abbot *Montague*, and Sir *John Digby*.

WITH the Thoughts of these vast Designs, *Cromwell* fell sick, and died: Before he made his Exit, having a mind to settle his Authority upon his Posterity, he caus'd to be produc'd the *Petition* and *Advice* of a Parliament of his own making, whereby full Power had been given him to chuse a single Person, who, under the Title of Protector, should exercise the Sovereign Authority.

*RICHARD CROMWELL*, his Son, was therefore chosen and appointed to succeed him: This was a poor Wretch, who look'd more like a Clown than a Gentleman, mean-spirited, and whom Preferment could never alter. To give a Description of him in few Words: He had neither Resolution nor Sense; and was as ill cut out for doing Good as his Father, but not so well for doing Mischief; being commendable for this one thing, that having a perfect Knowledge of himself, he thought he was incapable of commanding: Besides, there are some who maintain, that he still had a mind to obey; and that if he had had Resolution enough, he would have call'd home the King.

SOME affirm, that he had kept a Correspondence with his Majesty: And indeed, as soon as *Cromwell* was dead, the King knew all that pass'd in the Council; but 'tis probable that it was by the Means of Sir *Anthony-Ashly Cooper*, who was then of the Protector's Council, and who at present is of the King's.

IN the mean time, all the Protector's Expresses had no sooner pass'd the Sea, than they carry'd their Dispatches to the King, who was at *Bruges*, and especially those who were going to *Germany*. Admiral *Mountague* also open'd his Mind to the King, but begg'd of his Majesty not to expose him but in due Season, because of the Difficulty he had to manage the Fleet, the most Part of the Officers whereof were strongly attach'd to *Cromwell's* Faction. This Admiral lost no Time nor Opportunity of negotiating on his Part; and 'tis believ'd that General *Monk* and he were the first that concerted the Means of calling home the King. At the same time *Monk* sent to the King an *Irish* Gentleman call'd *Holmes*, at present Captain of a Frigate, and let his Majesty know that he was ready to serve him, and would slip no Opportunity of doing it. He was always wont to declare, that he was a good *Englishman*, and a most faithful Servant of his Country. Now because all *Europe* knows him, I will here give a short Account of his Life, his Fortune, and Qualities: He was born in the County of *Middlesex*: He had, first



of all, made some Campaigns in *Holland*, and had been a Lieutenant of Foot there; afterwards he had retir'd to his own Country, some Miles from *London*, where he had an Estate of two hundred Pounds a Year. Having continu'd at his own House 'till the Beginning of the Civil Wars, he engag'd himself in the King's Service, was a Captain therein, and serv'd with Success and Reputation. In the mean time, the King's Army being weak in *Ireland*, his Majesty order'd Soldiers to be levy'd, and sent *Monk* into that Kingdom with a Regiment of Foot, in order to serve there under the Command of the Marquis of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant and General in Chief of the King's Troops: He serv'd there to very good Purpose, 'till the King's Affairs began to grow worse and worse in *England*: Then his Majesty recall'd the greatest Part of the Troops which he had sent against the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*, and among the rest Colonel *Monk*. As this was a Civil War, and that a Man might have Friends and Concerns on each Side, the Marquis made the Oath of Fidelity to the King to be tender'd to all the Officers that were to be sent over to *England* to his Majesty's Assistance; and because there was a Clause in this Oath, which is call'd the *Oath of Supremacy*, which was contrary to the Belief of the Puritans and Roman Catholicks, Colonel *Monk* refus'd to take it. The Marquis taking this Refusal as a Disobedience to the King's Orders, and the Laws of the Kingdom, caus'd him to be made Prisoner of State, and sent him along with the auxiliary Troops, to justify himself in *England*. These Troops being arriv'd at *Chester*, and, according to their Orders, marching to join the Marquis of *Newcastle*, were met by a Party of *Cromwell's* Men, who defeated them, and took Colonel *Monk*. The Colonel, though he was Prisoner in his own Party, defended himself gallantly, and got good Quarters; but continu'd in the Hands of the Rebels, who put him in Prison. The Royalists having been almost all routed, it was not in the King's Power to redeem all the Prisoners; which oblig'd the Colonel to mind his own Business. He was in good Repute in his own Party; for which Cause, *Cromwell* having known the Reason of his Disgrace, propos'd to him Conditions, upon which he might not only recover his Liberty, but have a Command in the Army, whereof *Fairfax* was then General under the Authority of the Parliament. *Monk* accepted the Offer; and because he had serv'd in *Ireland*, and was well known there, it was thought fit to send him thither with his Regiment. This was done, perhaps, because they were not very sure that an Officer, who had an Affection for the King, would fight heartily against his Person: But 'tis certain, however Matters may have been manag'd, whether by the Parliament, or the Colonel's Management, that he never fought in Person against his Prince, nor acted directly against his Interest.

AFTER the Protector's Death, the Army grew very insolent, because they had poor *Richard* in their Hands, upon whom they could set what Ransom they pleas'd. At first they began to demand their Arrears of him, which oblig'd him to crave the Assistance of a Parliament, which prov'd the Cause of his Ruin. This Parliament was compos'd of a great many Gentlemen, who made it their whole Study to get rid of this Simpleton, and among the rest, Sir *Henry Vane*: He renew'd his old Complaints; and, without enlarging much upon the Liberty which he said was oppress'd, upon the lost Privileges, and the Contempt of the Laws, he explain'd his Thoughts, in these Terms:

“ GEN-



“ GENTLEMEN, After having done what lay in the Power of  
 “ honest Men ; after having, by a singular Favour of Providence, sur-  
 “ mounted all the Obstacles that stood in the Way to our Liberty ;  
 “ after having driven out the Tyranny which call’d itself Hereditary  
 “ upon the Throne, and broken the Yoke of the Family of *Stuart*,  
 “ which Length of Time seem’d to have made natural to us ; we firmly  
 “ believ’d that there should not be found among us Men bold enough  
 “ to strike at the Liberty which we have recover’d, at the Expence of  
 “ our Blood and Lives. If you have not quite forgot our first Designs,  
 “ you will own with me, that the States of three Kingdoms have not  
 “ drain’d the publick Treasure, and sacrific’d so many illustrious Victims,  
 “ for any other End, but to free themselves from Slavery ; to which, I  
 “ doubt not but you have an Aversion altogether *Roman*. But I know  
 “ not by what Misfortune is happen’d, what heretofore happen’d to  
 “ those who poison’d the Emperor *Titus*, in order to have *Domitian* ;  
 “ who made away with *Augustus*, in order to have *Tiberius* ; and who  
 “ gave poison’d Mushrooms to *Claudius*, in order to exalt *Nero*. I own  
 “ to you, that these Comparisons are but little suitable to the Subject  
 “ I am speaking of, seeing the People of *Rome* were then plung’d into  
 “ Riotousness, and quite deprav’d by Luxury, and that they suffer’d the  
 “ *Cæsars*, who were design’d for the Empire, to be their Masters ;  
 “ whereas those of *England*, who are the most orderly and virtuous People  
 “ in the World, suffer in this Empire an Idiot, void both of Courage  
 “ and Sense, nay, without the least Ambition ; who can shew no other  
 “ Right but a Sheet of Paper, obtain’d by the Licentiousness of an Army,  
 “ from the Weakness of some ill-meaning Men. I grant it, that *Oliver*  
 “ *Cromwell* reign’d contrary to the Oath of Fidelity he had taken to  
 “ the Parliament ; contrary to the Respect due to his Country ; con-  
 “ trary to the Regard he ought to have had to a Set of Men, to whom  
 “ he was indebted for all his Greatness. He, indeed, had some Merit,  
 “ Fortune herself had declar’d for him ; He had made Way for himself  
 “ to the Government by his gallant Actions : He commanded an Army  
 “ which had made him triumph over his Enemies, and a People who  
 “ had acknowledg’d him for General. But *Richard Cromwell* ! what are  
 “ his Titles ? what is his Merit ? He never has drawn a Sword ; he  
 “ never commanded so much as his own Servants : And he is made a  
 “ King ; a Man without Birth, without Courage, without Conduct !  
 “ As for my Part, Gentlemen, I declare to you, that the having borne  
 “ with such a Master, shall never be laid to my Charge.”

As soon as he had ended his Speech, the Viscount of *Falkland*,  
 whose Father had been Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, made Answer, and  
 said, “ That, without doubt, the Parliament was met in order to obviate  
 “ that Confusion, and that the House ought to come to a Vote upon it.”  
 Then, to oblige some of the leading Members, such as *Fleetwood* and  
*Desborough*, to back him, he added, “ That they still had their *Brutus’s*  
 “ and their *Cassius’s* ; That they were ready to oppose Tyranny ; and,  
 “ That a Common-wealth must be established.”

HERE *Lambert* thinks he has a fair Game to play ; he addresses  
 himself to *Fleetwood*, and tells him, “ That he had nothing to do but  
 “ to get the Consent of the Army ; That he may depend upon the  
 “ Parliament ; And that, for his Part, he wish’d for a Common-wealth,  
 “ and desired nothing but the Employment which *Cromwell* had taken  
 “ from



“ from him. ” It was not a very hard Task for *Fleetwood* to practise upon an Army that had already insulted the Protector's Tomb, and who saw that *Richard* was led by the Nose by the first that had Access to him. *Lambert* gave the Soldiers to understand, that they never would get Payment of their Arrears, but by compelling *Richard* to it, who had all the Money of the Kingdom. Then they flock'd to *White-hall*, carry'd away by Force this unfortunate Man's Dinner; demanded of him a General, because he was not fit to command; that their Officers might always be Members of Parliament; that the Military and Civil Offices might be equal in Number and Power; and that, for the future, no Business which concerns them be mention'd, without being imparted to them; that they be entirely exempted from the Power of the Protector and Parliament; and that henceforth they may be allow'd not to acknowledge any other Authority but that of their Generals, whereof the Nomination should depend upon the Majority of the Officers that should be chosen by the whole Body for that End. And in order so vigorously to back their Demands, that they should not be refus'd, they advis'd all the Officers of the Army to draw near to *London*, for this great Work.

At that Time, a Gentleman of the North of *England*, and of one of the most Noble Families of the Kingdom, nam'd *Howard*, whom the Ambition of Youth had engag'd in the Protector's Interest, and who had been Captain of his Guards, perceiving that, by the secret Practices of *Vane*, *Lambert*, *Fleetwood*, and *Desborough*, the Protectoral Authority was like to come to nought, took this Opportunity to tell *Richard*, “ That the Matter in Question, was no longer either the Government, “ or Command: That the Demands of the Army were full of Infolence: That *Lambert*'s Deceit appear'd plainly: That *Vane* had drawn them up: That it behov'd him to act with the Vigour of a Man, “ whose Authority was founded upon Violence: That the late Protector, his Father, never let himself be surpriz'd: That he had been “ guilty of more than one Action, which, to all outward Appearance, “ were not just, in order to satisfy his Ambition: That all the Right “ of his Family consisted in that of Arms: That the Death of the four “ Persons above mention'd, would secure to him both his Fortune and “ Greatness: That besides, he should not accuse him of putting him “ upon a very dangerous Affair; since he offer'd to execute the whole “ himself, and that he desir'd nothing but his Approbation. ”

In so pressing an Affair, where both Life, Honour, and Fortune were at Stake, poor *Richard* discover'd so much Weakness, that, instead of a bold Resolution, he answer'd him, “ That he was very much “ oblig'd to him, for so generously offering to expose his Life for him, “ with so much Courage, against so powerful a Faction; but he had “ a mind to let all the World know, that, in his Life, he never had “ done, nor would do Injury to any Person: That besides, he should “ be very sorry that the Meanest of the Kingdom should lose his Life, “ on Account of a Dignity that was a Burden to him: That he was “ resolv'd not to shed Blood; that too much had been shed in that “ unhappy Quarrel; and that he chose rather to lose All, than to come “ to these Extremities. ”

*HOWARD*, surpriz'd at this Declaration, could not forbear representing to him, That he would find the Politicks of *Lambert*'s Faction were quite contrary to his; and that, by his Cowardliness, he expos'd



both his own Life, and the Lives of all his Friends; and he continu'd to press him in these Terms:

"CAN the Successor of *Cromwell* insist upon the Justification of his Actions? And have you never made a Distinction between a Lawful Prince and an Usurper? Assure yourself, that were you milder than *Trajan*, and more liberal than the Emperor *Titus*, the People will, nevertheless, reckon you among their Tyrants; that your Fall will be follow'd by a publick Rejoicing, and that even your most intimate Friends will shed Tears at the Death of those who have conspired against you. If a Design be hatching against the Life of him who has no other Title but the Number of Troops, nor any other Right to a Throne but the Usurpation of his Father; Can you imagine that the Space of ten Years has been able to make the flagrant Injustice, which rais'd your Family, to be forgotten, when *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* are still shedding Tears of Blood, for the Murder of the late King, the Exile of their Sovereign, the cruel Death of *Strafford*, *Capel*, *Holland*, *Montrose*, *O-Neil*, and those unheard-of Outlawries which have enrich'd your Troops, and utterly ruin'd the most eminent Families of these Kingdoms? I readily grant that you are innocent of all these Crimes: but, in short, you are found in the Place of the Guilty, and reap the Benefit of his Actions. 'Tis you that will be accountable for them; and the same Force and Violence that have justify'd the Things past, are necessary to secure the future: so 'tis your Business to consider if you will do entire Justice: In which Case, you must renounce the Power you usurp, and resign a Sceptre you cannot sway. On the contrary, if you have a mind to counterfeit the Sovereign, in order to preserve your Conquests, you must make use of the same Means which rais'd your Predecessor. Assure yourself, that neither Clemency, nor Equity, nor other royal Virtues, can preserve your Person and Greatness; that all Virtues change their Name, when they are practis'd by an Usurper; that his Clemency passes for Timidity, and Meanness of Spirit; his Power for Oppression; his Favours, for Duties incumbent upon him; his Severity, for Cruelty; that he must expect, by Terror, Threatnings, and the Fear of Punishment, the Security which a lawful Prince cannot have but by the Respect and Affection of his People; that the justest Actions of an Usurper cannot avoid being blam'd by all the World, instead of claiming Praise, which is a Tribute due only to lawful Princes, and the Reward of their Virtue." And as he saw him still insensible and irresolute, he thought himself no longer in Safety, and retir'd.

ALTHOUGH *Howard* gave this Advice, which seem'd necessary for continuing the Authority in this Family, yet he did it not out of any Zeal he had for it; his Design was only to bring on the Quarrel so far, that it could not be made up amicably; for he had already treated underhand with the King, and he has serv'd him since against *Lambert* and his Party, to very good Purpose.

*LAMBERT*, who kept the new Protector beset by his Creatures, had an Account of *Howard*'s Boldness, and the Protector's Answer; so that he and his Party resolv'd to deprive him of the Command of the Troops. This Design being form'd, the Meetings increase, the Troops besiege *White-hall*, keep the Protector in a manner Prisoner for six Days, and at last force him to resign all the Power he had over the Army, and



to yield it up to *Fleetwood*, to whom *Lambert* was appointed Major-General. If *Howard* had been catch'd, he would have been very severely handled, but by good Luck he made his Escape.

THE Protector being thus depriv'd of the Command of the Army, the Parliament begins to divide; the Army domineers over it, and exerciseth the same Insolence towards it, with which they had turn'd out *Richard*: For it may be said, that, from that Time, he was no longer more than a Cypher, and from General, he was become the Army's Secretary, always having the Pen in his Hand for signing sometimes the Imprisonment of one Friend, sometimes the deposing of another, and in a short time his own. In the mean while, the Friends to Monarchy found Means to sow Division among these Generals; they shew'd to each of them separately, and as a great Secret, sometimes the Copy of a Letter from the King, sometimes a counterfeit Letter from some Body to the King; insomuch that these Artifices made them very jealous of one another; and those that were Royalists began first to accuse the Republicans of a Correspondence with the King.

ON the other hand, the Parliament was very much perplex'd, not knowing what Course to take; whether to declare for the People, who were dispirited, and disarm'd; or for the Army, which was compos'd of desperate Men, who regarded neither Law nor Gospel. However, it was resolv'd to oppose the Tyranny of the Troops, because they had propos'd to deprive the Parliament of the Direction of all the Affairs of State, and were resolv'd to confine them to Civil Affairs. But the Parliament had not the Courage to maintain their Resolution with Vigour; and all the Members being sadly frightened, left the House one after another. At last, the Army, afraid of having to do with the whole Kingdom, oblig'd the Protector to dissolve the Parliament; and before the Parliament broke up, forc'd it to deprive the Protector of all military Power.

LAMBERT, flush'd with the Success of his Affairs, which he look'd upon to be in a very fair Way, makes a Speech to the Army, causes a new Oath of Fidelity to be taken to it, and takes it himself: but as no more Money could be rais'd, the Army wanting Pay, began to grumble, and demand a Parliament. *Lambert* being forc'd to call one; but that there might be no Room for suspecting the Members of it, he sends for those of the old Parliament that had condemn'd the late King: He thought that those being resolute Men, would readily back such as should oppose Monarchy: But he had not consider'd that they were Men that regarded neither Law nor Gospel, and were void of Gratitude; that all the People being perswaded of their Wickedness and Treachery, abhorr'd them as a Pack of Knaves; and that there was not a Gentleman in the Kingdom that did not look upon them as the unjust Judges of so many Men of Honour, of Fathers, Brothers, Cousins, who had been either hang'd or murder'd, banish'd or ruin'd by their unjust Sentences; that, in short, this Parliament was accounted the most dangerous Scourge wherewith Heaven had ever punish'd *England*. At length, the Relations and Children of those whom they had so unjustly persecuted, and the Royalists, who had made a sort of Truce with the Protector, or whom Oaths, or Friends, and the Functions of a forc'd Duty had, in a manner lull'd asleep, start up of a sudden at the Appearance of these Comets, the Aspect whereof was like to be fatal to all honest Men;  
upon



upon their remounting the Throne, which will serve them for Scaffolds, they renew all the dangerous Propositions of their pretended Commonwealth, exercise all Severities against the Roman Catholics and Royalists, and exclude them and their Successors from all Offices of Trust, pretending to set up a Senate like that of *Venice*, whereof *Fleetwood* was to be *Doge*, and *Lambert* *Proveditor*.

IN the mean time, the Royalists, and such as were not, by private Interest, bias'd to the Republican Party, turn'd their Thoughts to the three Princes, young, vigorous, and allied by Blood to all the Kings of *Europe*, three Grandsons of *Henry* the Great, whose Courage and Merit were known to all the World. On the other hand, those who neither lov'd Monarchy nor the Royal Family, and who were engag'd in a particular and opposite Interest, began seriously to think of preventing the Wrath of a Prince, whose Return seem'd to them infallible, either by Consent, or by Force: They saw, that the War which had kept the other Kings from revenging the Death of their Brother, was now at an End; that *France* and *Spain*, whose Discord had fomented that of *England*, and encourag'd the Rebels, had just enter'd into a strict Alliance: They well knew that the two Crowns would powerfully assist the King, and that their Ambassador in *France* had been despis'd, as soon as *Pimentel* had had a Conference at *Lyons*; that his most Christian Majesty was well inform'd of the Death of his Uncle, and very much provok'd that the *English* had slighted his Alliance; that *Spain* was already at open War with them, and that *France* would very soon join in it, in order severely to punish the Parricide they had committed. All these Thoughts very much alarm'd them; which having been artfully confirm'd by the Royalists, oblig'd such as had no selfish Ends, not to say the People in general, to shun a War which they must have maintain'd in Favour of Rogues, against honest Men, and whereof even the most prosperous Success would have been the utter Ruin of the Kingdom.

IN the mean while, the Nobility and Gentry, by the Means of Colonel *Tuke*, and *John Mordant* the King's Agent, resolve upon recalling his Majesty, and making Way for him through the County of *Kent*; but whereas *Lambert's* Army was at *London*, which borders with that County, they were afraid to expose the King's Person to a Battle, wherein the Number of the Enemy would have certainly prevail'd: However, the King, who is as brave and resolute as any Man in his Kingdoms, thought there was no Danger in this Attempt, provided that the City of *London* were of his Side; for that End the Pulses of the Citizens are felt, and all were found ready to receive him; nay, a great many Merchants offer'd Arms, and sent some to several Parts of the County, and Soldiers were privately list'd in *London*. The Journey-men, who are a considerable Body, arm'd themselves, and enquir'd every-where after the Royal Party, in order to join it: but, as it usually happens to great Undertakings, an *English* Knight discover'd the Design, whereby the King's Restauration was retarded for some Time.

THIS Knight was Sir *Richard Willis*, whom, for a long Time, the King had look'd upon as one of the most trusty of his Council, and who, nevertheless, was most treacherous: It was he that had discover'd all the King's Designs to *Cromwell*; insomuch that that Protector, whose Genius seem'd to penetrate to the most secret Recesses of Mens Souls, had his Lights from the Treachery of this *Willis*, who was his hired Spy.

AND



AND though this Man had not a great Concern for the Establishment of a Common-wealth, yet the Consciousness of his Crimes oblig'd him to oppose Monarchy with all his Might.

WHILST that was contriving in *England*, Admiral *Montague*, who was then in the *Sound*, having had Advice of the Protector's being degraded, and receiv'd Orders from the King to favour the Rising of the Nobility and Gentry, with a Part of his Naval Forces, was resolv'd to put his Orders in Execution, and had pitch'd upon seven Men of War, commanded by his best Friends, who took an Oath of Fidelity to the King; and, under Pretence of convoying some Merchant-Ships that were coming through the *Sound*, went to *Flushing*, instead of returning to *Cronenborg*: He had order'd them to wait there for his own and the King's Orders. And whilst the Royal Party was gathering Strength, he himself remain'd in the Mouth of the *Sound*, near *Cronenborg*, where he gave the *Swedes* fair Words, and pretended to be waiting the Orders of the new Parliament for fighting the *Dutch*, with whom, nevertheless, he carry'd himself very civilly, notwithstanding the Hostilities which they committed against the *Swedes*, even in Sight of his Fleet.

BUT the Accomplishment of his Hopes, which seem'd to him so near, appear'd very remote, by the News he receiv'd from the Court itself, and other Places, that *Lambert* was in the Field, Master of the City, and of the Troops; that the Parliament had got a particular Account of the Designs of the Royalists; that the Coast opposite to *Flanders* and *Holland*, was guarded with Troops and Men of War; that the most cruel Enemies of Monarchy were again in Vogue; that a new Admiral had been made; that the Squadron of *Lawson*, his pretended Successor, was already at Sea; that they only waited his own Return, in order to arrest him, because of the just Suspicions they had that he was a Royalist; that all the Nobility and Gentry, who design'd to have recall'd the King, were either in Prison, or had good Guards upon them; that the most Part of them were dishearten'd, and had submitted to *Lambert's* Troops; that the King had neither Towns nor Troops to receive him; that Sir *George Booth* had been defeated and taken Prisoner; that all the Prisons were full of Lords and Gentlemen; that the City of *Chester* had surrender'd at Discretion, and that every thing seem'd to be prepar'd for a Form of Government very much contrary to his Interest and Designs.

BUT here is a remarkable Circumstance, which contributed most to the King's Restauration: *Montague* writes to the Parliament, and justifies himself; and Sir *George Booth's* Party, who had only declar'd for a Free Parliament, being entirely dispers'd, *Lambert*, who was resolv'd to continue no longer a Subject, began to play the Sovereign; and having heard that the Nobility and Gentry were armed, gave the Troops full Liberty to crush them. This was what forc'd them to resolve either to die, or free themselves from the Oppression. The first Effect of his new Power, was, the seizing upon all the Horses, fit for Service, of the County of *Lancaster*, which he caus'd to be taken for the Use of his Troops; which so exasperated the People, and made it so plainly be seen how far his Tyranny might be carry'd, that had he intended to make his Majesty be long'd for, and recall'd, he never could have taken a better Method. The Nobility and Gentry in a Body complain of this Treatment, send



Deputies to lay before the Parliament the Injustice of their General : but they were very much surpriz'd both at the Contempt and Avarice of the Parliament, who, not content with having sequestrated and seiz'd upon all the Estates of those who had been inform'd against, made likewise an Act, whereby *Lambert's* Tyranny seem'd to be authoriz'd ; declaring, whatever he had caus'd to be carry'd away by Force, to be good and lawful Prize : Nay, it was reported, that *Lambert*, in the midst of his good Success, made bold to say, " That he had nothing to do but to fight and gain a Battle, of which he was sure, and that from thenceforth he would not suffer one Gentleman, either on Foot or Horse-back, to remain in *England* ; that the Island of *Barbados* was depopulated, and that he would send thither a Colony of the best Families of the Kingdom."

TILL then, those who had espous'd the King's Interest, had acted only out of two Principles, that of Honour, and that of Interest : but from that Time forward these Motives became too weak ; those of Safety and Liberty incited them more vigorously. Being thus treated by *Lambert*, they look'd upon themselves to be already enslav'd : After their Horses had been taken from them, they were depriv'd of the Character of Gentlemen ; were prohibited to wear Arms ; and three of them could not meet together, without being guilty of a Crime against the State : in a word, to whisper was Treason, and the least Sigh was accounted an Affection for the Family of *Stuart*.

LAMBERT ruin'd the Country, and the Parliament complain'd of his Moderation : *Lambert* robb'd and plunder'd with his Troops, without distinguishing the Innocent from the Guilty, and the Parliament clear'd him from all by their Acts. Thus they agreed but too well, consider'd as Rivals, which could not last long : The Parliament had a mind to have the supreme Power for ever lodg'd in their Body ; and *Lambert* design'd to seize upon it for himself, as not inferior to *Cromwell* : He had call'd this Parliament in order to do Business, and not to make them Sovereigns : He knew them to be a Pack of Tyrants that were generally hated by the whole Kingdom, and therefore was resolv'd to dismiss them whenever they should make the least Step contrary to his Ambition. Those who knew *Lambert* very well, said, That he was a Man both of Spirit and Conduct ; but that he very well saw, that the only way to enlarge his Power, was to make War, and oblige the Nobility and Gentry to rise up in Arms, that he might have Occasion to forfeit their Estates, and by those Forfeitures to engage all the Officers of the Army in his Interest ; He had the same Opportunity that *Cromwell* had, at least he was seeking such another : but Time fail'd him ; and without doubt, had he not so soon dissolv'd the Parliament which would have turn'd him out of his Post, he would have been very troublesome, and more powerfully thwarted the King's Return : He was very much in Favour with the Troops ; his Courage, his Reputation, and his Judgment, were look'd upon in the Army as extraordinary Endowments. Many Actions, whereof *Cromwell* had reap'd both the Fruits and the Glory, were justly attributed to him ; and besides, it was the Sign of a great Soul, to have oppos'd so formidable a Tyrant. But his Pride, his Cruelty, and an Arrogance which he could not conceal even in his Disgrace, were dreaded : besides that, he had given too manifest Proofs of his Ambition ; and indeed it was thought, that having much ado to obey one, he could not readily bring himself to yield to, and obey three hundred.

AND



AND indeed, as soon as he had dispers'd Sir *George Booth's* Party, he wrote to the Parliament a Letter magnifying his own Valour, and that of his Troops; and began to demand a Reward for the maim'd Soldiers, and some Officers. The Speaker, in their Name, return'd him an Answer, thanking him for his Services, and sending him a Diamond worth above eight hundred Pounds. He haughtily refus'd the Present, saying, That he had serv'd his Country, and done his Duty; but he entreated the Parliament to extend their Bounty to the Soldiers and Officers of his Army, who with the like Generosity had supported the Common Cause, and dispers'd the Enemies of the State. The Parliament began to be jealous of this Procedure, and sent him for Answer, That they did not want Generals; That it was not his Business to trouble himself with Rewards or Punishments, and that they would take a Course for that: And then, instead of granting him what he demanded for his Friends, they cashier his greatest Confidants, and send for him to give an Account of his Expedition. *Lambert* having receiv'd his Orders, calls a Council of War, and asks the Advice of the Officers: They were of Opinion, that, before entering into any Quarrel with the Parliament, they ought to treat with the Militia of the Country, and especially with that of *London*, in order to endeavour to draw them in. The Parliament, on their Part, order Soldiers to be levy'd for reducing *Lambert*; appoint three or four Colonels for commanding the Army under their Authority; deprive *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* of the Command, and charge the Troops not to obey them any more 'till farther Orders. *Vane*, who was in *Lambert's* Interest, having in vain endeavour'd to engage the Militia in a Correspondence with the Army, writes to *Lambert*, That they are all undone, if he come not very quickly to their Relief. The Royalists take Advantage of this Division, sometimes accuse *Fleetwood*, sometimes *Lambert*, of being Royalists; and, amongst others, a Major, nam'd *Harris*, produces Orders from *Fleetwood*, whom he accuses at the Bar, of keeping a Correspondence with the King, and of having given him Orders to get together what Men and Arms he could. *Fleetwood*, very much surpriz'd at the Assurance of this Major, and the Novelty of the Crime, so uncommon to his Family, comes to the Parliament, makes an Apology, alledges all his Actions, and, with all the Art of his Rhetorick, and the Dint of Eloquence, clears himself; insomuch that by Favour, and the Number of his Friends, he is acquitted, and obtains Reparation of Honour against the Major, who was condemn'd to Banishment.

WHEREUPON *Lambert* arriv'd with what Troops he could bring; his Presence gave new Strength to those of his Party: The Parliament, however, did not yield an Inch; but *Hazlerig* and *Escot* having got the better of *Vane*, resolv'd that *Lambert* should act as he should think fit: And then, by the Consent of fifty of the greatest Enemies of Monarchy, he began to exercise his Dictatorship.

THE Parliament, afraid of his Violence, send for *Allen*, who commanded their Guards. *Allen* came upon their Orders: but though he was on Horse-back marching at the Head of his Regiment, yet *Lambert*, with fifty Troopers, disarm'd him, without the least Resistance, and carry'd away with him all his Soldiers and Officers.

THEN



THEN he march'd directly to the *Meuse*, where there was likewise a Part of the Army, which surrender'd to him, though commanded by Officers of the opposite Faction. At last, having made himself Master of all the Troops, he reckon'd that he should soon get the better of the Parliament: Thereupon he made the Soldiers go in Crowds to *Westminster*, and stirr'd them up to demand their Arrears: Which being refus'd them, he caus'd the Doors of the Exchequer to be broke open; but he found not one Farthing there: And this Action ruin'd him, in the Minds of the People, who from that time began to be afraid that the same Violence might be exercis'd against private Persons, that had been made use of against the Publick.

AFTER that, in some measure to please the People, and shun having the Common-wealth for a Party, he dissolves the Parliament, and appoints a Council of twenty-five of his own Faction, whereof the Head was Sir *Henry Vane*. Thus was again form'd an Oligarchy, which lasted as short a while as the first. General *Fleetwood* at this time had the same Fate that *Lepidus* formerly had when he join'd with *Augustus*. *Hazlerig* was entirely turn'd out of the Council, and the twenty-five depended wholly upon the Artifice of *Vane*, and the Courage of *Lambert*. But nothing ruin'd the Faction so much, as that all the Members of Parliament, who, not being of this pretended Council of State, became their Enemies. *Hazlerig* and *Fairfax* retir'd to the Country, *Desborough* to his Regiment, and *Lockhart* secur'd himself in *Dunkirk*: The whole Kingdom express'd their Discontent, by the Means of their Representatives in the late Parliament: The Army itself was disappointed, because the Excise being at an end, and the Exchequer empty, the Pay began to fall short.

THE dissolv'd Parliament sent a Deputation to General *Monk*, who commanded the *English* Troops in *Scotland*, and who hitherto had express'd himself equivocally: He seem'd to be extremely concern'd for their Grievances, and gave Ear to their Propositions. *Lambert*, on his Part, sends two of his Colonels, one nam'd *Cobbet*, and the other without a Name, as well as without Honour, who is scarce known in his own Village, to General *Monk*: It was seemingly to invite him to join their Forces together, but, in Reality, with an under-hand Design of corrupting his Army. *Monk* gave them a Hearing; then, under Colour of some Orders from the pretended Sovereign Authority, which had been just now sent him, he order'd both of them to be put in Prison. At the same time, in order to remove from the Parliament any Apprehension they might have of his Correspondence with the King, he caus'd to be clap'd up in Prison all his Majesty's best Friends that he could catch, and issued out Orders against the rest. He acted so, because he well knew that the King's Friends in that Kingdom were not in a Condition to forward his Affairs; and that to treat them otherwise, or favour them, would make him be suspected, even by the Troops he commanded, the most Part whereof had serv'd the Protector, and favour'd the Rebellion: Therefore, under Pretence of securing the Kingdom against the Rising of the Royalists, he put strong Garisons in all the Places under his Command, and put himself in a Posture to march to the Assistance of his Friends. This Procedure surpriz'd the most quick-sighted Politicians: For, said they, if General *Monk* be for the King, why should he hazard an Affair that depends upon himself? He has  
nothing



nothing to do but to receive him in *Scotland*, and put him in Possession of that Kingdom. Why should he abuse and persecute the King's Friends, and thereby discourage others? Why does not he shelter the Malcontents and Royalists? Why does not he declare for the Nobility and Gentry, who look only for an Opportunity to shake off the Yoke of Tyranny? To which it is answer'd; That had he declar'd for the King in *Scotland*, he run the Risque of being deserted by his own Troops, and would have drawn all the Forces of *England* and *Ireland* upon his Back: That his Declaring, would have reunited the old Parliament and *Lambert*, and oblig'd such as had had a Hand in the Rebellion, and had Estates, to lay out their Money, in order to save their Lives: That they more willingly would have run the Risque of a Battle, than of the Gallows: besides, That the Impossibility of diving into *Monk's* Designs, kept every Body in Suspence, for fear of drawing upon themselves what they had a mind to shun: That declaring for a Parliament, displeas'd neither the Royalists nor the Republicans.

THEREFORE they all agreed upon a Parliament: The Question was, Of what Members it should be compos'd? Whether the old should be recall'd, which *Lambert* had dissolv'd, or a new one be chosen? *Monk* in private assur'd the old Parliament, that he would obey them, and thereby he engag'd in his Interest all those whom *Lambert* had turn'd out, to wit, all the Republicans: And the Troops inclin'd that Way; for though they had befriended *Lambert*, yet they were more inclin'd to a Republick. This is certainly what ruin'd *Lambert*.

GENERAL *Monk* seeing himself in so fair a Way, endeavour'd to conform himself to all sorts of Government: He was a Royalist with the Royalists, a Republican with the Republicans; but it was impossible, at this Juncture, but the Diversity of Interest must set *Lambert* and him together by the Ears: and besides, there was an old Grudge and an irreconcilable Enmity betwixt them, which had proceeded from the Competition that had often been betwixt them; for *Lambert*, who was proud of the Battles he had gain'd, and had been Commander in Chief of the *English* Troops in *Scotland* against the *Scots*, was less in Favour with the Protector than *Monk*, who had been only a private Colonel of the Army in *Ireland*; and when he chose to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, rather than of *Scotland*, he was bubbled by the Protector, and got neither the one nor the other Command.

THIS was a most grievous Affront upon a Man who found himself in so great Esteem in the Army, and had caus'd his Equipage to be made in order to go to *Ireland*, and who had been wish'd Joy of his Post by all his Friends: And, truly, he would have boldly been reveng'd of it, had not his Wife, who was too intimate a Confident of the Protector's Secrets, and who was not ignorant of her Husband's, prevented all his Designs, and, as soon as she had found them out, gone and discover'd them to *Cromwell*, taking his Promise that he would save her Husband's Life, which she readily ventur'd, contrary to conjugal Fidelity.

It may here be observ'd, that Fortune never pointed out a fair Opportunity to *Lambert*, that *Monk* did not deprive him of: He had a mind to be Lieutenant of *Ireland*; Colonel *Monk* thwarted him: The least he expected, was to command in *Scotland*; *Monk* was prefer'd to him: He would fain have been General of the Forces of the three



Kingdoms, by Means of the Parliament; *Monk* got that Commission by the same Means, which was afterwards confirm'd by the King: He thought to have made Advantage by the Protector's Fall; *Monk* render'd all his Attempts fruitless: He cut down the Tree; *Monk* gather'd the Fruit: He cast the Net; and *Monk* had the Fish.

ALL these Proofs shew him, that, let Fortune smile ever so much upon him, he never can fix her, but by the Ruin of this General; therefore he prepares a powerful Army against him, leaves the City of *London* to the Management of Sir *Henry Vane*, and marches with his best Troops to give him Battle; for *Monk* had already left *Edinburgh*, and was marching to the Borders of *England*, as well to secure his own Party, as to convince the City of *London* that it would find its own Interest in his, since he had more Justice on his Side, and as many Troops as his Adversary. *Lambert* was sadly perplex'd; he had not only the Royalists, and the old Parliament which he had dissolv'd, to struggle with, but likewise *Monk* and his Party. *Monk* had no sooner got into *England*, than he publish'd a Declaration, containing the Reasons of his March, which were, His Design to deliver his Country from the Slavery wherewith *Lambert* threaten'd it, and to restore the Authority to the old Parliament, which he call'd, The Prop of the publick Liberty.

ADMIRAL *Montague*, who hitherto had continu'd upon the Coast of *England*, casts Anchor at the Mouth of the *Thames*, and publishes such another Declaration as that of the General; as also *Hazlerig*, in order to give a Diversion, retires to *Portsmouth*, and, by the Dint of Money, corrupts a Part of *Lambert's* Troops, and declares for *Monk*: The Towns of *Portsmouth* and *Yarmouth* do the same; and a great many Colonels, who would rather have chosen to die, than help to bring back the King, declare for *Monk*, believing that the old Parliament had secured themselves, and were not ignorant of what they were doing; though really they were so blinded, that they did not foresee what happen'd. The Nobility and Gentry, who knew all *Monk's* Designs perfectly well, take up Arms against *Lambert*, fortify their Country-Houses, and refuse to quarter his Soldiers, insomuch that he could not get them lodg'd but by open Force, his Troops having been often attack'd in their Quarters, under Pretence that he had no Orders: The Lords *Fairfax*, *Falconbridge*, and *Howard*, with their Friends and Regiments, cut off his Provisions; so that he had *Monk* in his Front, who, however, did not wait him; and these in his Rear, who charg'd his Scouts and Foragers, and oblig'd him to keep in a Body, and generally under Arms. What was yet more troublesome, he had neither Pay-Master, nor Commissary of Stores; his Party was almost entirely driven out of *London*: *Vane*, *Fleetwood*, and *Desborough*, who would have been willing to assist him, had been deserted by their Troops; and *Hazlerig* had sent a strong Reinforcement of Horse and Foot to *London*, which was under Arms, in order to guard against the Pillage which was dreaded from all Quarters.

LAMBERT soon had an Account of the bad State of his Affairs, and by all Means endeavour'd to overtake *Monk*, and fight him. *Monk* was encamp'd on the other Side of a River, by which Means he avoided a Battle. *Lambert* seeing that he could do nothing of Consequence by open Force, has Recourse to Stratagem: He writes a civil Letter to General *Monk*, desiring a Meeting, and assuring him that their Interests were



were not incompatible. *Monk* agrees to a Conference. *Lambert* lays an Ambush for him upon his Way, in order to charge and beset him on his Return: but *Monk* was so cautious as to cause a Party of his Horse to advance near to the Place where an Ambush might be laid. Now whereas this Party of Horse was under the Cover of a Wood where it could not be seen, the Party who was to attack *Monk*, if he should return without concluding any thing, came streight to the Charge, according to the Orders they had; at the same time *Monk's* Horse came to his Relief, so that he was join'd by his Friends and Enemies all at once. *Lambert's* Party was defeated, and his Treachery found out, which put an End to all Conferences.

MEAN while Winter draws on: On the one hand, there were Troops that had been under the Command of the same General for seven or eight Years; that had been always upon Duty, and kept under exact Discipline; that were accustomed to fare very hard, to undergo Fatigue, and to receive little Money: and, on the other hand, there were Troops that had not as yet serv'd under their General; that had never incamp'd, nor lain out of a Bed, nor supp'd without Meat, Bread, and Beer; that had forgot both Hardship and Discipline; that were very much inclin'd to Mutiny, and had but little Affection for their General, and who minded nothing but their own Interest, and pursu'd it greedily. In the mean time, General *Monk* receiv'd privately considerable Sums of Money, which some thought were sent him by the *Dutch*, others by the City of *London*, or some private Citizen thereof, which is more probable. *Monk* having made it known that he had wherewithal to pay his Soldiers, some of *Lambert's* Troops quickly deserted him, and join'd *Monk*; which oblig'd *Lambert* to endeavour to get into *London*; but *Monk* pursu'd and attack'd his Rear, and all the Country fell upon him, so that his Army quickly deserted him, and divided itself into several Parties, according to the Inclinations of the Officers, who minded their own private Interests in the general Confusion. Being thus forsaken by all his Troops, he retires with an hundred Horse, and lurks for some Time; but having been discover'd, he resolv'd to beg the Parliament's Pardon, retires to *London*, where he is taken Prisoner, and put in the Tower by Order of the old Parliament, which had already met, and was exercising the Sovereign Authority.

WHILE every thing seem'd to tend towards the establishing of this Parliament, behold a sudden Blow of God's Wrath overtook these Wretches, which laid them as low as they had imagin'd themselves exalted.

MONK stirr'd up the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, which presented to him a Petition, importing, "That at the Death of the late King, *Cromwell* and his Adherents had, by their own private Authority, turn'd out of this Parliament a great Number of Gentlemen and Burgeſſes who had a mind to maintain the Privileges of the Kingdom, and the Liberties of the Subject, under Pretence that the excluded Members would not give Way to their Passions; and that now being freed from that Tyranny, they ought to be restor'd to their Seats in Parliament." *Monk* gave them for Answer, "That the Thing being very just, there would be no Difficulty in getting the Parliament to agree to it; and signify'd to the Members already admitted, That, for Peace-sake, they must forget what had pass'd, and receive the rest  
" of



" of the Members." Whereupon, for Form's-sake, it was put to the Vote : but, truly, the Members, supported by the General, took their Seats ; and, by that Means, *Monk* found himself Master both of the Army and Parliament.

IN the mean time there was not the least mention made of recalling the King, 'till *Lambert's* Troops should be disarm'd. Then *Monk* being come to *London*, gave out, That he was come of Purpose to restore the Authority of Parliament, and oppose all the wicked Attempts of the Royalists and Cromwellians. This Declaration very much alarm'd the Citizens of *London*, who, though they had not open'd their Minds, were all for the King, and afraid that the General would seize upon the Sovereign Authority, to the Detriment of the State and Crown. Such of the Citizens as were not in the Secret, take up Arms, shut the Gates of the City, and declare, That they will neither obey *Monk* nor the Parliament. The General, who, as you may have observ'd, was Master of the Votes of Parliament, since the excluded Members had taken their Seats, came to the Parliament to receive their Orders, which were, That he should take Possession of the most advantageous Posts of the City ; drive out of it all such as he should suspect ; disarm *Lambert's* Soldiers ; put a Stop to their Meetings, and make himself Master both of the City and Tower. After that he had put in Execution a Part of his Orders, without finding the least Resistance from the Cromwellians, he march'd streight to the Gate of the City which was barricado'd, and defended by a Guard of Citizens. *Monk* causes his Orders to be intimated to them by a Herald, who receiv'd no other Answer, but that they were free, and would not obey the Parliament. The General causes the Gate to be broken open with Axes, and lodges his Troops in the City, without committing the least Violence, but what was necessary for the Execution of his Orders : He presently sends for the principal Citizens, and lets them see the Parliament's Orders, which he had been forc'd to obey ; expresses a great Concern for it, and tells them, That he would shew, by his Conduct, that he had the Interests of the City and his Country more at Heart, than the unreasonable Passions of the Parliament, that had forc'd him to insult a City, for which he had so great a Regard ; and therefore he most humbly begs the Body of the Citizens to pardon what the Severity of Command had forc'd him to do, and declares for them, against the Parliament, and every Body else. Besides, in order to take Advantage of the Zeal of the People, who were wonderfully pleas'd with his good Conduct, he calls a Council of War, into which he admitted several of the Aldermen and principal Citizens of *London*, among the rest Alderman *Robinson*, at present Governor of the Tower of *London*, who seconded his Designs with great Zeal and Prudence.

IN this Council three Points were discuss'd : The first, That it was absolutely necessary, for the Success of their Undertaking, not to declare for a King : The second, That, without hazarding the King's Interest, and the Lives of his Friends, they could not suffer this old Parliament to continue ; lest the new-admitted Members, taken with their Advancement to Sovereignty, should act in Concert with the *Rump*. And the third, That they must no longer delay coming to Extremities with such of this Parliament as should be against these Resolutions.

THE



THE King's Friends, who clearly saw what this Rupture tended to, were the first that voted for dissolving this, and calling a free Parliament: And now it was that those who were call'd the *Ulysses's* and *Nestors* of the Republicans, were caught in the Nets which they had spread for their Adversaries; for of three hundred, whereof this pretended Democracy was compos'd, two hundred and forty renounc'd the Sovereignty, and forc'd the rest, who had not the least Thought of it, to resign the Power which they had so long usurp'd: so that being thus degraded, from henceforth, instead of minding the Affairs of State, their only Care was, how to preserve their Lives and Liberties: But lest Despair should hurry them on to some desperate Attempt, suitable to their former Boldness, as yet nothing was spoken amongst the Royalists, but of recovering the Privileges of the Nation, of restoring the Freedom of Voting, and the Parliament to its former Splendor, which would always be sufficiently jealous of the publick Liberty, and be against the Tyranny of Kings. These Hopes quieted their Fears, and lull'd them asleep; and as they had divested themselves of the Fidelity they ow'd their Prince, they no longer suspected any Person of it; nevertheless, they complain'd to the rude and ignorant People, whose Easiness and Credulity are generally the last Shift of Impostors and Rebels. And lest the crashing of an Idol, that had been ador'd by so many People, should as yet occasion a Commotion, about an Hour before the Dissolution of the Parliament, General *Monk* thought fit to make a Speech in *Guild-Hall* to the principal Citizens, upon that Subject; which he did with so much Prudence and Zeal for his Prince, and against the old Parliament, that, in Justice, I am oblig'd to communicate his Speech to the Publick, the Sense of which was conceiv'd in these Terms:

*General MONK's Speech against the old Parliament.*

" IF the Laws of Honour and Conscience could dispense with the  
 " Fidelity I owe my Country; if the Apprehension of blemishing,  
 " in the Minds of Posterity, a Family which has preserv'd its Lustre  
 " and Reputation for so many Ages, were not a Motive powerful enough  
 " to incite me to my Duty, the Rank and Office I bear amongst so  
 " considerable a Number of Men of so much Honour and Merit, would  
 " be invincible Reasons to me, for minding my own Interest, which is  
 " inseparable from the publick Good.

" YOU are Witnesses, Gentlemen, that in this fatal Revolution of  
 " our Kingdoms, the most unjust, the most wicked, and most violent  
 " Actions, have been authorized by the popular Fury of a silly Multi-  
 " tude, who have been always satisfy'd to let the publick Wounds be  
 " closed up by over-hasty Remedies. These Wretches, to colour so  
 " glaring an Injustice, have put in the Preamble of their Ordinances,  
 " the venerable and sacred Names of Parliament, and Defenders of  
 " the Publick Liberty: We have been impos'd upon by the Appear-  
 " ances of these so specious Names; and we have acted like the first  
 " Idolaters, who, after the Death of their true Hero's, ador'd their  
 " Images and Statues. 'Tis by this Opinion, and this epidemical Mad-  
 " ness, that this Oligarchy, which hath depress'd our Kings, and made  
 " our Tyrants reign, hath subsisted so long; 'tis it, which, under false  
 " Promises of an imaginary Felicity, hath made us undergo real Mi-  
 " series; and, in order entirely to subvert our dead Laws, hath begun  
 " with the living Law. In the Beginnings of our Misfortunes we have  
 " beheld the Flames and Combustions occasion'd by these Incendiaries,  
 " with a Joy like that of young Children at the Appearance of Comets.



“ But we have since plainly discover’d by sad Experience, that, under  
 “ the Cloak of Charity, Liberty, and Zeal for the publick Good, the  
 “ most detestable Ambition, that ever struck at both the divine and  
 “ human Laws, was hidden. You have seen, that from all those in-  
 “ flamed Parts of our State, an unlucky Star arose, whose Influence  
 “ seem’d to have corrupted the purest Matter. God hath been pleas’d,  
 “ for the Comfort of good Men, that it should vanish away ; and as  
 “ a Token that his Wrath is not so great against our People, it hath  
 “ disappear’d without Noise, nor hath Nature suffer’d thereby : There-  
 “ fore ’tis to be hoped that every thing will recover its former Serenity,  
 “ and that those Parts which had been invenom’d by the Proximity of  
 “ that mischievous Star, will return to their natural State.

“ We should be too happy, Gentlemen, if those Meteors had alto-  
 “ gether disappear’d : but very far from being quite dispell’d, they still  
 “ appear in sundry Places, in order to make the Malignity of their  
 “ Influence more general. What gives me Comfort, is, that they have  
 “ already vomited up all their Venom, and that nothing remains but  
 “ some transient Sparkles of a sublunary Element, which have neither  
 “ Life nor Light but in the Chaos and Disorder of our Government ;  
 “ nor do they appear but in the Absence of our celestial Bodies, and  
 “ Remoteness of our *Primum Mobile*, and in the violent Convulsions of  
 “ Nature, which can neither subsist nor last, until the Parts necessary  
 “ to its Duration and Rest be in their proper Situation.

“ Yes, Gentlemen, the Qualms and Convulsions, which this State  
 “ suffers these many Years, denote the extreme Miseries that threaten it,  
 “ and the inevitable Necessity of seeing our true Stars shine again ; the  
 “ Return whereof, will put an End to all our irregular Motions, without  
 “ relying upon those Glow-Worms and rotten Wood, which cast their  
 “ Light in Darkness only ; those *Ignes fatui*, which stand upon the  
 “ Brinks of Precipices, to draw in the Ignorant and Foolish : They  
 “ promis’d us Liberty, and have loaded us with Chains ; they made us  
 “ hope to be exempted from all Burdens, and they have redoubled our  
 “ Taxes : The Time to come, said they, would produce the Fruit of  
 “ our present Calamities ; and Matters have still grown worse. The  
 “ People were to grow rich, and to flourish ; and they are reduced to  
 “ Extremities. The Nobility were to be supported ; and yet they have  
 “ neither a House, nor Office, nor Government. Commerce was to be  
 “ restor’d ; and all the World is at War with us. We have been forc’d  
 “ to maintain a powerful Army, which hath exhausted our Money, and  
 “ ruin’d our Commerce, in order to maintain one Tyrant. At present  
 “ must there be fewer Guards to maintain five hundred Tyrants, who  
 “ are abhorr’d by all Men, the Reproach of Mankind, and the Aver-  
 “ sion of the whole World ? Dear Country, which I cannot behold  
 “ without Compassion, whose Misery forceth me to shed Tears ! Dear  
 “ Country, upon which God in his Wrath has a mind to revenge his  
 “ mangled Image, and to make thee accountable for the Blood of his  
 “ Anointed, in delivering thee up a Prey to the Parricides that have  
 “ shed it ! Dear Country, which hath been the most glorious Theatre  
 “ of the Universe, and hath now become the Shame and Reproach of all  
 “ the World ! What oughtest thou to expect from so long an Unduti-  
 “ fulness ; from the Violation of both divine and human Laws ; from so  
 “ many Sacrileges, Combustions, and Robberies ? What will be the  
 “ Fruit of thy Blasphemies and Perjuries ; of an Atheism almost general,  
 “ which attends this Rebellion ; of this Pride, which blinds us, by the  
 “ false



“ false Conceit of our Strength, and which makes us insult our very  
 “ Friends ; of this scandalous and impious Independance ; but the  
 “ general Hatred of the whole World, who look upon us, as a People  
 “ without a King, without Faith, without Law, without War, without  
 “ Peace, without a Common-wealth, without Monarchy, without Re-  
 “ ligion, without either the Old or New Testament ; as a Nation that  
 “ blemisheth its own Reputation, by obeying Masters, who have no  
 “ Right either by Election or Succession ; who turn with every Wind,  
 “ and become Mercenaries to all their Allies, but without reaping any  
 “ Advantage thereby ? Can it be believ’d that this famous Posterity of  
 “ the *Edwards*, the *Henries*, and the *Williams*, who carry’d Dread and  
 “ Terror every-where, could submit themselves to a Brewer, a Cloth-  
 “ worker, a Cocker ? O Nature, how fain wou’d I give thee back  
 “ again this Heart, which cannot submit to so much Meanness, nor  
 “ suffer so great Indignities ; or take thou it again from those that have  
 “ it, or restore it to those that have lost it ! This Parliament, that  
 “ took a Pride in cutting off Heads, hath spared our Lives out of Policy  
 “ only, and hath not failed to destroy us, but in order to preserve to  
 “ themselves so many Slaves. Nevertheless, this old Pack of hungry  
 “ Tygers are again trusted with the Government of a State, the Foun-  
 “ dation whereof is undermined, and which is ready to be bury’d in its  
 “ own Ruins, if the Arm of the Lord does not raise it up again, by the  
 “ Return of its Guardian-Angel. And if we may judge of the Time to  
 “ come, by the past, what ought we to expect from the Moderation of  
 “ *Vane*, the Sincerity and Probity of *Hazlerig*, the Mildness and Cle-  
 “ mency of their Cabal, who never thought themselves secure but in a  
 “ Desert, nor able to be Masters, but when there should be no Body to  
 “ obey them but Men of their own Kidney : Judge if they have not  
 “ already a greedy Expectation of all the Estates of honest Men ; and  
 “ and if they think not of rewarding all Vice in a Kingdom, out of  
 “ which they have banish’d all Virtue.

“ I know very well, Gentlemen, that they are endeavouring to  
 “ surprize us ; but the Cheat is too palpable, and the Artifice plainly  
 “ appears. They would fain persuade such as don’t know them, that  
 “ they have limited their Power to one Year : but should they have  
 “ usurp’d it even for so short a Time, contrary to the Freedom of  
 “ Voting, the Privileges, and fundamental Laws of the State ? But  
 “ without mentioning the Usurpation of this very Set of Men during  
 “ eight Years, and without giving here a Description of their cruel  
 “ Behaviour, the *Roman* History clearly undeceives us of such Devices ;  
 “ the Dictatorship made perpetual, the Continuation of the Decemvirate  
 “ and Tribunes, in Spite of the People and the Laws, which had created  
 “ them but for a Time, plainly foretel us what we are to expect from  
 “ a Power more irregular and violent. I speak not of the Resentment  
 “ of all the Crown’d Heads of Christendom, who have already condemn’d  
 “ us in the Quality of Judges, and will very soon become Parties. I  
 “ would fain hope that the Lord of Hosts will assist us : But what will  
 “ all those prosperous Successes avail us, if our Lawrels are follow’d by  
 “ our Cypressess ; if our Victories have increas’d the Number of our  
 “ Enemies ; if they have given us Tyrants ; if the Favours of Heaven  
 “ come from an angry Hand ; if all our Idols become our Scourges ?  
 “ What worse can we expect from our Defeats ?

“ Must we again take up Arms, contrary to Honour and Con-  
 “ science, in order to advance to the Throne some Doge, some Restorer  
 “ of



“ of a chimerical Liberty, who, to shun the Disgrace of the last Usurper,  
 “ will redouble his Guards, and our Taxes ?

“ Do they call Liberty that general Revolt of the Passions against  
 “ Reason ; of Vice against Virtue ; that plain Rebellion of Reason  
 “ against the Law of Nature and the Gospel ; that audacious Attempt  
 “ of the inferior Parts against the superior, that Licence of doing Mis-  
 “ chief, that Forgetfulness of good Actions, those repeated Declara-  
 “ tions of Disloyalty to our Prince ; that solemn Breach of God’s Com-  
 “ mandments ; those Contempts of the holy Scripture ; the Prophana-  
 “ tion of our Churches ; an unheard-of dispensing with the most inviolable  
 “ Oaths ; an impious Custom which hath passed into a Law, and which  
 “ authorizeth Perjury at every Turn ; almost an entire Abrogation both  
 “ of divine and human Laws ; a foolish Opinion of God’s Clemency ;  
 “ and a ridiculous Despair of that of a Prince, the most gracious, most  
 “ meek, and most clement upon the Earth, from whom our Misfortunes  
 “ and Miseries have drawn Tears, which his Greatness of Soul hath still  
 “ refus’d to his own Adversity ? Of all the Kings in Christendom, he is  
 “ the only one that forgives us ; that prays to God to delay the Fierce-  
 “ ness of his Wrath, in order to give Time to Passion to yield to Reason ;  
 “ who never would listen to violent or forcible Measures ; who expects  
 “ not his Restauration but from our Experiences, and the Hand of God ;  
 “ who can much better dispense with commanding us, than we can with  
 “ obeying him. Let us consider, that all the Kings of the Earth are,  
 “ with respect to us, so many *Charles Stuarts* ; that that Prince has  
 “ more Difficulty to allay their Wrath than his own ; that God, whose  
 “ Image he is, and whom he imitates, hath pardon’d the Death of his  
 “ Son ; that all the rest of Men have profited by the Undutifulness of  
 “ the *Jews* ; that, in the most sound Divinity, God permits Sin, and  
 “ that Men are not punishable for permitting it ; that Actions are per-  
 “ sonal, and that there hath been but one single *Adam*, whose Sin was  
 “ epidemical. I confess, that that Prince may have some Thoughts sug-  
 “ gested to him by the most just and equitable Laws, of revenging a Par-  
 “ ricide upon some particular Persons ; *Publico clamore convictos* : But  
 “ consider, that all the other Kings are resolv’d to revenge a Fratricide  
 “ upon all *England*, if, by a ready Submission, and an Obedience as  
 “ honourable as it is advantageous, we do not avert a Calamity, which  
 “ otherwise is inevitable. Our Troubles are not of the Nature of others ;  
 “ they can have no End but with that of the World, or of us. For  
 “ though, by an irreparable Misfortune, *quod absit*, all the Male Branches  
 “ of the Royal Family should die ; the House of *Orange*, and that of the  
 “ Prince *Palatine*, not to mention a Princess, who is courted by the  
 “ greatest Princes in Christendom, as being the Wonder of the Age, will  
 “ furnish Kings enough, whose Reputations will find Assistance and Par-  
 “ tizans every-where : So our Preparations must be very great, since  
 “ our War is to be everlasting, or the King must Return.

THEY unanimously answer’d the General, That they would obey  
 him, and that in the mean time the old Cabal must be dissolv’d, but yet  
 in due Form : And because it was not known how the People would re-  
 ceive Propositions of Monarchy, it was resolv’d, by Order of his Majesty’s  
 Council, that the Royalists should only declare for a free Parliament,  
 and that the People should be left in Suspense betwixt Monarchy and  
 Aristocracy. This was done, because Aristocracy seem’d to be in Vogue  
 amongst the Nobility and Gentry, the most Part of which appear’d very  
 much in love with the Model of the ancient *Romans* ; there were some of  
 them



them who already flatter'd themselves with the fine Titles of Senator and Lord, and who built their Fortunes according to their own Fancy in the vain Imagination of a quarterly Sovereignty: And because the Number of *Cromwellians* was still considerable, and the People were wavering betwixt the Fear of being punish'd by the Laws of the Kingdom, or more severely by a Royal Army, which, as was given out, would quickly be compos'd of all the Nations of *Europe*, and especially of *French* and *Irish*; it was thought fit not to mention Monarchy any more, 'till the Minds of the Gentry and Commonalty should be known; one Part whereof had done great Disservice to the King, and the other had basely deserted him in the Time of Danger; even those who had been of his Party, having been so severely punish'd by the Calamities that attend Proscriptions and Misfortunes, not only wanted Courage to declare what they had a mind to be, but even to own what they had been; so that all Things were left to Chance, and every Man's Politicks consisted only in an Indifference for all Sorts of Government, and in a general Submission to the Suffrages of the People, who were to declare themselves by a free and new Parliament.

ALL Things being thus dispos'd in Favour of the King in *England*, and *Monk* having secur'd the Kingdom of *Scotland*, it remain'd only to secure *Ireland*, which of itself could not hinder the King's Return; but, by joining with, and sheltering *Cromwell's* Accomplices, was in a Condition strongly to oppose his Majesty's Restauration. For *Cromwell*, after having either banished or proscribed all the Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom, had made it his Place of Arms, and the Magazine whence he might draw Assistance against *England*, and where he had settled all his Creatures; because all the Grants he had made there, were only the Estates of the *Irish*. That Tyrant thought that Nation so much against his Designs, that he had endeavour'd to extirpate it altogether, and extinguish its Memory; insomuch that, not content with having stript it of all its Riches, he had assign'd to the Nobility and Gentry a Corner of the Kingdom, between the River of *Shanon* and the Sea, where they were penn'd up, with a most strict Prohibition to all Gentlemen to pass that River, under the Pain of Death, without a Pass from Sir *Charles Coote*, and the Lord *Brogbill*: These two had newly seiz'd the Helm of Affairs in that Kingdom, after having imprison'd Colonel *Ludlow*, and Sir *William Waller*, who had been sent thither by the old Parliament, after the Degrading of *Richard Cromwell*, and the unworthy Action of *Henry*. This last being Master of a Kingdom, and an Island well provided with Men, Provisions, and Arms, at the Head of ten thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, who were the Veterans and Companions of *Cromwell's* Fortune, and all engaged to him both by Honour and Interest, had shamefully come and submitted to an Handful of Rebels, who had no other Title for the Establishment of their Authority, but of having been the Satellites of his Father, and the Ministers of that publick Cruelty, which has made them to be abhorr'd by all the World.

Now the Lord *Brogbill* and Sir *Charles Coote*, both of them *Irish-men*, and of the Church of *England*, seeing a fair Opportunity of making Amends for all that had passed, made themselves Masters of the Troops, and imprisoned the Officers of greatest Note, and deepest engaged in the Rebellion; and form'd a Meeting, wherein it was agreed upon to send to *London*, and to the King, in order to assure him of their Obedience. At the same time, to bind the Army to its good Behaviour, they gave it to understand that they had made good Terms for it, and that they had been promis'd that all *Cromwell's* Grants, the Proscriptions of the *Irish* Catholics, and the Forfeitures of all those that had been banish'd, should be confirm'd; and



that the King should leave the whole Care of these Matters to his Parliament; that the general Pardon granted by the King should be declared void with respect to the *Irish* Catholics; that the Peace made with the Marquis of *Ormond* should be annulled, as a Deed extorted by the Necessity of the Times and Affairs; that this Army, though composed of notorious Rebels, being *English*, should still be preferred to dispersed and banished People, who had nothing to plead but Justice, to which no Regard is ever had in Quarrels betwixt Nation and Nation; Force being the only Law which decides the Differences in such Cases.

THE Army gave Credit to these Promises, and a great many of the *Irish* were much afraid that it had Reason: For the Condition of the Possessor is preferable to that of the Person dispossessed; and those who ask nothing of the Court, are always more welcome than Suitors, who are generally look'd upon as troublesome, and are turn'd away. After what manner soever this Agreement was made, the Lord *Broughill* and Sir *Charles Coote* engaged to make it all good, and to get it confirm'd by a Parliament, which, in their Opinion, must be favourable to this Army being compos'd of the same Officers and Soldiers against whom the *Irish* had made War so long.

PURSUANT to these Hopes the Army declared itself, according to the Intentions of General *Monk*, and promised to adhere to all the Resolutions of the next Parliament of *England*, and to undertake nothing contrary to the present Government.

WHILE *Cromwell's* Faction was thus falling to Pieces, the King had scarce appear'd since Sir *George Booth's* Insurrection, having kept himself *incognito*, sometimes in *St. Malo's*, and upon the Coast of *Bretagne*; sometimes at *Bruges*, where, in outward Appearance, he pass'd his Time very uneasily. Having in that Town receiv'd all the Assurances that could be given him, from his Friends at *London*, and all the rest of the Kingdom, he call'd his Council privately, left his foreign Enemies, and those who pretended to partake of his Misfortunes, should endeavour to prolong them: And tho' he had receiv'd undoubted Proofs of the generous Resolution of *France*, yet, in so ticklish a Matter, he was afraid of whatever might happen to the contrary. He could not but know, that in the Affair of Sir *George Booth*, the great Marshal *Turenne* had, by the express Orders of the King his Master, made a Step as advantageous to his Affairs as he could have wished: In effect, that Marshal, who still serves the greatest King in the World, with such Success and Advantage as could only be expected from his Conduct, had given Orders for the marching of his Troops to the King of *England's* Assistance, and had declared that he would go along with them in Person. In like manner, his most serene Highness the Prince of *Conde*, with the King's Leave, offer'd him his Troops, and even his Person. The Count *de Harcourt*, whom so many glorious Victories had made famous over all the World, was likewise invited by his Majesty to get himself ready; to which he agreed with all the Passion and Zeal which his Master's Service, and his Fidelity, could allow him. Behold then three Generals, the least of which was capable to strike Terror into the most undaunted Kingdoms, and all three design'd against *England*. The Reputation and good Fortune of these great Generals did not a little contribute towards this wonderful Revolution: For 'tis to be suppos'd that *Lambert's* Army would not have been so peaceable, when some of them were imprison'd, and the rest disarm'd, and that the People would have been less eager in ridding themselves of, and dispersing the rigid Republicans, who for so long a time had been Masters of the Lives and



and Fortunes of every Body, if, at the same time that they saw a considerable Party in the Heart of the Kingdom, they had not likewise seen a most formidable one abroad.

THE Spaniards, for their Part, at *St. Jean de Luz*, talk'd of doing Wonders; and it was with Difficulty that Don *Lewis de Haro*, for certain Reasons of State, was perswaded to give Audience to *Lockhart*, who thought he ow'd that Favour to Cardinal *Mazarine*: But, on the other hand, his Eminence, not content with giving a long Audience to Sir *Henry Bennet*, Resident at the Court of *Spain* for the King of *England*, receiv'd the Marquis of *Ormond* at *St. Jean de Luz* with great Demonstrations of Friendship both for his own Person, and that of the King his Master; and after having done him all the Honours which the present Situation of his Master's Affairs required, had very long Conferences with him, and, by the King's Order, offer'd him all his Troops, and even his Purse.

KING *Charles* receiv'd all these Proofs of a real Friendship in a suitable manner; but, however, he was not thereby induced to trust any Foreigner with his secret Transactions; so that his retiring from *Flanders* into *France*, and his Journey cross the whole Kingdom, where he pass'd *incognito*, with three of his Servants, made every Body believe that his Restauration was still far distant. He pass'd through *Toulouse* four Days before the King of *France* made his Entry into that City, in returning from *St. Jean de Luz*: And though he went into *Spain* as far as *Saragosa*, and that he return'd through *St. Jean de Luz*, without seeing Cardinal *Mazarine*; 'tis most certain that a Marriage for him was talk'd of there, and that the most beautiful Dutchesse \* in the World was upon Terms of being Queen.

\* The Dutchesse of Mazarine.

THE Pretence of this Journey, was to induce the two Crowns to declare in his Favour; and, during this Interval of Parliament, his Friends at *London* did not fail to make a Mystery of it, and to tell the People, that the two Kings of *France* and *Spain* could not be perswaded that they had Strength or Money enough for settling a general Tranquillity in Christendom, without the Interposition of his *Britannick Majesty*, who could contribute thereto as much as any Prince in the World.

IN the mean time, his Majesty's Enemies were very much surpriz'd, to see that a King, who had been so long in Exile, had, nevertheless, made himself so considerable, that he alone should engage in his Interest the two Umpires of the Peace of Christendom; and that his Agents, in what Condition soever they were at the Courts of Princes, were more favourably receiv'd in their Misfortune, than the Emissaries of the Usurpers in the Midst of the Pomp and Splendor of their Prosperity.

AND, tho' all those who more narrowly observ'd the King's Actions, his Hopes, and the Countenance of this exiled Court, believ'd that it was an infallible Sign of the bad State of his Affairs; yet that Opinion prov'd very advantageous to the King in *England*: For his retiring out of *Flanders*, and the removing so far from *England*, were look'd upon, by such as were not in the Secret, to proceed from the desperate Condition he was in; his Friends, who hitherto had been suspected and watch'd, had Leisure and Liberty to act without Fear, and Time more easily to prevail upon, and bring back to his Interest, some Men who had taken contrary Measures, and who would have ventur'd both their Lives and Fortunes, if any other Expedients had been made use of, but those of a general Pardon and Clemency.



Clemency. Moreover, this Journey silenc'd the Ill-affected, who would not have fail'd to say, that all the Changes that were made, both of Officers and Governors, tended to call home the King: Besides, the Guilty and the Parricides would have had Time either to make an Attempt within the Kingdom, or to fly into foreign Countries, there to contrive Means of renewing their wicked Attempts.

HIS Majesty's Council were very well pleas'd with having led *France* and *Spain* into this Mistake; being afraid that both these States, either out of Jealousy, or Politicks, would have retarded the King's Reception, whether to oppose it altogether, or for some Time, or to render themselves necessary. And, indeed, this Journey so baffled the Politicks of the most knowing Men in Affairs, that *Lockhart*, then Governor of *Dunkirk*, and who was look'd upon as a Man of the greatest Penetration of his Party, was therein more grossly mistaken than all the rest, having been the last in returning to his Duty: This Governor, who thought that the Party most opposite to Monarchy was carrying it in *England*, and who had so good an Opinion of his own Conduct, as to promise himself that he should be continu'd by the Usurpers, was so obstinate in the Rebellion, that he had the Boldness to stay at *St. Jean de Luz*, calling himself *Ambassador of the Party that should prevail*, and a most humble Servant of Events; which he continu'd even after the Arrival of the Marquis of *Ormond*, until his particular Friends told him that the King his Master was at *Fontarabia*, accompany'd by the Earl of *Bristol*, Sir *Daniel O-Neil*, and the Lord *Colepepper*; and that it would be no Disparagement to him to yield to a Prince to whom the greatest Kings of the Earth had given the Right-Hand, even in his Misfortune: They likewise gave him to understand, that they began to grow weary of his Company at the Court of *France*; and that he needed not stand upon Ceremonies, but withdraw without taking Leave; that the King of *England* had Couriers upon his Road, who knew both his Name and Face; and that one of the Officers, whom he had caused to be imprisoned, had been seen at Court, who express'd no Good-will towards him, and who seem'd to be more belov'd, and in greater Esteem there, than he: so, since his sworn Enemies were protected, and appear'd at Court in that manner, he must needs be perswaded that his Affairs were in a bad way.

ALL these Reasons obliged him to look more narrowly into the State of his Affairs: but as soon as he understood that the Earl of *St. Albans* was at Court, that Abbot *Montague* was lately arriv'd; that the first of these two acted there as Plenipotentiary for his Master; that the two Crowns had promised four thousand Men to the King, and that they were ready to assist him with all their Troops, if he should stand in Need of them, he took Post-Horses directly for *Dunkirk*: He went thither with all Speed, in Hopes to make himself Master of the Place, and to sell it to the highest Bidder; but, unhappily for him, he found the *English* Garison firmly resolv'd to oppose him; for the most Part of the Officers, unknown to him, had sent *Edmond Howard* to the King, to offer him the Place, with the Troops that were in it.

IT was propos'd in Council, whether they should accept of the Place and Troops; and after being possess'd thereof, to join the Troops to those of his Majesty in the Neighbourhood. Those who were for taking Possession of the Place, said, That when the King should be Master of *Dunkirk*, he might more easily gain the Fleet over to him, and thereby facilitate a Descent upon *England*; that his own Troops and those of *Dunkirk* amounted to eight thousand Men; that his Enemies would be dishearten'd by the Revolt of their Troops, which would induce many more of them to follow



follow that Example ; that the Harbour might serve for a retiring Place to such of the Fleet as should come to join him ; and that, in short he might call himself King and absolute Master of a Part of his Dominions ; that it was almost impossible to make himself Master of three different Kingdoms all-at once, and therefore they ought to begin with this important Place, where the Royal Authority might shew itself with a Part of its Lustre ; that tho' Affairs should be amicably adjusted, it would be honourable for the King to treat with his Subjects in his own Dominions ; and if he should be oblig'd to fight his Way to the Throne, it would be of the greatest Importance to be Master of this Out-work, and all at once to carry the War amongst the Rebels.

ON the contrary, those who saw more clearly into what might happen, maintain'd, that the delivering up of *Dunkirk* to the King, was not only of little Use to his Affairs, but likewise quite contrary to his Majesty's Intention : They said, That the surrendering of it, would discover all the Intrigues and Designs of the Royalists in *England* ; so that such as were Enemies to Monarchy, would endeavour to be no longer surpriz'd ; that to act after that manner, would be interpreted by the adverse Parties as unfair Dealing ; that the King would thereby discover his Mistrust ; and that if he did not punctually wait the whole Time that had been agreed upon, they would conclude that they should always be so dealt with ; that the greatest Difficulty of this Affair was, to persuade the People that the King would keep his Word to them ; and that Sincerity, which the Rebels believ'd had never taken Place in any Court, must be establish'd in this : The last and most weighty Reason was, that this Place could not be accepted, without restoring it to the *Spaniards*, and, perhaps, jointly to the *French* too ; and that tho' both of them should agree to let it continue in the King's Hands, it was too expensive, and of little Importance to an exiled King ; and that in case the Success of Affairs in *England* should not answer Expectation, the Place would remain a Bone of Contention between the two States ; and that the Interest of the two Crowns, upon the retaking of *Dunkirk*, would oblige the *Spaniards* to do their utmost Endeavours to divide this Oligarchy, and support the Royal Party. These are the true Reasons that obliged the King not to accept of *Dunkirk* at that time, well knowing, that in case he should be restored to his Kingdoms, he would be sure of that Conquest ; and that if his Majesty should be disappointed, *Dunkirk* remain'd a powerful Motive for keeping *Spain* in his Interest.

HITHERTO the King's Party in *England* durst not act openly, nor make any Step against the pretended Common-wealth ; but the total Defeat of *Lambert's* Troops, either by the Cowardice of the Officers, or by their Treachery to their Party, so strengthen'd General *Monk*, that there was Reason to dread a most dangerous Consequence from the Greatness of his Power, being as absolute at *London*, as *Domitian* was at *Rome* before the Arrival of *Severus* : Which gave Occasion to a Rumour that was spread at that time, and which may have been given out, either by those who were not that General's Friends, or who loved the King too much ; for by an indiscreet Zeal, or an ill-grounded Jealousy, they began to murmur against the Power of that great Man, and to suspect him of Ambition, very unreasonably ; he never having made the least Step, but by his Majesty's express and written Orders, except upon some particular Occasion, when the Necessity of the Affairs of State obliged him to consult both the Time and



\* Mr. de Bour-  
deaux.

Events. Nevertheless, Foreigners, and those who were concern'd in the King's Restoration, had a mind to sound the General, and to be admitted into his Secrets and Designs; that, in case they were against Monarchy, and their Friendship, they might baffle them: And *Monk* heard all those who spoke to him, and gave them such Answers as made the Sincerity and Prudence of his Conduct appear. 'Tis true, that this Curiosity gave the Court some Jealousy; and the Art that had been made use of to discover the Bottom of the General's Heart, alarm'd the King a little, who, not thinking fit to make it the Ground of a General Quarrel, made a personal Injury of it; but after having been inform'd of the Sincerity of that inquisitive Person \*, who had acted only out of a passionate Affection for his Service, he was very well satisfy'd.

HIS Majesty, on the Road from *Bordeaux* to *St. Jean de Luz*, receiv'd, by an Express from General *Monk*, an Account that his Affairs were in great Forwardness; that his Enemies were either disarm'd, fled, or in his Interest; that he might advance towards the Coast of *England*, and chuse a Place of Residence, there to receive, from all his Kingdoms, an Homage and Submission that had for so long a Time been refused him; that the People impatiently expected him; that he should make use of the Eagerness of the Passion they expressed for him, and that he could not receive more manifest Proofs of their Fidelity. In the meantime *Lambert* made his Escape out of the *Tower*, by the Favour of a Party of his Troops, whose Officers had promis'd to join him: And tho' his bold Attempt can hardly be justify'd, and that obstinate Rebels, like him, are odious to all the World; yet I so firmly intend not to appear partial, that in this Circumstance of his Life I shall do him Justice.

*LAMBERT* has been charg'd over all *England* with three Articles of Accusation: The first, Of having always been ambitious and rebellious: The second, Of having always rejected all the Propositions that the King could make him: And the third, Of having made an irrevocable Resolution of making an Attempt upon the Liberty of his Country, and humbling the Nobility; of having rashly made his Escape out of Prison, and of having been retaken like a Coward, without putting himself in a Posture of Defence. As to the first, he cannot be excused, but by the Number, the Qualities, and the Success of the Rebels; as for his Ambition, it never appear'd, but in the Absence of his lawful Prince; and it was the Token of a great Soul, not to acknowledge any Usurper more worthy to command than himself. As for his having rejected the King's Offers, he affirm'd, that it never was in his Power to accept of them, either with the Safety of his Life, or with Success, all his Strength consisting of an Army, whose chief Officers might almost all be convicted of the late King's Murder, and who had nothing to depend upon but the Estates of the Royalists; but that he had not rejected them, and was only waiting such an Opportunity as General *Monk* had robb'd him of. As for his making his Escape out of Prison, he thought he was oblig'd to endeavour to render himself useful, and make his Peace with Honour; and that those who seiz'd him, had no lawful Authority, not having been empower'd by the King's Orders, and so he could not have done amiss, since he had not acknowledg'd them for his Superiors; and that the People who represent the sovereign Authority in the King's necessary Absence, were divided about his Liberty. He own'd his having been retaken without making Resistance, by a Colonel who had sworn to be faithful to him, and had assisted him in making his Escape, who



who came to the Place appointed by his Order, who approach'd him as a faithful Friend, and who, contrary to his Promise, their Agreement, and plighted Faith, seized him. That Colonel had been obliged to make use of this Trick, that he might thereby expect to be pardon'd by his Prince, whom he had provoked in a particular manner, his Name being found among those who had been accessary to the Murther of the late King; which had perswaded him, that some notable Action was absolutely necessary, in order to get his Pardon ratify'd: And, truly, 'tis agreed, that the taking of *Lambert*, secur'd him from the Severity of the Parliament, tho', in Effect, he was very innocent of the King's Death, which he never would have signed, but in order to save himself from *Cromwell's* Fury, who had forc'd him to commit an unworthy Action, which render'd him inconsolable, notwithstanding the Proofs and Witnesses he had of the Truth of this: And, without doubt, this taking of *Lambert*, which prevented a Civil War, if the Anabaptists may be credited, and the manner in which that Officer had always behaved himself in his Party, might have made him pass for a very accomplish'd Man, if he had never been taught to write. In order to make this Victory the more solemn, *Lambert* was conducted to *London*, surrounded by some Squadrons of Horse; and quite to dishearten both him and his Adherents, the Army and Militia were drawn up in Order of Battle, and *Lambert* passed through the Middle of the Battalions and Squadrons, consisting, at least, of thirty thousand fighting Men, who were crying, *God save the King*. The Reader may imagine what was said of *Lambert*.

HIS Majesty being come to *Breda*, he had Advice that all Things were so disposed, that he needed only secure himself against foreign Enemies; and that General *Monk*, the City of *London*, and the Parliament, had, without striking a Stroke, got an entire Victory over the *Cromwellians*, who were so dishearten'd, and become so cowardly, that they generally disarm'd themselves over all the Kingdom, not doubting but they were to be forced to undergo the Prohibition of Arms, which they had imposed upon the Royalists.

THIS Parliament thus convened after an extraordinary manner, took under Deliberation, Whether it were more for the Good of the People to be govern'd by an Aristocracy, a Democracy, or a Monarchy? And it was resolved, That these Kingdoms could not subsist without Monarchy, which was the Soul of the three Estates, and the surest Foundation of the Church of *England*: That no Person whatsoever could, without incurring the Crime of High Treason, aspire to this Monarchy, to the Detriment of *Charles II.* whom they unanimously declared King of *Great-Britain*, by an Act, which was worded very near as follows:

"ALTHOUGH there be no great Occasion, and that it never hath been  
" customary to make Acts for verifying lawful and indisputable Rights,  
" and that King *Charles II.* is, by the Death of *Charles I.* of blessed Me-  
" mory, and by Virtue of an undoubted Succession, from that Moment,  
" without standing in Need of any Formality, come to the inviolable and  
" sacred Rights of the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, Lands  
" and Dominions depending thereupon: Nevertheless, for certain Causes  
" and Considerations, and particularly because of the Interruption of  
" the Royal Authority, and of this unhappy Interreign, which excuseth  
" our



“ our Meeting without the King’s Presence, and which gives us the  
 “ Character and Seal of a lawful Authority ;

“ W E the Representatives of the three Estates, in Name of the Lords  
 “ and Commons of *England*, under his Majesty’s Favour, to the End  
 “ that none may pretend Ignorance, have declared, and do hereby declare,  
 “ *Nemine Contradicente*, *Charles II.* Son, and lawful and undoubted Heir  
 “ of *Charles I.* to be King and Sovereign Lord of *England*, *Scotland*,  
 “ and *Ireland*, Lands and Dominions, &c.”

T H I S Act thus passed, was followed by another Act, which annuls all those that had been passed to the Prejudice of Monarchy, and the Royal House of *Stuart* ; And then the Commissioners of Parliament were named, for carrying to the King at *Breda*, in Name of both the Houses of Parliament, the Sentiments of his Kingdoms : This Commission, as being extraordinary, was ambitiously sought after ; and the Parliament made choice of Persons that they thought most acceptable to the Court, and especially of such as had appeared most in this last Revolution.

T H E S E Commissioners, amongst which was General *Fairfax*, General *Monk*’s Brother-in-Law, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Oxford*, and *Peterborough*, arrived at *Breda*, accompany’d by the Deputies of the City of *London*. And whereas his Majesty thought that they came there with Propositions or Conditions for the Security of the Rebels, he gave them to understand, that they must take Care not to make any other Propositions to him, but that of an entire Submission, both of his Friends and Enemies, to his Clemency and Mercy ; and that he was too jealous of the Power he had receiv’d immediately from the Hand of God, to take any Step that may make the World believe that they had any Share in his Restauration : And that nevertheless, since Providence had made Use of secondary Causes in this Conjunction, his Majesty would continue to make Use of the same Means ; and that he had a grateful Sense of the Favour they had done him, in having saved him the Trouble of bringing them to their Duty by Force ; of demolishing Towns, which he must have rebuilt ; of shedding Blood, which he was willing to preserve as his own ; and of triumphing over a People whom he had a mind to make victorious : but, above all, in giving him so fair an Opportunity of exercising his Clemency, which might have receiv’d some Blemish, from the Confusion and Fury of War : That, by these Means, he may remove from his Subjects all Pretences of private Revenge, and banish Discord and Hatred out of his Kingdoms, over which they had had so great Influence for these several Years past ; and that it may be thereby expected to reconcile People, whom the Injustice of some, and the Cruelty of others, seem’d to have made irreconcilable.

T H E N the King, in order to authorize Clemency by his own Example, receiv’d both his new and old Friends with the same Countenance : He plainly declar’d, that he did not pretend to give away either the Lives or Estates of his Servants and Friends, who had been persecuted by the Enemies of Monarchy ; that he had a mind that their Interests should be inseparable from his own, and that no Innovation should be made in the Laws of the Kingdom ; that his Desire was, that they should recover their Authority and Vigour with him, and that Justice should be fenced with all the Power that was necessary for maintaining it in his Dominions : Nevertheless, he had no mind to enquire into all the particular Actions,  
 but



but that they should be carry'd to the Ordinary Judges, whose Business it was : That as for himself, he freely pardon'd all his Subjects ; but this Pardon being granted without hearing, he referr'd the Modification of it to his Parliament : That as to all those who had assisted immediately at the Murder of the late King, he expected and meant that they should be deprived of the Benefit of the general Pardon, and that the Laws be put in Execution against them according to their Form and Tenor.

THIS Declaration was immediately sent to the Parliament, who agreed thereto with all manner of Submission ; their Commissioners being sent with no other Intention, but to submit to the King's Will, without any Condition. Shortly after he left *Breda*, after having receiv'd from the *States* very near as much Honour and Respect, as they could have paid to their Sovereign and lawful Prince, had they had one.



but that they should be carried to the Ordinary Judges, whose Business it was: That as for himself, he freely pardon'd all his Subjects: but this Pardon being granted without hearing, he refer'd the Modesties of it to his Parliament: That as to all those who had assisted James in the Murder of the late King, he expected and meant that they should be deprived of the Benefit of the general Pardon, and that the Laws should be Execution against them according to their Faults and Merits.

This Declaration was immediately sent to the Parliament, who were thereto with all manner of Submission: their Commissioners being with no other Intention, but to comply to the King's Will, without any Condition. Shortly after the late King's death, after having receiv'd from them very little as much Honor and Respect, as they could have had so great Government and Power, had they had one.

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*Irish* in the *Highlands* 170, whom he quickly joins *ibid.* he marches through *Strathern*, where he is joined by 500 Men commanded by the Lord *Kilpont* and Sir *John Drummond* 171; he fights, and defeats the Covenanters at *Tipper-Moor* 172; his Speech to his Troops before the Battle *ibid.* enters the Town of *Perth*, and saves it from being plunder'd 173; he marches to *Dundee*, and summons it to surrender 174; he marches through the Shires of *Angus* and *Merus* *ibid.* from thence to *Aberdeen*, where he fights and defeats the Covenanters 174, 175; enters the Town to refresh his Men, and then marches to *Kimboe*, and from thence through *Badenoch* into *Athol* 176; he returns into the North, takes the Castle of *Faivy*, and defeats the Covenanters 177; he marches to *Balveny* 178, from thence through *Strathspey* and *Badenoch* into *Argyleshire*, where he lays waste *Argyle's* Lands 179; he marches to the Head of *Lough-nefs* 196, fights the Battle of *Inverlochy* 197; marches into *Strathspey*, and from thence to *Elgin* 198; he marches Southward, and offers the Covenanters a pitch'd Battle *ibid.* which they refused 199; he marches back, and summons the Town of *Dundee* to surrender *ibid.* forces his Way into it, and sets it on fire *ibid.* is surprized by the Covenanters Army; but makes a gallant Retreat, and gets into the Mountains 200; he marches into *Perthshire* 205, where finding *Hurry* much superior in Number, he makes a noble Retreat, marches Northward, and is join'd by *Aboyn* and the Lord *Gordon* *ibid.* fights and defeats *Hurry* at *Aldern* 206; marches into *Badenoch* 207; is deserted by the Lord *Gordon's* Men 208; fights and defeats the Covenanters at *Alford* 209; he incamps at *Craigston* 210; marches to *Fordon*, thence into the Shire of *Angus* 211; he marches towards *Perth*, where he puts the Parliament into a terrible Fright 212; beats up the Enemy's Quarters *ibid.* he's excepted out of

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Menteith, Robert, / Ogilvie, James, / Riordan de Muscry, D.

The history of the troubles of Great-Britain ... with the Restauration of  
K. Charles II, written by D. Riordan de Musery

London 1739

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